Revised 3/8/56.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E. - Room 432.

Affiliated State Organizations.

Alabama Council on Human Relations

Rev. Duncan Hunter, Chairman
First Methodist Church
Alexander City, Alabama. 4-3331

Home - ADams 4-2633

Rev. Robert E. Hughes, Exec. Dir.
Moore Building, Room 206
Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama. 3-6645

Mr. Fred D. Gray, Assoc. Dir.
113 Monroe Street
Montgomery, Alabama. 3-9360 or 2-0625

Arkansas Council on Human Relations

Mr. Fred K. Darragh, Chairman
1401 East Sixth Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Mr. Nat Griswold, Exec. Dir.
211 Izard Street
Little Rock, Arkansas. FRanklin 4-4521

Mr. Christopher Mercer, Assoc. Dir.
211 Izard Street
Little Rock, Arkansas.

Florida Council on Human Relations

Rev. Caxton Doggett, Chairman
376 N E 90th Street,
Miami, Florida. PL 7-4898 (Home)

Rader Memorial Methodist Church
8755 N E 2nd. Avenue, Miami.
PL 8-2535 (Church).

Mr. William K. Williams, Exec. Dir.
324 South Beach Street
Daytona Beach, Florida. CLinton 3-7072

Mr. Howard D. Roberts, Assoc. Dir.
324 South Beach Street,
Daytona Beach, Florida.

Kentucky Council on Human Relations

Mr. W. H. Perry, Chairman
2320 West Chestnut Street
Louisville, Kentucky. AR 5633.

Mr. Galen A. Martin, Exec. Dir.
2320 West Chestnut Street
Louisville, Kentucky.

Miss Madge Sterling
203 So. Hite Avenue
Louisville, Kentucky.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC. Affiliated State
Organizations, cont'd.

Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation

Rev. G. E. Clary, Chairman
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dr. Guy H. Wells, Exec. Dir.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia. ALpine 4063
Home AT 9533.

Dr. Mozell C. Hill, Assoc. Dir.
203 Linkwood Road, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia.

Louisiana Council on Human Relations

Mrs. Elsie Whitman, Chairman
203 Woolsey Building
Lake Charles, Louisiana.

Mr. Milton Conrad Vigo, Exec. Dir.
303 Board of Trade Annex Building
New Orleans 12, Louisiana. MA - 4295
Home UP - 4445.

Mississippi Council on Human Relations

Mrs. W. H. Ratcliff, Chairman
Robert E. Lee Hotel
Jackson, Mississippi.

Mrs. R. S. Lyells, Exec. Dir.
1104 Lynch Street
Jackson, Mississippi. 5-5673

Mrs. J. A. Burt, Assoc. Dir.
1104 Lynch Street
Jackson, Mississippi.

North Carolina Council on Human Relations

Mr. R. D. Wellons, Chairman
President
Pembroke College
Pembroke, North Carolina.

Mr. Harry S. Jones, Exec. Dir.
121 East Third Street,
Room 209
Charlotte, North Carolina. FR 6-6833
Home ED - 39155

Mr. W. C. Chance, Assoc. Dir.
Box 116 Parmele, North Carolina.

South Carolina Council on Human Relations

Mr. J. Claude Evans, Chairman
P. O. Box 867
Columbia, South Carolina

Mrs. E. H. Spearman, Exec. Dir.
1508 Lady Street
Columbia, South Carolina. 6-8808.
Home 3-2713

Mr. J. T. McCain, Assoc. Dir.
1508 Lady Street
Columbia, South Carolina.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC. - Affiliated State Organizations, cont'd.

Tennessee Council on Human Relations

Mr. F. Woods Beckman, Chairman
5908 Magazine Road
Knoxville, Tennessee

Texas Commission on Race Relations

Mrs. James S. Crate, Chairman
2410 Inwood Drive
Houston 19, Texas JA 3-8986

Rev. Edward J. Kloppe, Exec. Dir.
309 West 21st. Street,
Austin, Texas. 63150

Mr. Kenneth Holbert, Assoc. Dir.
2531 Forest Avenue
Dallas 15, Texas. HU -4466.
Home HA 9756

Virginia Council on Human Relations

Rev. W. Carroll Brooke, Chairman
Box 208
Staunton, Virginia.

Rev. John H. Marion, Exec. Dir.
100 E. Franklin Street
Richmond, Virginia 3-8538

Mr. William Cooper, Assoc. Dir.
Hampton Institute, Box 203
Hampton, Virginia (half-time)

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E. - Room 432
Atlanta, Georgia

Affiliated State Organizations

Alabama Council on Human Relations
Reverend Robert E. Hughes, Executive Dir.
Room 206, Moore Building
Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Arkansas Council on Human Relations
Mr. Nat Griswold, Executive Director
211 Izard Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Florida Council on Human Relations
Mr. William K. Williams, Executive Director
324 South Beach Street
Daytona Beach, Florida

Kentucky Council on Human Relations
Mr. Galen A. Martin, Executive Director
208 West Main Street
Frankfort, Kentucky

Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation
Dr. Guy H. Wells, Executive Director
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Louisiana Council on Human Relations
Mr. Milton Conrad Vigo, Executive Director
303 Board of Trade Annex Building
New Orleans 12, Louisiana

Mississippi Council on Human Relations
Mrs. R. S. Lyells, Executive Director
1104 Lynch Street
Jackson, Mississippi

North Carolina Council on Human Rel.
Mr. Harry S. Jones, Executive Dir.
121 East Third Street, Room 209
Charlotte, North Carolina

South Carolina Council on Human Rel.
Mrs. E. H. Spearman, Executive Dir.
1508 Lady Street
Columbia, South Carolina

Tennessee Council on Human Relations
Mrs. Mollie Todd, Chairman
2005 Grand Avenue
Nashville, Tennessee

Texas Commission on Race Relations
Reverend Edwin G. Kloppe, Exec. Dir.
504 West 24th Street
Austin, Texas

Virginia Council on Human Relations
Reverend John H. Marion, Exec. Dir.
100 E. Franklin Street
Richmond, Virginia

8 23 56 -

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Grants-in-Aid to State Organizations
1957 - 58

State	Amt. Req.	SRC Staff Recommendation	Exec. Committee Action
Alabama	$4,050	$4,000	
Arkansas	5,000	4,500	
Florida	6,000	4,000	
Georgia	5,500	4,000	
Kentucky	5,000	3,000	
Louisiana		2,500	
North Carolina	5,000	4,000	
South Carolina	8,000	5,000	
Tennessee	6,000	3,000	
Texas	4,873	2,500	
Virginia	6,000	4,000	
Totals:	$55,423	$40,500	

7/16/57

FINANCIAL INFORMATION ON STATE GROUPS
May 3, 1960

State	Funds raised locally, 1959	Special SRC grant, 1960	Conditions of special grant	Funds raised locally first quarter, 1960
Alabama	$4,593	$3,000	minimum - $2,500 maximum - $4,000	$1,420
Arkansas	$1,897	$2,000	$2,000 - $3,000	$ 297
Florida	$7,015	$2,500	$3,000 - $4,500*	$2,894
Georgia	$3,295	$4,500	$2,500 - $3,200**	$2,322
Kentucky	$1,000 (app.)	$ 500	none	$ 52
North Carolina	$4,145	$3,000	$2,500 - $4,000	$ 972
South Carolina	$2,537	$3,000	$2,000 - $3,500	$ 892
Tennessee	$1,138	$2,500	$1,000 - $3,500	$ 571
Virginia	$7,704	$3,000	$3,500 - $5,000	$2,898
Texas		$1,000	staff judgment	
	33,334			

* proposed conditions; suggested deadline, September 30.

** $1,500 on regular matching basis; remaining $3,000 to assist GCHR in employment of full-time director.

FINANCIAL INFORMATION ON STATE GROUPS
May 3, 1960

State	Funds raised locally, 1959	Special SRC grant, 1960	Conditions of special grant	Funds raised locally first quarter, 1960	
Alabama	$4,593	$3,000	minimum - $2,500 maximum - $4,000	$1,420	5,133
Arkansas	$1,897	$2,000	$2,000 - $3,000	$ 297	1,275
Florida	$7,015	$2,500	$3,000 - $4,500*	$2,894	4,281
Georgia	$3,295	$4,500	$2,500 - $3,200**	$2,322	3,795
Kentucky	$1,000 (app.)	$ 500	none	$ 52	
North Carolina	$4,145	$3,000	$2,500 - $4,000	$ 972	4,496
South Carolina	$2,537	$3,000	$2,000 - $3,500	$ 892	3,520
Tennessee	$1,138	$2,500	$1,000 - $3,500	$ 571	2,820
Virginia	$7,704	$3,000	$3,500 - $5,000	$2,898	5,983
Texas		$1,000	staff judgment		

* proposed conditions; suggested deadline, September 30.

** $1,500 on regular matching basis; remaining $3,000 to assist GCHR in employment of full-time director.

Financial Information on State Groups

July 12, 1960 (as of June 1)

	Funds Raised Locally, 1959	Special Grant Condition	Funds Raised Locally 1st 2 Quarters, 1960.	1st 9 mo.
Alabama	$4,593	$4,000 (Dec 1-Jun 1)	$6,179	8,478
Arkansas	1,897	3,000	1,275	~~1,785~~ -3006.
Florida	7,015	4,500	4,281	5,236
Georgia	3,295	3,200	3,793	4,109
Kentucky	1,000 (approx)	none	no report	550
North Carolina	4,145	4,000	4,496	6,107
South Carolina	2,537	3,500	3,520	4,056
Tennessee	1,138	3,500	2,820 (has since met conditions)	3,652
Virginia	7,704	5,000	5,983	6,713
	33,324		32,347	40,316
				1221
				41,537

1. All states have met conditions for special grant as of now except Arkansas and Florida.

2. Five have raised more during the first two quarters of this year than during all of 1959.

3006.
1785.00
1221

FINANCIAL INFORMATION ON STATE GROUPS

State	Special Grant 1959	Regular Allocation 1959	Suggested Allocation 1960	Funds Raised by States, [redacted]	Funds Raised by States 1st six months, 1959
Alabama	$3,500	$4,200	$4,200	$4,358	$6,335
Arkansas	2,500	3,600	3,500	-	9,000*
Florida	2,500	3,500	3,900	7,862	7,392
Georgia	2,500	3,800	3,500	3,700	2,138
Kentucky	1,000	2,000	1,500	-	1,000
Louisiana	-	2,000	-	-	-
North Carolina	2,500	4,000	3,900	10,828**	8,298**
South Carolina	3,000	3,800	3,900	4,623	1,945
Tennessee	2,500	3,500	3,500	-	845
Texas	-	600	-	-	-
Virginia	3,000	4,000	3,900	7,872	7,851
State Aid Discretionary Fund			1,200		
Total	$23,000	$35,000	$33,000	$39,243	$44,804

*includes $8,000 RBF

**includes $5,000 Field Foundation grant

Pgs in ans, 1961

SUGGESTED ALLOCATION OF SPECIAL GRANT FOR STATE GROUPS, 1960

State	Total Funds Raised, 1959*	Funds Raised Locally, 1959	Regular SRC Grant, 1960	Proposed Special SRC Grant	Suggested Conditions for Special Grant
Alabama	$7,093	$4,593	$4,200	$3,000 Raised $6,179	$1,500 immediately; $1,500 to match evenly local funds raised in excess of $2,500, between December 1, 1959 and June 1, 1960. Total local funds to qualify for full grant - $4,000.
Arkansas	$9,897	$1,897	$3,500	$2,000 Sept. 1.	$1,000 immediately; remaining $1,000 to match evenly local funds raised in excess of $2,000, between December 1,1959 and June 1, 1960. Total local funds -- $3,000.
Florida	$9,015	$7,015	$3,900	$2,500	To be determined Sept. 30
Georgia	$3,295	$3,295	$3,500	$4,500 Raised $ 3,793.50	$750 immediately; $750 to match evenly local funds raised in excess of $2,500, between December 1, 1959 and June 1, 1960. Total local funds - $3,200. $3,000 to be made available to assist Georgia Council in employment of full-time State Director when and if GCHR carries through reorganization plans.
Kentucky	$1,000 (app.)	$1,000	$1,500	$500	To be made available immediately to assist with research activity.
North Carolina	$9,145	$4,145	$3,900	3,000 4,496	$1,500 immediately; $1,500 to match evenly local funds raised in excess of $2,500, between December 1, 1959 and June 1, 1960. Total local funds -- $4,000.
South Carolina	$2,537	$2,537	$3,900	3,000	1,500 immediately; $1,500 to match evenly local funds raised in excess of $2,000, between December 1, 1959 and June 1, 1960. Total funds - $3,500

* does not include SRC aid

State	Total Funds Raised, 1959*	Funds Raised Locally, 1959	Regular SRC Grant, 1960	Proposed Special SRC Grant	Suggested Conditions for Special Grant
Tennessee	$1,138	$1,138	$3,500	$2,500	$2,500 to be used to match evenly local funds raised in excess of $1,000, between December 1, 1959 and June 1, 1960. Total local funds -- $3,500. (the TCHR, by past ruling of the Executive Committee, received the regular assistance for 1960 under special conditions. The third quarterly allotment to the TCHR will be made available only if they have raised $2,000 locally as of that time.)
Virginia	$8,704	$7,704	$3,900	$3,000	$1,500 immediately; $1,500 to match evenly local funds raised in excess of $3,500, between December 1, 1959 and June 1, 1960. Total local funds -- $5,000
Texas	--	--	--	$1,000	Dependent upon the submission of a program demonstrating a need for the funds and indicating how they will be used.

Total, Special Grant $25,000

* does not include SRC aid

State	Regular SRC Grant 1960	Matching Grant 1960	Funds Raised 1st 2 quarters 1960	Proposed Field Grant, '60	Proposed Quarterly Grant	Proposed Matching Grant	Minimum Matching Figure
Alabama*	$4,200	$3,000	$6,179	$2,000	$3,900	$2,400	$3,000
Arkansas	3,500	2,000	1,275	1,300	3,200	2,000	2,000
Florida	3,900	2,500	4,281	1,300	3,400	2,000	3,700
Georgia*	3,500	4,500	3,793	1,300	3,500	2,000	2,500
Kentucky	1,500	500	--	500	750	750	1,000
North Carolina	3,900	3,000	4,496	1,400	3,600	2,100	2,700
South Carolina	3,900	3,000	3,520	1,400	3,700	2,300	2,000
Tennessee	3,500	2,500	2,820	1,300	3,500	2,100	2,000
Virginia	3,900	3,000	5,983	1,500	3,900	2,400	4,000
Houston						1,500	3,000
Mississippi Field Work				500			
State Aid Discretionary Fund	1,200				1,000		
Totals	$ 33,000	$24,000		$12,500	$30,450	$19,550	

* Proposed grants contingent upon employment of full time state staff

State	Regular SRC Grant 1960	Matching Grant 1960	Funds Raised 1st ~~7~~ quarters 1960	Proposed Field Grant, '60	Proposed ~~Quarterly~~ Grant	Proposed Matching Grant	Minimum Matching Figure	May
Alabama*	$4,200	$3,000	$6,179 8,418	$2,000	$3,900 6,300	$2,400	$3,000	5400
Arkansas	3,500	2,000	~~1,275~~ 1,185	1,300	3,200 5,200	2,000	2,000	4,000
Florida	3,900	2,500	~~4,281~~ 5,326	1,300	3,400 5,400	2,000	3,700	5,100
Georgia*	3,500	4,500	~~3,793~~ 4,109	1,300	3,500 5,500	2,000	2,500	4,500
Kentucky	1,500	500	-- 550	500	750 1,500	750	1,000	1,750
North Carolina	3,900	3,000	~~4,496~~ 6,107	1,400	3,600 5,700	2,100	2,700	4,800
South Carolina	3,900	3,000	~~3,520~~ 4,056	1,400	3,700 6,000	2,300	2,000	4,300
Tennessee	3,500	2,500	~~2,820~~ 3,652	1,300	3,500 5,600	2,100	2,000	4,100
Virginia	3,900	3,000	~~5,983~~ 6,713	1,500	3,900 6,300	2,400	4,000	6,400
Houston			40,376		~~[illegible]~~	1,500	3,000	4,580
Mississippi Field Work				500				45,450
State Aid Discretionary Fund	1,200				1,000			
Totals	$ 33,000	$24,000		$12,500	$30,450	$19,550		50,000

* Proposed grants contingent upon employment of full time state staff

33 367
500
33 867

D

PROPOSED ALLOCATIONS TO STATE ORGANIZATIONS, 1960

State	Special Grant 1959*	Regular Allocation 1959	Suggested Allocation 1960
Alabama	$3,500	$4,200	$4,200
Arkansas	2,500	3,600	3,500
Florida	2,500	3,500	3,900
Georgia	2,500	3,800	3,500
Kentucky	1,000	2,000	1,500
Louisiana	0	2,000	0
North Carolina	2,500	4,000	3,900
South Carolina	3,000	3,800	3,900
Tennessee	2,500	3,500	3,500
Texas	0	600	0
Virginia	3,000	4,000	3,900
State Aid Discretionary Fund			1,200
Total	$23,000	$35,000	$33,000

* from anonymous donation

Memberships		Feb., 1960	Feb., 1961	More Recent Membership Reports
(4) Alabama	Sept., 1958 418 a drop of 157 since ?	500	500	500
(8) Arkansas		209 included as of today, raised 3,500	229	Call 283
(6) Georgia	1957-58 Around 400	400	342	June, '61: 455
(2) Florida		800	775	~~PR will call this in~~ 700
10 Kentucky		50	50	
(5) N C		470	459	June Paid-member Call 508
(7) South Carolina		305	384	384 guess
(3) Tennessee	November, 1958 115	336	460	April 14, 1961 581
(1) Va.	March, 1959 1,400 (March 1958 approx. 1,000)	1,618	2,600	2,600
(9) Houston		0	5,199	160
		4688	Make this last column current	

~~* includes 108 delinquent members~~
~~** includes 136 delinquent members~~

No. of local affiliated or cooperating groups	Feb. 1960	Feb. 1961	July 1961
Ala.	10	8	8
Ark.	1	1	1
Ga.	4	4	5
Fla.	11	12	11
Ky.	-	-	-
N.C.	1	3	3
S.C.	4	5	5
Tenn.	3	6	6
Va.	10	11	14
Austin, Houston	-		2
	44	~~48~~ 50	55 (austin (Houston)

Line graph with 3 points

~~Memo~~ State Gen aid

MEMO

October 17, 1961

TO: LWD

FROM: PR

SUBJECT: State Aid, 1962.

1. I propose that we budget a total of $61,000 for assistance to state and local councils during 1962. This figure is based on the attached schedule of suggested aid plus a special grant of $7,000 to the VCHR on condition that they add to their staff an associate director, presumably Negro. I believe that the VCHR has reached the point of development where a two-man staff would more than double the program outreach of the Council and where the additional salary could be absorbed as a long standing obligation of the Council. If such a grant of $7,000 is not available I would suggest a special grant of $4,500 on the same conditions. The VCHR could then judge whether or not they could find the additional funds to support such a staff professional. This lower figure would bring the total for state groups to $58,500.

2. If the total figure of $61,000, or even $58,500, seems out of reach I would then propose the schedule of aid attached, amounting to $54,000. State aid amounted to $40,500 in 1958; $58,000 in 1959; $59,000 in 1960; and $50,000 in 1961. The slight increase over last year enables me to strengthen the more effective groups without significant cuts to any Council excepting KCHR. This schedule of aid shows a greater differential in amounts to the various councils than any employed to this date. So long as the matching plan is followed, slight increases in our aid can be used to encourage more effective efforts of local support. In 1960 the state councils increased their own support by over 50%. The totals will be still larger for 1961.

3. The KCHR has shown little in the way of program, membership or support for several years. I suggest that no regular assistance be channeled to this group. We would, however, be prepared to assist the group in any special efforts with discretionary funds.

4. The VCHR is definitely our best organized and most effective group. I suggest that total possible assistance to the Virginia Council be increased by $1,200 over last year, to $7,500. Their basic grant would be raised by only $100, however, the balance being available in matching funds if the VCHR can meet the higher quotas necessary.

5. The Tennessee and Georgia Councils are the groups of most promising potential. I would suggest strengthening these groups with substantially increased assistance, reflected in both the basic grants and the matching funds, up $800 for the GCHR and $700 for the TCHR.

6. The Florida Council is the only group which did not meet its matching quota for 1961. I would offer the FCHR the same deal for next year. They fell some $500 short this year.

7. The Houston Council has carried forward a creditable program during 1961 and is well led. This group has considerable promise. They request $3,500 in aid for 1962. I recommend we allocate a possible total of $3,000 but that half be contingent on a tough matching schedule.

8. In the case of Alabama, Arkansas, N.C. and S.C., I felt that there was no justification for significant increases. Since these groups did meet their match ng requirements, I felt that token increases would be appropriate, $200 to $300 in each case.

9. I am suggesting a state discretionary fund of $1,400 this year. This would take up some of the slack caused by the demise of the Consultative Services program and it would enable us to provide some consultant services to the state councils as well as to be in a position to spend some funds in areas such as New Orleans when new organizations may emerge.

Finan Data 1961

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
VICE-PRESIDENT
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ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
F. B. ROUTH, STATE ORGANIZATIONS
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IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK
RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 1, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date _____

To: PR -

From: _____

Subject: _____

1961 totals

Houston at 3,500 and Ky. at 450 would bring this total to $56,626

Alabama - 7,712
Arkansas - 3,481 - Test.
Florida - 5,585
Georgia - 9,116
North Car - 6,468
South Car - 5,128
Tenn - 4,687
Va - 10,499

Total 52,676 T
3500
450
$56,626

1961

1. Ala. - Above 3,800 5,400

2. Ark - above $1,500 - Up to $3,500

3. Fla. - 3,700 5,700

4. Ga - Above $2,500 - up to $4,500

5. Ky - above $1,000 - " " $1,750

6. NC. - " $2,700 - " " $4,800

8. Va. - " $4,000 - " " $6,400

9. Tenn - " $2,000 - " " $4,100

7. S C. - " $2,000 - " " $4,300

Funds Raised Locally by State Councils

See PR's note for better figures

	1958	1959	1960	First 3 Quarters, 1961
Alabama	$4,358	$4,593	$12,577	$5,418.25
Arkansas	-	$1,897	$2,826	[3,500.00]
~~Georgia~~ Florida	$7,862	$7,015	$6,178	$5,009.44
~~Florida~~ Georgia	$3,700	$3,295	$4,599	$5,086.80
Kentucky	-	$1,000	$550 Not including 4th Q.	
North Carolina	$5,828	$4,145	$6,725	$5,498.53
South Carolina	$4,623	$2,537	$4,419	$3,238.61 not including 3rd Q.
Tennessee	-	$1,138	$4,714	$3,418.70
Virginia	$7,872	$7,704	$7,747	6,901.07
		33,324	50,335	38,069.
				3,000
				41,069

This was an approximate extension

Hsty

PROPOSED STATE ASSISTANCE, 1961

State	Regular SRC Grant 1960	Matching Grant 1960	Funds raised locally first 3 quarters 1960	Proposed Basic Grant	Proposed Matching Grant	Total SRC Assistance Possible
Alabama*	$4,200	$3,000	$8,478	$3,900	$2,400	$ 6,300
Arkansas	3,500	2,000	1,785	3,200	2,000	5,200
Florida	3,900	2,500	5,326	3,400	2,000	5,400
Georgia*	3,500	4,500	4,109	3,500	2,000	5,500
Kentucky	1,500	500	550	750	750	1,500
North Carolina	3,900	3,000	6,107	3,600	2,100	5,700
South Carolina	3,900	3,000	4,056	3,700	2,300	6,000
Tennessee	3,500	2,500	3,652	3,500	2,100	5,600
Virginia	3,900	3,000	6,713	3,900	2,400	6,300
Houston					1,500	1,500
State Aid Discretionary Fund	1,200			1,000		1,000
Totals	$33,000	$24,000	$40,376	$30,450	$19,550	$50,000

* Proposed grants contingent upon employment of full time state staff

Raised locally

Base

PROPOSED STATE ASSISTANCE, 1961

State	Regular SRC Grant 1960	Matching Grant 1960	Funds raised locally first 3 quarters 1960	59	Proposed Basic Grant	Proposed Matching Grant	To Qual	Total SRC Assistance Possible	
Alabama*	$4,200	$3,000	$8,478	4,593	$3,900	$2,400	5400	$ 6,300	3,000 (2500)
Arkansas	3,500	2,000	1,785	1,897	3,200	2,000	~~4000~~ 3500	5,200	~~2,000~~ 1500 (2000)
Florida	3,900	2,500	5,326	7,015	3,400	2,000	5700	5,400	3,700 (3000)
Georgia*	3,500	4,500	4,109	3,295	3,500	2,000	4500	5,500	2,500 (2500)
Kentucky	1,500	500	550	500	750	750	1,750	1,500	1,000 —
North Carolina	3,900	3,000	6,107	4,145	3,600	2,100	4800	5,700	2,700 (2500)
South Carolina	3,900	3,000	4,056	2,537	3,700	2,300	4300	6,000	2000 (2000)
Tennessee	3,500	2,500	3,652	1,138	3,500	2,100	4100	5,600	2,000 (1000)
Virginia	3,900	3,000	6,713	7,104	3,900	2,400	6400	6,300	~~(4000)~~ 4000 (2500)
Houston				33,000		1,500	4500	1,500	3,000
State Aid Discretionary Fund	1,200				1,000		~~1050~~ 40 950	1,000	
Totals	$33,000	$24,000	$40,376		$30,450	$19,550		$50,000	

38,500

* Proposed grants contingent upon employment of full time state staff

57,000
+125
+69 500

34,001 55 2 Q

1/4

1961	Ala	Ark (Jan Feb March)	Fla	Ga	Ky	NC	SC	Tenn	Va (Dec, Jan Feb)	Houston		
1st Q.	1,823	408.00 (BOUD REF)	1,017	1,613	?	1,593	454	1,678	3013	?		
2nd Q	942	?	1,819	2,156		2,641	2224	1040	2041			
Total	2,765	Jan-March 61 408	2,836	3,769		4,234	2678	2718	5054			

Ala 1959:
1st half – 6,179 (from newsletter)
3. 2079 q. report
4. 4,099 q. report
12,357

Fla: 1966 313 + 2550 463 = 3013 = 2079

Funds Raised	1958	~~Locality~~ 1959	1960 Local	First two quarters, 1961 Local?
Ala.	$4,358	Total*: $7,093 Local: $4,593	12,577	2,765
Ark.	–	Total: 9,897 Local: 1,897	2,826	408 $3,500
Fla.	7,862	Total: 9,015 Local: 7,015	6,178	2,836
Ga.	3,700	Total: 3,295 Local: 3,295	4,599	3,769
Ky.	–	Total: 1,000 Local: 1,000 (approx.)	550 (first 3 quarters)	
N.C.	10,828**	Total: 9,145 Local: 4,145	6,725	4,234
S.C.	4,623	Total: 2,537 Local: 2,537	4,419	2,678
Tenn.	–	Total: 1,138 Local: 1,138	4,714	2,718
Va.	7,872	Total: 8,704 Local: 7,704	7,747	5,054
Houston	Total	33324	49785	24462 +3,092 27,554

on phone Dec 10 present

**. Includes $5,000 Field Foundation grant

*. Does not include SEC aid

PROPOSED STATE AID - 1962

(Figures in parentheses are amounts ~~approved~~ allocated, 1961)

	Proposed Basic Grant		Proposed Matching Grant		Base Point for Matching Funds		Total SRC Assistance Possible		
Alabama	$4,000	(3,900)	$2,500	(2,400)	$3,000	(3,000)	$6,500	(6,300)	6500
Arkansas	~~3,300~~	(3,200)	2,100	(2,000)	~~1,500~~ 1700	(1,500)	5,400	(5,200)	5400
Florida	3,400	(3,400)	2,000	(2,000)	3800 3,700	(3,700)	5,400	(5,400)	5400
Georgia	3,900	(3,500)	2,400	(2,000)	~~2,500~~ 2700	(2,400)	6,300	(5,500)	6100 6300
Kentucky	-	(750)	-	(750)			-	(1,500)	
North Carolina	3,600	(3,600)	~~2,400~~	(2,100)	2800 ~~2,700~~	(2,700)	5900 ~~6,000~~	(5,700)	5900
South Carolina	3,800	(3,700)	2,400	(2,300)	2100 ~~2,000~~	(2,000)	6,200	(6,000)	6200
Tennessee	3,900	(3,500)	2,400	(2,100)	2500 ~~2,200~~	(2,000)	6,300	(5,600)	6100 6300
Virginia	3900 ~~4,000~~	(3,900)	3,600	(2,400)	4500 ~~4,000~~	(4,000)	7,500	(6,300)	7200 7400
Houston	~~1,500~~	(0)	2500 ~~1,500~~	(1,500)	3,500	(3,000)	3,000	(1,500)	2000 2500
Discretionary Fund	1,400	(1,000)					1,400	(1,000)	
	$32,800	(30,450)	21,200	(19,550)	$25,100	(24,300)	$54,000	(50,000)	

5340

2500

2,000

PROPOSED STATE AID - 1962

	BASIC BUDGET				SUPPLEMENTAL BUDGET		1961
	Proposed Basic Grant	Proposed Matching Grant	Base Point for Matching Funds	Total Aid, Basic Budget	Additional Matching Funds	Total Assistance Possible	Total Assistance Available, 1961
Alabama	$3,900	$2,400	$3,000	$6,300	$300	$6,600	$6,300
Arkansas	3,200	2,000	1,700	5,200	200	5,400	5,200
Florida	3,400	2,000	3,700	5,400	---	5,400	5,400
Georgia	3,800	2,300	2,700	6,100	200	6,300	5,500
North Carolina	3,600	2,100	2,700	5,700	200	5,900	5,700
South Carolina	3,700	2,300	2,000	6,000	300	6,300	6,000
Tennessee	3,800	2,300	2,300	6,100	200	6,300	5,600
Virginia	3,900	3,300	4,500	7,200	300	7,500	6,300
Houston	---	2,000	3,500	2,000	300	2,300	1,500
	$29,300	$20,700		$50,000	$2,000	$52,000	

We are proposing that any funds allocated for state assistance but not claimed by state councils shall automatically revert to the state discretionary fund. Funds unclaimed this year which will be placed in the discretionary fund for 1962 will be between $1,200-$1,500.

1,500	Kentucky Council on Human Relations
1,000	Discretionary Fund
$50,000	

PROPOSED STATE AID - 1962

	BASIC BUDGET				SUPPLEMENTAL BUDGET		1961	
	Proposed Basic Grant	Proposed Matching Grant	Base Point for Matching Funds	Total Aid, Basic Budget	Additional Matching Funds	Total Assistance Possible	Total Assistance Available, 1961	
Alabama	$3,900	$2,400	5,400 $3,000	$6,300	$300	$6,600	$6,300	470
Arkansas	3,200	2,000	3,700 1,700 (1,500)	5,200	200	5,400	5,200	
Florida	3,400	2,000	5,700 3,700	5,400	---	5,400	5,400	500
Georgia	3,800 (3500)	2,300 (2000)	5,000 2,700 (2400)	6,100 5500	200	6,300	5,500	
North Carolina	3,600	2,100	4,800 2,700	5,700	200	5,900	5,700	
South Carolina	3,700	2,300	4,300 2,000	6,000	300	6,300	6,000	
Tennessee	3,800 (3500)	2,300 (2100)	4,600 2,300 (2000)	6,100 5600	200	6,300	5,600	
Virginia	3,900	3,300 (2400)	7,800 4,500 (4000)	7,200 6300	300	7,500	6,300	
Houston	---	2,000 (1500)	5,500 3,500 (3,000)	2,000 1500	300	2,300	1,500	
	$29,300	$20,700		$50,000	$2,000	$52,000		

We are proposing that any funds allocated for state assistance but not claimed by state councils shall automatically revert to the state discretionary fund. Funds unclaimed this year which will be placed in the discretionary fund for 1962 will be between $1,200-$1,500.

1,500	Kentucky Council on Human Relations -750
1,000	Discretionary Fund
$50,000	

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Report from January-October, 1963

MONTH	MEMBERS*	CONTRIBUTIONS	MEMBERSHIPS	
January	26	$ 305.00	$ 125.00	
February	141	575.00	585.50	
March	43	285.00	187.00	
April	44	205.00	149.00	
May	45	237.00	240.00	
June	51	2,530.56	235.00	
July	13	239.49	91.00	
August	20	150.00	90.00	
September	13	87.00	64.00	
October	24	1,220.66	104.00	
TOTALS	420	$ 5,834.71	1,870.50	(7,705.21)

Report for 1962

TOTALS FOR '62	350	$ 6,672.78	$ 1,931.45	(8,604.23)

$2,090.76 included in the amount collected for contributions and membership for 1963 came from outside of the state of Alaba ma

*Members include students, joint (2), and single paid within that period.

THE HOUSTON COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

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*The Rev. Charles R. Kelly
President
*G. E. Dodd, M.D.
Vice-President
*Miss Barbara Jordan
Recording Secretary
*Leland G. Marsters, Jr.
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STAFF
Mrs. George K. Dumbauld
Executive Secretary
*Executive Committee

3605 FANNIN STREET
HOUSTON 4, TEXAS 5402 AUSTIN STREET
JACKSON 4-5084

November 15, 1963

Mr. Paul Anthony, Field Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

With regard to your memorandum of November 9, 1963 requesting information on fund raising and membership, here 'tis:

1. Total funds raised October 1, 1962 through September 30, 1963(excluding SRC) $8,139.38

   (a) All of this was raised within the city other than five (5) small individual memberships and these are still in the state.

2. Total funds raised October 1, 1961 through September 30, 1962(excl.SRC) $5,907.25

   (a) none from out of state, 2 from out of city.

3. Total Membership during 1962-63.....509
   (I have recounted and figured couples as two memberships, this was not done originally)

4. Total Membership during 1961-62.....239
   (I have recounted as above and now included couples as two memberships.)

In October of 1963 we have gained 46 new memberships and 23 renewals; and so far in November we have 49 new membership and 14 renewals. The little old statemant which I'll enclose, does a fairly good job of getting renewals.

Sincerely,

Ethel

Ethel C. Dumbauld(Mrs.G.K.)
Executive Secretary

GEORGIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
41 EXCHANGE PLACE, S. E. • ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

THE REVEREND CHARLES DEMERÉ
CHAIRMAN

TELEPHONE
525-6468

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FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

MR. A. J. McCLUNG
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT

MRS. HARRY V. RICHARDSON
SECRETARY

MR. JOHNNY GLUSTROM
TREASURER

MRS. FRANCES PAULEY
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

THE REVEREND OLIVER W. HOLMES
ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR

November 5, 1963

Mr. Paul Anthony
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Total funds raised (excluding SRC grants):
1963 - $22,419.01
1962 - 17,836.43

1963 - out of state donations - $14,710.00
in-state donations - 3,178.25

1962 - out of state donations - 9,200.00
in-state donations - 3,803.90
(Many in-state donations during this year went to Atlanta Council in 1963).

1963 - total membership - 1023
1962 - total membership - 913

Memberships 1963 - $2,796.00 ($270.00 is out of state memberships).
Refund to locals - $624.00 - net, $2,172.00
Memberships 1962 - $2,866.00
Refund to locals - $1,069.00 - net, $1,797.00
(During 1963 Atlanta has collected their dues and sent the state its share).

Is this what you want? You'll have our annual report soon.

Sincerely,

Frances

Mrs. Frances Pauley

FP/es

TENNESSEE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1106 - 19th Avenue, South
Nashville, Tennessee 37212

November 11, 1963

ACCOUNTING OF MEMBERSHIP AND FUNDS FOR SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

FUNDS	1962 12 months	1963 January 1 through November 8
Membership and Contributions	$ 3,981.70	$ 4,738.00
Annual Meeting Fees	596.00	
Other - Within State	120.50	175.66
	4,698.20	4,813.66
Out of State - Field Foundation	7,500.00	7,500.00
	$12,198.20	$12,313.66

MEMBERSHIP	1963 (January 1 through October 31) Cards	+	Spouses	=	Total	1962 Total
Nashville	284		100		384	350
Memphis	62		18		80	
Knoxville	24		7		31	
Oak Ridge	28		12		40	
Chattanooga	23		4		27	
Murfreesboro	8		3		11	
Bristol	24		0		24	
Jackson	14		4		18	
Johnson City	5		2		7	
State at Large	27		9		36	212
Out of State	13		5		18	18
Total	512		164		676	570 (Estimate)

In order to arrive at an accurate count of the total 1963 membership, we counted the paid membership cards, then checked them again for double memberships wherein both husband and wife were members. For your count, the TOTAL is correct.

Katherine Jones

Katherine Jones, Executive Director

"To strive through education, research, information and consultation to improve the educational, economic, and civic conditions of the people of North Carolina without regard to ethnic or national origins; to combat the cause of intergroup friction and misunderstanding, and to encourage intergroup cooperation for the common welfare; to interpret to the public the needs and aspirations of minority groups; to strive to attain the goal of equal opportunity for all the people of the state."

—from article II of the bylaws.

North Carolina Council on Human Relations

Room 301
121 East Third Street
Charlotte, N. C.

Officers

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T. FRANKLIN WILLIAMS
CHAPEL HILL

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SALISBURY

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DURHAM

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CHARLOTTE

Assistant Treasurer:
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CHARLOTTE

Executive Secretary:
HARRY S. JONES
CHARLOTTE

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WAKE FOREST

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LAURINBURG

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FAYETTEVILLE

HOWARD G. MILLER
RALEIGH

WILLIAM S. PAGE
KINSTON

RUFUS P. PERRY
CHARLOTTE

EMERY L. RANN
CHARLOTTE

THOMAS R. THRASHER
CHAPEL HILL

VERNON C. TYSON
SANFORD

JOHN H. WHEELER
DURHAM

November 13, 1963

Miss Marge Manderson
Field Activity Secretary
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Manderson:

I am enclosing a report of income for 1962 and 1963, thru November 11th, and a membership report for the same period, as requested in your memo dated November 4th.

If you need additional information, I shall be happy to furnish same.

Sincerely,

Roberta E. Blackwell

Roberta E. Blackwell
(Office Secretary)

Enclosure

THE VIRGINIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

17 EAST CARY STREET RICHMOND 19, VIRGINIA Milton 9-0872

Heslip Lee, Executive Director

A council that seeks — through fact-finding, discussion and action — to attain equal opportunity for all people in Virginia.

November 18, 1963

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

The enclosed information is about as accurate as we are able to get it. We feel quite certain that more than the amount shown was kept for local expenses, but it has been hard to get definite data from all the local councils on this short notice, and have had to go only on our own records for some of this.

I hope this report will be what you need for the Southern Regional Meeting November 25.

We are looking forward to seeing you at the VCHR annual meeting, December 6.

Sincerely,

Laura Lee

Mrs. Heslip M. Lee, Secretary
Virginia Council on Human Relations

Enclosure

OFFICERS Dr. Aubrey N. Brown, Jr., *President* Mr. W. R. Walker, *First Vice-President* Dr. C. G. Gordon Moss, Dr. E. B. Henderson, The Rt. Rev. William H. Marmion, *Vice-Presidents*

Dr. Harry Roberts, *Secretary* Dr. J. Rupert Picott, *Treasurer*

MEMO

from the desk of Nellie Nunn Green

11/18/63

Mr. Anthony:

We are insuch a transitional stage as of now, we can't answer anything!

Mrs. McAlpin will be down to the meeting and can perhaps enlarge on our status at present.

No formal membership campaigns were conducted in 1962 or this year and the current one has not yet gotten underway.

We hope we shall have something worthwhile to report to you in the very near future.

My best personal regards to you as always.

MRS. THOMAS P. GREEN
407 North Hite Avenue Louisville 6, Kentucky

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

November 4, 1963

MEMORANDUM

TO: State Councils, Houston Council

FROM: Paul Anthony

The following request is very important. Please act on it at your earliest convenience.

We would like to give SRC members, who meet here for the annual meeting November 25, a report on fund raising and membership as of November 1 or thereabouts. We need the following information from you:

1. Total funds raised (excluding only SRC grants) during 1963. NONE

   (a) Please break this down in "raised within the state" and "other" categories.

2. The same financial information as above for 1962. NONE

3. Total membership during 1963. (Count only members paid during the year--but count all of these. Students count. Joint husband and wife memberships count as two. Membership campaign being prepared

4. Same membership information--or best estimate--for 1962.

We are growing--painful and slow as it sometimes is. We need to share this information and set an official base from which we can measure future progress.

The South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1330 LAUREL STREET
Columbia, South Carolina

November 22, 1963

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Sorry to be so late with this report but hope (ti) will reach you in time to be of use at your annual meeting November 25. The annual meeting of the SCCHR on the 18th and 19th entailed special reports etc., which delayed this report.

Trust you can use the membership report from our Progress report enclosed.

Our best wishes for a profitable meeting.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Florence Thompson
Office Secretary

SOUTH CAROLINA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

REPORT OF TOTAL FUNDS RAISED BY SCCHR THROUGH NOVEMBER 22, 1963

	1963		1962 Estimated	
Contributions	$ 868.25		$ 621.41	
Memberships	3,648.75		2,929.54	
New South	942.00		636.00	
Total		$5,459.00		$4,186.95
Received from Field Foundation Grant		12,400.00		12.400.00
*** National Sharecroppers Fund		1,780.00		
Southern Student Project		78.15		
Penn Community Services, Inc.		100.00		
Tax Refunds		49.53		
Miscellaneous		17.65		54.20
Savings & Loan Interest		490.00		470.00
TOTAL		$20,374.33		$17,111.15

*** Plus $3,000.00 paid directly on a staff salary.

PROPOSED GRANTS IN AID TO COUNCILS ON HUMAN RELATIONS, 1963
(1962 figures in parentheses)

	Basic Grant		Matching Funds		Base Point		Total Assistance Possible	
Ala.	$3,900	($3,900)	$2,700	($2,700)	$3,000	($3,000)	$6,600	($6,600)
Ark.	$3,200	($3,200)	$2,200	($2,200)	$1,800	($1,700)	$5,400	($5,400)
Fla.	$3,400	($3,400)	*$4,000	($2,000)	$3,500	($3,700)	*$7,400	($5,400)
Ga.	$3,800	($3,800)	$2,500	($2,500)	$2,700	($2,700)	$6,300	($6,300)
N.C.	$3,600	($3,600)	$2,300	($2,300)	$2,700	($2,700)	$5,900	($5,900)
S.C.	$3,700	($3,700)	$2,600	($2,600)	$2,000	($2,000)	$6,300	($6,300)
Tenn.	$3,800	($3,800)	$2,500	($2,500)	$2,300	($2,300)	$6,300	($6,300)
Va.	$3,900	($3,900)	$3,600	($3,600)	$4,700	($4,500)	$7,500	($7,500)
Houston	-	-	$2,600	($2,300)	$3,600	($3,500)	$2,600	($2,300)
Miss.							** $500	
New Orleans							**$1,000	-
						***TOTAL:	$55,800	($52,000)

*$2,000 of this amount is regular matching funds for 1963. The remaining $2,000 is to assist the FCHR in employing new professional staff and will be available to them if and when they have $3,500 on hand and are proceeding to employ a new professional director.

**To be made available to these groups at the discretion of SRC staff.

***Of this total amount of $55,800, only $52,000 is at present expectable. It is recognized that unless sufficient means of support become available, SRC will have to adjust these figures downward.

Any funds allocated for state assistance but not claimed by state councils shall automatically revert to the state discretionary fund.

VIRGINIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
17 EAST CARY STREET
RICHMOND 19, Virginia

FINANCIAL SUMMARY FOR SRC

Councils	1962 Paid Memberships	1963 Paid memberships
Alexandria	139	253
Arlington	78	118
Blacksburg	43	53
Bluefield	13	30
Charlottesville	96	267
Danville	-	89
Fairfax County	293	481
Fredericksburg	43	85
Hopewell	4	41
Lynchburg	86	132
Loudoun County	2	4
Norfolk	57	64
Peninsula	10	21
Radford	-	50
Richmond-Petersburg	211	472
Roanoke	38	36
Rockingham County	-	74
Williamsburg	14	56
Virginia at large(areas with no local councils)	10	41
TOTALS	1243	2367

Total on MailingList: Aprox. 3500

****

Funds raised within State, 1962 (state use)	Kept by local Council for local use	Field Foundation	Whitney Foundation	Total
$10,750.00	$3,105.00	$15,000.00	$3,500.00	$32,355.00

****

Funds raised within state for state use 1963	Kept by local Council for local use	Taconic Foundation	Whitney Foundation	Total
$13,333.13	$4,852.35	$3,000.00	$3,500.00	$24,685.48

(1963 report covers Jan. 1 through October 31)

(This report excludes Southern Regional Council Grants)

NORTH CAROLINA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

STATEMENT OF INCOME

1962

Contributions	$ 3,898.06
Membership Fees	3,186.00
New South Subscriptions	576.00
Bulletin Subscriptions	2.00
Sale of Literature	.65
Durham Dinner	724.83
Greensboro Dinner	376.50
Annual Dinner	446.00
Charlotte-Mecklenburg Council	415.00
Total amount raised in 1962	$ 9,625.04

Total amount raised outside the state	260.00
Total amount raised within the state	9,365.04

1963

January - November (1st - 11th)

Contributions	$ 3,484.15
Membership Fees	2,756.00
New South Subscriptions	530.00
Literature	3.80
McNeill Smith Dinner	681.00
Bulletin Subscription	1.00
Harry S. Jones Memorial Fund	472.00
Charlotte-Mecklenburg Council on Human Relations	450.00
Miscellaneous	.15
Total amount raised to date	8,378.10

Total amount raised outside the state	205.00
Total amount raised within the state	8,173.10

MEMBERSHIP REPORT

Total memberships paid in 1962 534
(Counting husband and wife memberships as two)

Total memberships paid in 1963 (November 11) 514
(Counting husband and wife memberships as two)

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
Membership according to DISTRICTS

DISTRICT	MEMBERS 1962	MEMBERS 1963	PERCENTAGE INCREASE	PERCENTAGE OF STATE MEMBERSHIP
East TV	9	20	122.00%	04.76%
West TV	36	41	16.66%	09.76%
I	27	25	- 07.43%	05.95%
II	35	27	- 22.85%	06.43%
III	51	61	19.76%	14.53%
IV	6	6	.00%	01.43%
V	76	95	25.00%	22.62%
VI	None	None		
VII	42	41	- 02.38%	09.76%
Montgomery	52	63	21.15%	15.00%
Outstate	16	41	125.00%	09.76%
	350	420		100.00%

See page 2 for the cities located in each district

PROPOSED GRANTS IN AID TO COUNCILS ON HUMAN RELATIONS, 1963
(1962 figures in parentheses)

	Basic Grant		Matching Funds		Base Point		Total Assistance Possible	
Ala.	$3,900	($3,900)	$2,700	($2,700)	$3,000	($3,000)	$6,600	($6,600)
Ark.	$3,200	($3,200)	$2,200	($2,200)	$1,800	($1,700)	$5,400	($5,400)
Fla.	$3,400	($3,400)	*$4,000	($2,000)	$3,500	($3,700)	*$7,400	($5,400)
Ga.	$3,800	($3,800)	$2,500	($2,500)	$2,700	($2,700)	$6,300	($6,300)
N.C.	$3,600	($3,600)	$2,300	($2,300)	$2,700	($2,700)	$5,900	($5,900)
S.C.	$3,700	($3,700)	$2,600	($2,600)	$2,000	($2,000)	$6,300	($6,300)
Tenn.	$3,800	($3,800)	$2,500	($2,500)	$2,300	($2,300)	$6,300	($6,300)
Va.	$3,900	($3,900)	$3,600	($3,600)	$4,700	($4,500)	$7,500	($7,500)
Houston	-	-	$2,600	($2,300)	$3,600	($3,500)	$2,600	($2,300)
Miss.							** $500	
New Orleans							**$1,000	-
						***TOTAL:	$55,800	($52,000)

*$2,000 of this amount is regular matching funds for 1963. The remaining $2,000 is to assist the FCHR in employing new professional staff and will be available to them if and when they have $3,500 on hand and are proceeding to employ a new professional director.

**To be made available to these groups at the discretion of SRC staff.

***Of this total amount of $55,800, only $52,000 is at present expectable. It is recognized that unless sufficient means of support become available, SRC will have to adjust these figures downward.

Any funds allocated for state assistance but not claimed by state councils shall automatically revert to the state discretionary fund.

ARKANSAS
COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

Data requested in November 4 Memorandum from Paul Anthony:

1. Total funds raised (excluding only SRC grants) during first nine months of 1963:

Raised within state	$ 8707.85
Rockefeller Brothers Fund	8000.00

2. Same for 1962: (12 months)

Raised within state	$ 3945.89
Rockefeller Brothers Fund	8000.00

3. Total memberships paid 1963 — 503

4. Total memberships paid 1962 — 322

OFFICERS-MRS. JOE R. BREWER, CHAIRMAN • DR. W. H. TOWNSEND, VICE-CHAIRMAN • THE REVEREND GEORGE W. GUNN, VICE-CHAIRMAN • DR. G. P. FREEMAN, TREASURER • MRS. W. E. MORRIS, SECRETARY
STAFF-NAT R. GRISWOLD, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR • OZELL SUTTON, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR • RUTH ARNOLD, SECRETARY AND PROGRAM

A Council to attain equal opportunity for all peoples

Fla.

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF **HAROLD FLEMING**

1963 [redacted] 5,654 50 in state

1962 [redacted] 4,563 33 " "

1963 [redacted] 718 — Nov. 1 -
882 — current [redacted]

1962 [redacted] 400 (estimate)

PROPOSED GRANTS-IN-AID SCHEDULE, 1964

In announcing the grants-in-aid program for 1964, the Southern Regional Council wishes to emphasize that this is the final year of the foundation grants which have made this program possible. The Council is hopeful these grants will be renewed after 1964 and that this program of financial assistance to state Councils can continue. However, there is no assurance of this and the possible termination of this program must be considered.

With this in mind, the Executive Committee has directed the SRC staff to give all possible encouragement and assistance to state Council programs and efforts aimed at strengthening program, increasing membership, and local financial support.

If the grants-in-aid program is continued after 1964, major attention will be directed toward assisting those state Councils with the most productive programs, the highest degree of local support, and the greatest rate of increase in local support. Other factors such as program potential and the difficulty of operation will continue to be important considerations, but program quality will increasingly be of concern to the Southern Regional Council.

Condition of grants:

1. Grants are payable quarterly on January 1, April 1, July 1, and October 1.

2. Grants will not be paid until such time as adequate quarterly program and financial reports have been received by SRC.

3. It is expected that local fund raising will be maintained at least at the level of that of 1963. Grants are subject to revision if this is not the case.

4. If a recipient state Council ceases to employ professional staff, quarterly payments will be suspended pending alternative arrangements.

	Proposed 1964	Budgeted 1963
Alabama	$6,000	$6,600
Arkansas	5,400	5,400
Florida	5,400	7,400
Georgia	6,000	6,300
North Carolina*	5,900	5,900
South Carolina	6,000	6,300
Tennessee	6,000	6,300
Virginia	7,200	7,500
Mississippi	2,500	500
Houston	2,600	2,600
New Orleans	-	1,000
Contingency	2,900	
TOTAL:	$55,900	$55,800

*Grants will not be made to the North Carolina Council until such time as that Council has $2,500 on hand and adequate arrangements have been made to employ professional staff.

State Councils on Human Relations: Funds Raised

	1965	SRC	1964 (Full year)
Alabama (can be June)	January through Sept.	$23,843. ($5,750.00)	** $19,439
Arkansas (can be June)	January through ~~Sept.~~ June	22,583. ($4,600.)	$25,618
Florida	January through June	11,534. ($2,400.)	$17,930
Georgia (can be June)	January through July	29,585.00 ($3,600.)	$54,723
Louisiana			—
Mississippi	January through Aug. 26	$11,141. ($3,750.00)	$2,200
X North Carolina (can be June)	January through July	8,800. ($3,600.)	$27,015
South Carolina (can be June)	December through ~~August~~	49,247 ($13,225.)	$41,303
Tennessee (can be June)	January through September	19,771. ($3,600.)	$17,399
X Virginia*	Development Project Jan. - March; General Fund April - Sept	33,947 ($3,750 for total period)	$52,002
X Houston	Jan., Feb., March, June and August only reports available	($1,500.00 for total period)	$40,892
			$298,521

* - General fund Jan.-March missing
Development Project - Apr.-Sept. missing

** $1,000 of this a special grant

SC farm

	local	other	Total
Ark. –	8,203	10,000	
		~~18,203~~	25,618
Ala –	~~1,638~~		19,439
other 1,500	$7,277	$4,985	~~$12,262~~
Fla –	9,563.00	0(?)	17,930.
Ga	18,408.00	$30,100	$54,723
N.C.	7,626	13,000	27,015.
S.C.	5,340	17,000	41,303
Tenn	4,151.	7,500	17,399
Va	19,775 ~~23,775~~	17,200 ~~13,500~~	52,002.05
	~~36,975~~		
Houston	7500 30,592.20	~~7,500~~	40,892 ~~33,392.20~~
	38,092		
Miss. –	1,000	800	2200*
	7500		
Total	$111,935.	108,085	$298,611
	~~$119,435~~ Estimated	7,500	
		100,585	

Ga - SC - Tenn.

SC.

① $4,190.00
② 6,140.
③ 7,343.
-1,500.
5,843
④ 8,130

1 2
4190
6140
5843
8130
17000
41,303

Tenn.

① 2,794
2,748
2,616
1,741
9,899
7,500
$17,399

Membership:

Alabama -

Jan.-March, 1964 -

Local - 2,543.00

America's Conscience Fund 3,000.00

American Ethical Union 985.00

6,528.00

April - June, 1964 -

local — 2,297

Unitarians 1,000

3,297

July, August, Sept. 1964 -

local - $729

Oct.-Nov.-Dec.

local - 1,638

3 Quarters

Local	Other
2,543	3,000
2,297	985
799	1,000
$5,639	4,985
1,638	7,277
$7,277	$12,262

Membership: 777

Arkansas

Total year

1/1 — 12/31 -

Locally — 8,203.00

B Fund - 10,000.00

18,203.00

Florida

Jan, ~~Feb~~, March -

Local ~~-~~ $ 3,878.

Total Year -

Local - $ 9,563.

Total Income -

$ 17,930.

Georgia

1st Q - ~~Dollars~~

locally - $8,283.00

Total - 1st Q - $9,538.

March April, May
~~2nd Quarter~~ -

locally - $4,490.00
Foundations - ?

June, July, August
Local - $2,040.50

Sept., Oct., Nov., 1964
Local - $3,595.00

Local - 8,283
4,490
2,040
3,595
18,408

New World ? 10,000.00
Field - ?

North Carolina

~~Memberships~~ -

Locally - $7,626.00

Foundations, etc. - 10,500.00

$18,126.00

South Carolina

Dec. - Jan. - Feb.

locally - $1,373.00

March April - May -

Locally - $1,362.
Foundations -

June - July - August

Locally $1,653.

Sept.. Oct. - Nov. -

$952.00

Local - 1,373.
1,362.
1,653
952
$5,340.00.

Field Annual Grant
$17,000.00

Tennessee:

Dec. Jan. Feb. -

Locally - $1,294.00

Special Account - 3,500.00

March, April, May -

locally - $1,500.00

June, July, August

locally - $1,116.00

Sept. - Oct. - Nov.

locally - $241.00

local.	Foundations
1,294.00	$7,500
1,500.	
1,116.	
241.	
$4,151.00	

Virginia:

~~Jan Feb + March -~~

~~Locally - 5,325.00~~

Total year:

Locally - 19,775.00

Found. + other - ~~17,200.00~~

~~36,975.00~~

(subtract NAACP) - 14,700.00

34,475.00

local -	Foundations and other
$19,775.00	14,700.00
	19,775
	34,475

In [illegible] Fund

Houston:

Funds Raised, 1964

	Locally	Foundations and other non-local	Total
Alabama (18,000)	3 quarters only $7,277	$4,985	$12,262.00
Arkansas ✓ (19,577)	$8,203.00	$10,000.00	$18,203.00
Florida 13,166	9,563.	?	9,563.
Georgia 36,836	$18,408.00	$30,100.00	48,508.
North Carolina 22,054	$7,626.00	$10,500.00 + 2,500	$18,126.00
South Carolina 24,233	$5,340.00	$17,000.00	$22,340.00
Tennessee 15,793	$4,151.00	?	4,151.00
Virginia 29,419	$19,775.00	14,700.00	$34,475.00
Houston ?	$18,527.00 (low)	? (15,000 total P. 7,500 one year)	
Miss 2,615			

March 31 Jan. 1 - Apr. 1 - July 1 - Oct. 1

Ala - 4,500.00
625.00
625.00
5,750 00

Ark. - 1,200
3
3,600
+ 1,000 special grant
4,600

Fla. - 2,400.

Ga. - 3,600.00

Miss. - 1,250
3
3,750.00

NC 3,600

SC - Aug 1 625
1,200
3,000
1,200
3,000
1,200
3,000
$13,225

Tenn. $3,600.00

Virginia - 1,250
3
3,750

DISTRICTS

EAST TV	WEST TV	District I	District II
Decatur	Florence	Northport	Anniston
Huntsville	Sheffield	Tuscaloosa	Attalla
Normal	Tuscumbia		Gadsden
	Russelliville		Grant Quing
	Rogersville		LaFayette
			Montevallo
			Sylacauga
			Talladega
			Wadley
			Roanoke

District III	District IV	District V	District VI
Bessemer	Greensboro	Auburn	
Birmingham	Marion	Brundidge	
Fairfield	Selma	Fairfax	
Homewood	Gastonburg	Grove Hill	
		Lanett	
		Opelika	
		Smiths	
		East Tallassee	
		Tuskegee	
		Union Springs	
		Wetumpkia	
		Wiltou	

District VII

Atmore
Daphne
Fairhope
Lillian
Magazine
Irvington
Prichard
Mobile
Whistler

THE ATTACK ON

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

and

THE GEORGIA COMMITTEE ON INTERRACIAL COOPERATION

A Brief Statement on the
History and Aims of
The Southern Regional Council
October, 1955

THE ATTACK ON FREE OPINION

Last March the Southern Regional Council declared:

"There is presently a concerted attempt by official leadership (in the deep South) to stamp out independent thought and stifle all dissent with respect to school segregation...."

In recent weeks, the attempt to intimidate and silence those who believe in an enlightened, law-abiding approach to race relations has gone into high gear. Georgia's Attorney General Eugene Cook took up the attack in a diatribe aimed mainly at the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. In the course of his speech, Mr. Cook also attacked the Southern Regional Council and the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation.

The object of this side attack on two constructive Southern organizations was to frighten off the thousands of religious, civic, labor, and business leaders who have joined together to work positively at the South's most urgent problem. It is revealing that, although the work of these two organizations goes back 35 years, Mr. Cook has only now chosen to strike at them.

Every intelligent person will recognize this cynical attack for what it is. Mr. Cook hints darkly at "subversion," "sinister manipulation," and"leftwing associations." There is on the statute books of Georgia a strong law providing severe punishment for anyone guilty of subversive conduct or association. As the chief legal officer of the state, Mr. Cook should be expected to act through the process of law, safeguarding the rights and reputations of good citizens. But Mr. Cook knows his charges are false. Neither the Southern Regional

Council nor the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation has ever been listed or accused of disloyalty by the U. S. Attorney General or any other official body. So Mr. Cook must resort to smear and innuendo in the public forum.

This, in brief form, is the story of the Southern Regional Council. Many Southerners may disagree with the Council's point of view. But no fair-minded person, in full possession of the facts will doubt that it is an honest and patriotic organization, responsible in both its methods and its aims.

HOW THE SRC BEGAN

The Southern Regional Council and its predecessor, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, have a history of 35 years of constructive activity. The Commission was founded in 1919 by a group of the South's leading church men and women. Among them were Dr. M. Ashby Jones, prominent Baptist minister, Mr. John J. Eagan, businessman and philanthropist, Dr. Plato Durham, dean of the Emory University Theology School, and Dr. Will W. Alexander, the Commission's director. Its work in behalf of sound race relations was acclaimed by the South's leading newspapers, religious leaders, and by many public officials. It provided a meeting ground where the best people of both races could work together to dispel prejudice, tensions, and violence. It made possible, through persuasion and education, much of the interracial progress of which Southerners today can be justly proud.

Early in the 1940s, leaders in the Southern interracial movement joined together to revitalize their efforts. As a result, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation merged in 1944 with the newly formed Southern Regional Council. The organizing meeting of the Council was held in response to a "call" issued by some of the South's finest leader-

ship, including:

C. H. Gillman, Georgia Director, C.I.O.
George L. Googe, Southern Director, A.F.L.
M. Ashby Jones, Baptist minister
Ryland Knight, Baptist minister
Rabbi David Marx, The Temple, Atlanta
Bishop Arthur J. Moore, The Methodist Church
Ralph McGill, editor, The Atlanta Constitution
Stuart R. Oglesby, Presbyterian minister
Most Rev. Gerald P. O'Hara, Bishop of Savannah-Atlanta
Dean S. Paden, President, King Hardware Company
J. McDowell Richards, President, Columbia Theological Seminary
Bishop John Moore Walker, The Protestant Episcopal Church
Goodrich C. White, President, Emory University

Following the deliberations of this group and a subsequent conference with Southern Negro leaders, the SRC was chartered early in 1944. The incorporators were Bishop Arthur J. Moore, Ralph McGill, Dr. Rufus E. Clement, president of Atlanta University, Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk University, and Dr. Howard W. Odum, professor of sociology at the University of North Carolina.

Since this auspicious beginning, the Council's membership has included distinguished Southerners, white and Negro, in all walks of life. Dr. Odum was the first president of the organization. He was succeeded by Paul D. Williams, of Richmond, Va., a prominent Catholic layman and co-founder of the Catholic Committee of the South. Mr. Williams served as president for six years -- from 1945 until 1951. He was succeeded by Mr. Marion A. Wright, widely known as a South Carolina attorney active in civic and educational affairs, now living in Linville Falls, N. C.

The Council's present and past board members number well over 150. The quality of its leadership may be measured by the list of members of the Executive Committee over the past 12 years, appearing on page 9.

HOW SRC WORKS

The Southern Regional Council consists of a board of some 80 Southerners representing the major religious faiths, both races, and the 13 states of the region. The members listed on page 10, are respected residents of their states and their communities. These people are the Southern Regional Council. They make the policies and review all activities at an annual meeting. They elect an Executive Committee which meets at least every three months to give closer direction to the organization. And full reports of all activities are sent to the members quarterly. The Council is non-profit, non-political, and non-denominational.

WHAT SRC HAS DONE

The Council works through the sound methods of education, fact-finding, and persuasion. It seeks no legislation, it carries on no court action, and it uses no "pressure group" tactics. It collects the facts about racial problems and progress in the South and makes these facts available to private citizens and public officials. NEW SOUTH, the Council's monthly publication, has built an unchallenged reputation for reliability and accuracy. Following are some of the areas with which the SRC's educational program has been concerned:

* Employment of Negro policemen in Southern communities.

* Newspaper handling of racial news.

* Community self-surveys, in which local people study their problems as a basis for achieving local solutions.

* Conferences of leading white and Negro Southerners with common concerns and a common desire to further democratic practices in their areas of interest -- health, housing, education, etc.

* Voluntary decisions to open professional associations, private colleges, public libraries, and the like to all qualified persons without respect to race.

* Impartial enforcement of the law and administration of justice in the South.

* Orderly adjustment at the community level to the recent decisions of the Supreme Court holding public school segregation unconstitutional.

AFFILIATED STATE ORGANIZATIONS

With the aid of a grant from the Fund for the Republic, the Southern Regional Council is assisting interracial organizations in 12 Southern states. Each of these organizations has its own membership, officers, and staff. In each case, people of the state involved make their own decisions as to policy and program. Affiliation with the Southern Regional Council is voluntary, and the purpose of the short-term financial aid from SRC is to help the state groups become strong, self-sustaining bodies.

The affiliated organization in Georgia is the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation. The Georgia Committee has a long and distinguished history, having operated continuously since 1919. Its directors and officers include some of Georgia's most respected clergymen, church women, and civic leaders. Its executive director is Dr. Guy H. Wells, President-Emeritus of Georgia State College for Women at Milledgeville. A list of the Georgia Committee's board members appears on page 11. To suggest that people of such intelligence and character would lend themselves to an unworthy cause is insulting

to them and absurd on its face.

CHURCH SUPPORT

Church people have always been the moving force in the Southern interracial movement. This is as true today as it was 35 years ago. All of the major religious groups represented in the South have taken their stand in favor of the principle embodied in the Supreme Court's segregation ruling. The court ruling was endorsed by the Southern Baptist Convention, many of the Southern conferences of The Methodist Church, the General Assembly of the Southern Presbyterian Church, the Province of Sewanee (Southeastern) of the Protestant Episcopal Church, the Catholic Bishops of the South, the various Jewish religious and fraternal groups, and virtually all of the other denominations found in the South. It is only natural that many religious Southerners should seek to put the principles of their faith into everyday practice.

The Southern Regional Council and the affiliated state groups have enjoyed both financial and moral support from religious bodies representing the three major faiths.

Dr. George S. Mitchell, executive director of the Council, received the 1953 Annual Award of the Catholic Committee of the South "for his significant contribution to the welfare of the South."

COMMUNISM AND RACE RELATIONS

Those who seek, for political or other reasons, to fan the fires of racial prejudice have set out to brand interracial progress as "communist-inspired." By this means they hope to confuse the public and discredit the growing number of individuals and organizations who believe in equal citizenship for all.

Not only is this phony "anti-communism" vicious; it offends the intelligence of every thinking person. The international communist movement has one, and only one, interest in our racial problems -- that is, to exploit them throughout the world. Some two-thirds of the people of the earth are dark-skinned, and the communists are trying desperately to win them with the claim that our kind of democracy is available only to white persons. If there were no racial discrimination or segregation in this country, the communist movement in Asia and Africa would lack its must effective weapon.

A perfect example of this fact is the reaction of Soviet Russian officialdom to the Supreme Court decision. For days, the government-controlled Russian press made no mention whatever of the decision. When at last they could ignore it no longer, they announced defensively that the decision meant nothing -- that it would never be implemented. This is precisely the argument that Attorney General Cook and his fellow demagogs make so noisily. Unwittingly perhaps, but undeniably, they do a great service to the cause of communism every time they raise their voices on behalf of "white supremacy."

Individuals and organizations that work responsibly and conscientiously for the growth of democracy in the South and the Nation are the opponents that the communists really fear. Yet it is precisely these individuals and organizations that Mr. Cook and his kind seek to defame and discredit. What could please the communists more than to get the credit for every effort to make our American ideal a working, living reality? What could please them more than a campaign to arouse suspicion and hatred of those citizens who work intelligently for a more just, democratic, and Christian society? How they must delight in the

irony of such Americans being stigmatized as servants and dupes of the communist cause!

No informed person believes that the communists want to see Negroes accorded equal rights and dignity or that they want to see our racial problems solved through the orderly processes of the law and constructive community action. The communists want to see us hopelessly bogged down in our prejudices and our fears. They want to see us defying the law of the land, whipping up racial hatred for political purposes. In this respect, they have a common purpose with Attorney General Cook and his kind.

TO KEEP OPINION FREE

The Southern Regional Council is a realistic organization. It was organized by Southerners and is run by Southerners who have lived with the problems of our region and know them well. Therefore, the Council recognizes the difficulties inherent in the changes now required of the South. But the people who make up the Council and the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation believe that we can and will -- as, indeed, we must -- make the transition to a society in which citizenship is not qualified by race.

The issue here is not whether everyone can agree with this point of view -- obviously many do not. The issue is whether or not citizens can voice this and other legitimate opinions without suffering abuse at the hands of irresponsible officials.

The answer must be "yes" if we are not to have thought-control in the South. The power of state officials is great, and if misused it is dangerous to all. If any citizens can be penalized for legitimate opinions honestly held, then all citizens can be penalized at the pleasure of a few.

MEMBERS OF SRC EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, PAST AND PRESENT

Name	Identification*	Term of Office
Mr. Morris Abram	Attorney, Atlanta, Ga.	1954-1955
Mr. Francis R. Bridges	Tallahassee, Fla.	1944-1944
Mrs. Cassandra M. Birnie	Attorney, Atlanta, Ga.	1952-to date
Mr. Paul R. Christopher	Labor official, Knoxville, Tenn.	1951-to date
Dr. Rufus E. Clement	Pres., Atlanta University	1944-to date
Dr. A. W. Dent	Pres., Dillard Univ., New Orleans	1952-to date
Mr. John A. Griffin	Educator, Emory Univ., Ga.	1952-to date
Mr. Leonard Haas	Attorney, Atlanta, Ga.	1944-to date
Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton	Exec. Sec., Atlanta Urban League	1951-1951
Dr. Gordon B. Hancock	Educator, Richmond, Va.	1944-to date
Dr. Charles S. Johnson	Pres., Fisk Univ., Nashville,Tenn.	1944-1952
Dr. Guy B. Johnson	Educator, Chapel Hill, N. C.	1948-1951
Mr. C. H. Gillman	Labor Official, Atlanta, Ga.	1946-1950
Rt.Rev.Msgr.T. James McNamara	Savannah, Ga.	1944-1951
Mr. Alfred Mynders	Editor, Chattanooga Times	1952-1954
Rev. V.J. O'Connell, S.M.	New Orleans, La.	1952-1952
Dr. Howard W. Odum	Educator, Chapel Hill, N. C.	1944-1945
Mr. Edmund Preston	Richmond, Va.	1945-1945
Mr. Homer P. Rainey	Educator, Stephens College, Mo.	1944-1944
Rev. J. McDowell Richards	Pres., Columbia Theol. Sem.,Decatur	1954-1955
Dr. Harry V. Richardson	Pres., Gammon Theol. Sem., Atlanta	1952-to date
Capt. Frank W. Spencer	Businessman, Savannah, Ga.	1946-1948
Dr. Harold L. Trigg	Pres., St. Augustine's College, Raleigh	1947-1953
Mr. Carter Wesley	Newspaper publisher, Houston, Tex.	1944-to date
Mr. John H. Wheeler	Banker, Durham, N. C.	1949-1951
Miss Josephine Wilkins	Civic leader, Atlanta, Ga.	1944-50-[illegible]-55
Mr. Paul D. Williams	Textbook publisher, Richmond, Va.	1945-1951
Mr. Marion A. Wright	Attorney, LinvilleFalls , N. C.	1950-to date
Mr. P. B. Young, Sr.	Newspaper publisher, Norfolk, Va.	1944-1949
Very Rev. Maurice V. Shean	Dean of The Oratory, Rock Hill, S.C.	1953-to date
Rev. Andrew S. Turnipseed	Mobile, Ala.	1953-1954

*NOTE: Organizations and institutions shown are for purposes of identification only and represent the identification of the listed individuals at the time of their service on SRC's Executive Committee.

Rev. 10/25/55

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Atwood, R. B.	Educator	Kentucky State College, Frankfort, Ky.
Aycox, Mrs. Nanie B.%	"	Texas Southern Univ., Houston, Tex.
Barbare, Ralph	"	Winthrop Training School, Rock Hill, S.C.
Bates, Mrs. L.C.%	Civic Leader	1804 Bishop Street, Little Rock, Ark.
Bates, Mrs. W. F.	Church Leader	125 Atkins St., N. Little Rock, Ark.
Beckman, F. Woods#	Businessman	5908 Magazine Road, Knoxville, Tenn.
Birnie, Mrs. C.M.	Attorney	864 Hunter St., N.W., Atlanta, Ga.
Bond, Ulysses S.	Businessman	Madison, Arkansas
Brazeal, B.R.%	Educator	Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia
Brooke, W. C.#	Clergyman	Box 208, Staunton, Va.
Burney, I. H.	Ins. Exec.	P. O. Box 660, Jacksonville, Fla.
Carter, Hodding	Editor	Delta Democrat-Times, Greenville, Miss.
Christopher, Paul R.	Labor Leader	216 Flatiron Building, Knoxville, Tenn.
Clary, G. E.#	Clergyman	63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Ga.
Clement, R. E.	Educator	Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga.
Clingman, Rt. Rev. C.	Bishop	421 South Second St., Louisville, Ky.
Crate, Mrs. James S.#	Civic Leader	2410 Inwood Dr., Houston, Tex.
Crossman, Jerome	Businessman	3400 Republic Nat'l Bank Bldg., Dallas, Tex.
Darragh, Fred#	Businessman	1401 East 6th St., Little Rock, Ark.
Davidson, Herbert M.	Editor	Daytona Beach News Journal, Florida
Dent, A. W.*	Educator	Dillard Univ., New Orleans, La.
D'Orlando, Albert#	Clergyman	1806 Jefferson Ave., New Orleans, La.
Duncan, O. D.	Professor	Oklahoma A & M College, Stillwater, Okla.
Ellison, J.M.%	Educator	Virginia Union Univ., Richmond, Va.
Evans, J. Claude#	Clergyman	P. O. Box 867, Columbia, S.C.
Finner, Paul F.#	Professor	930 West Park, Tallahassee, Fla.
Friedman, S. Thomas	Soc. Worker	1110 Bissonet, Houston, Tex.
Gomillion, C. G.%	Educator	Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee Inst., Ala.
Griffin, John A.	Professor	Emory Univ., Emory Univ., Ga.
Hammer, Philip	Planning Consultant	70 Fairlie St., Atlanta, Ga.
Hancock, Gordon B.*	Professor	P. O. Box 6056, Richmond, Va.
Hunter, Duncan#	Clergyman	Alexander City, Ala.
Johnson, A. L.%	Educator	Prentiss N & I Inst., Prentiss, Miss.
Johnson, Charles S.	Educator	Fisk Univ., Nashville, Tenn
Johnson, Guy B.	Professor	Univ. of N.C., Chapel Hill, N. C.
Lanier, R. O'Hara	Educator	Tex. Southern Univ., Houston, Tex.
Larkins, John R.%	Soc. Worker	Bd. of Charities & Soc. Welfare, Raleigh, N. C.
Lewis, Dr. Elsie%	Educator	Tenn. A & I, Nashville, Tenn.
Looby, Z. A.	Attorney	419 Fourth Avenue, N., Nashville, Tenn.
Mantinband, Charles#	Rabbi	808 Mamie St., Hattiesburg, Miss.
Mays, B. E.	Educator	Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga.

McCann, John	Businessman	231 Baronne Street., New Orleans, La.
McDowell, E.A.	Professor	So. Bapt. Theol. Sem., Wake Forest, N.C.
Milner Clyde	Educator	Guilford College, N.C.
Milton, L.D.	Banker	Citizens Trust Co., Atlanta, Ga.
Mitchell, G.S.#	Exec.Dir.	SRC, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E., Atlanta, Ga.
Moron, A. G.	Educator	Hampton Institute, Hampton, Va.
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Perry, W. H.#	Educator	2320 West Chestnut St., Louisville, Ky.
Rayzor, Mrs. J. N.	Civic Leader	3207 Groveland Lane, Houston, Tex.
Reddix, J. L.	Educator	Jackson College, Jackson, Mississippi
Richardson, H.V.	Educator	Gammon Theol. Sem., Atlanta, Ga.
Rinehart, Hollis	Attorney	Ingraham Bldg., Miami, Fla.
Robinson, Mrs. E. U.	Church Leader	Gallatin, Tenn.
Rousseve, Numa J.%	Businessman	4636 Willow St., New Orleans, La.
Richards, J. M.	Educator	Columbia Theological Seminary, Decatur, Ga.
Sanders, Irwin T.%	Professor	1350 Fontaine Rd., Lexington, Ky.
Shaw, Charles A.	Ins. Exec.	2206 Dowling St., Houston, Texas
Shean, Very Rev. M.V.	Clergyman	Box 895, Rock Hill, South Carolina
Smith, J. Edwin	Attorney	505 Scanlan Bldg., Houston, Tex.
Stroud, Mrs. Tommie	Civic Leader	2524 Old Oaks Drive, Waco, Texas
Sytz, Miss Florence	Professor	Tulane School of Social Work., New Orleans La.
Thomas, L. E.	Attorney	1035 N. W. Second Ave., Miami, Fla.
Tillman, Mrs. J. Fount	Church Leader	Lewisburg, Tenn.
Trenholm, H.C.%	Educator	Alabama State College, Montgomery, Ala.
Turnipseed, A. S.	Clergyman	251 Island Ct., Mobile, Ala.
Weiss, Morton	Businessman	182 Marietta St., Atlanta
Wellons, R.D.#	Educator	Pembroke College, Pembroke, N. C.
Wesley, Carter*	Publisher	Box 3086, Houston, Tex.
Wheeler, John H.	Banker	Mechanics and Farmers Bank, Durham, N.C.
Wilkins, Miss Josephine	Civic Leader	c/o Biltmore Hotel, Atlanta, Ga.
Williams, Paul D.	Businessman	3320 Gloucester Rd., Richmond, Va.
Wright, M. A.*	Lawyer	Top Knot, Linville Falls, N. C.
Young, Thomas W.	Publisher	Journal and Guide, Norfolk, Va.

SYMBOLS

* SRC Officer
\# Ex-Officio
% State representative

eab/

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eab/
10/6/55

Editorial from the "BIRMINGHAM NEWS"
October 13, 1954

A School Plan of Good Will and Cooperation

RESPECT FOR BOTH LAW AND MUTUAL CONVICTIONS IS ESSENTIAL IN MEETING SUPREME COURT DECISION

The grave problems raised by the Supreme Court's decision outlawing compulsory school segregation are pressing hard upon the minds and consciences of the people of the South. But specific application of the decision will not be entirely clear until decrees are issued, and consequently in most areas a period of reflection and preparation fortunately now is available. Able students of the law pertinently point out that legal doctrine to be effective must be translated into actual legal practice. We are now seeking methods of legal practice in conformity with the newly pronounced legal doctrine. It is an inexpressibly complex and momentous task.

This interval of preparation does not mean that procrastination can be afforded. The situation even now is urgent though in most communities the climax is not yet at hand.

These grave problems will not be solved by bitter conflict among our people. They cannot be escaped by evasion.

* * * * * * * *

This newspaper, having expressed its deep regret that this decision has come at this time, nevertheless believes that constructive and creative efforts must be made to meet it. After long and earnest reflection, "The News" has come to the conclusion -- which perhaps should have been obvious at once -- that a constructive approach requires recognition of two fundamental principles:

1. Respect for the law and its interpretation by the Supreme Court.
2. Respect for sincere, widespread community convictions.

If either of these principles is ignored or grossly subordinated, there can be no creative dealing with the situation. Instead there would be bitterness and conflict and a peril whose limits could not be defined.

* * * * * * * *

The Supreme Court is our final interpreter of the law. Our system of government -- of justice and freedom -- is based on law and respect for law. Our way of life could not survive on any other basis.

But it is also true that law gains its support and effectiveness from the willing acceptance of the people. Law which deeply violates the conviction of the people of a nation -- or a region -- or a community -- cannot be adequately effective in that nation, region, or community. Any program of action under the Supreme Court decrees, to be constructive and successful, must take account of the deep conviction of the people involved.

* * * * * * * *

WHAT KIND OF PROGRAM?

What kind of a program would be in accord with these two basic principles and avoid the great danger of disruption and conflict which would be involved in other courses of action?

First of all, it is to be recognized, we believe, that compulsory public school segregation is invalidated in principle by the decision. This newspaper recognizes force and reality in the contention that such segregation does involve a kind of discrimination in itself. But it also believes that contentions and conditions underlying the superceded "separate but equal" decision of more than a half century ago and bearing on state rights and the public interest and peace also are still to be recognized as involving considerations of great pertinence and weight. Who can fail to recognize that sentiment among white people in communities of the South generally, and even in some communities in other regions, is strongly against compulsory integration of white and Negro students in the public school.

* * * * * * * *

What kind of a plan of action could constructively meet these realities?

It is the belief of this newspaper that a fundamental requisite of any such plan would require that our people of good will of BOTH RACES UNITE COMMUNITY BY COMMUNITY IN STRIVING TO ACHIEVE AS MUCH COMMON GROUND OF AGREEMENT as possible. They should STRONGLY RESIST being drawn into almost EXCLUSIVE CONCENTRATION ON DIFFERENCES. Different conditions and sentiments will make for varying problems in different communities. No one program will be equally effective everywhere.

There IS much common ground upon which we believe a great majority of ALL our Southern people CAN stand. That is true here in Birmingham and the rest of Alabama.

This great majority in both races do not want to defy law.

They do not want to foment new and terrible bitterness and conflict here at home in a world facing the menace of overwhelming destruction through strife.

The great majority of our white people want to respect law and to avoid compulsory action in defiance of law.

The great majority of our Negro citizens, we believe, do not want to try to force integration of students where it is against a prevailing white sentiment and would involve grave possibilities of trouble.

* * * * * * * *

MUCH SOLID COMMON GROUND

These and other feelings, including longstanding realities of genuine friendship and good will between the two races, provide much solid, common ground upon which to work. Action on that basis, looking to POSITIVE, HOPEFUL results, rather than NEGATIVE OBSTRUCTION AND ANTAGONISM, could, we believe, evoke a powerful COOPERATIVE support among white and colored people.

It could develop the incomparable power of true good will.

It could conceivably lead to marked creative progress instead of mounting stress and hate and peril.

* * * * * * * *

What kind of a definite program of action, then, could be evolved from such a cooperative spirit and attitude?

In seeking specific answer to that crucial question, let the Court's decision be carefully considered. One thing seems to us especially important. The decision clearly invalidates COMPULSORY SEGREGATION. But to this paper it seems evident that it does NOT COMPEL INTEGRATION, especially if there is individual desire or community conviction to the contrary. This distinction points, we believe, to an opportunity for action in conformity with both the Court's ruling against compulsory segregation and community sentiment against compulsory integration. In our anxiety over DIFFERENCES and DANGERS, have we OVERLOOKED a really HOPEFUL OPPORTUNITY?

* * * * * * * *

HELPFUL VOLUNTARY ACTION

Specifically, "The Birmingham News" proposes the most careful examination and consideration of a plan under which it would be possible, we believe, both to give respect, and to conform, to the Court's ruling against compulsory segregation, and to avoid by VOLUNTARY ACTION an integration of students profoundly against intense community sentiment among white people.

In seeking such a program, school districts might be evolved in each of which -- where both white and colored children resided -- there would be a school that now is white and one that now is colored. The problem of such districting should not be insurmountable.

Residential patterns in Birmingham as in many other cities are such as to be helpful in meeting school districting problems under the Court's decision. It will be natural and logical for great numbers of colored school children to want to continue attending the schools they have been attending. But under the idea here suggested for study, there would be a genuine opportunity for colored children to choose and attend schools regardless of race. Anything less than such an opportunity would not, in a public school system, meet the Court's decision.

This paper is unable to believe that a satisfactory solution can be found in abolishing the public school system, although a change in state law in due time giving the Legislature authority in that respect might be a wise precaution affording a means of dealing with an extreme situation of danger or conflict, should such a situation ever develop.

However, under a system which respected the Court's ruling against compulsory segregation, which provided an opportunity for a free choice of schools, and which had the strong, active support of most citizens of good will of both races, we would have an excellent chance, we believe, to minimize problems and perils and to keep our schools in operation by VOLUNTARY MEANS along the lines of student body composition which now prevail.

* * * * * * * *

A BASIS FOR COOPERATION

We repeat: We believe that, with compulsory legal segregation done away with by the Court, with general recognition of that reality and with continued efforts to make progress in providing genuinely equal educational opportunities for both white and colored students, Negro students and parents in Birmingham and the rest of Alabama would not seek to FORCE UNWELCOME INTEGRATION except in isolated instances. Any instances of difficulty and controversy surely could better be met

through the development of a broad measure of good will and cooperation than under conditions emphasizing differences and divisions.

There would be hard problems, challenges and difficulties under such a positive, hopeful and bold program. So would there be under any approach. But this program would have the stalwart foundation of a genuine effort to respect both the law and the deep convictions of community sentiment.

It should have the strength and vitality of a sincere endeavor carried forward in good will.

At the least such an endeavor should, this paper believes, hold more promise than continued efforts to exert compulsions from any quarter.

Such an approach of cooperation and good will to the very serious problems confronting us seems, in spirit, and in reason, to deserve thorough and prayerful exploration and consideration.

January 30, 1956

Miss Katherine N. Dill, Juvenile Promotion Director
Borzoi Books for Young People
Alfred A. Knopf, Inc.
501 Madison Avenue,
New York, New York

Dear Miss Dill:

I haven't read the revised edition of Arna Bontemp's Story of the Negro which your letter of January 25 says you are being kind enough to send for review.

We review almost no books in our small publication, New South.

But I did read Arna Bontemp's Story of the Negro when it first came out. I have read most of the books in that field. It is by a long way the best. It convinces without labelling. And the United States would be a lot better off it were in every school and every history and sociology class in the country.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

Copy to HCF

ALFRED·A·KNOPF·*Inc*·

BORZOI BOOKS
for Young People
MURRAY HILL 8-0600

501 *Madison Ave·N·Y·*

January 25, 1956

RECEIVED JAN 27 1956

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

At the suggestion of the author, we are sending you under separate cover a review copy of Arna Bontemps' STORY OF THE NEGRO which has been recently revised and brought up to date. We hope you find it interesting.

This is a distinguished book in its field and we feel it is an important contribution to the reading of today's young people.

Any comments you may care to make concerning this book will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Katherine N. Dill

Katherine N. Dill
Juvenile Promotion Director
Borzoi Books for Young People

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

KND:md

February 6, 1956

Rev. Robert E. Hughes, Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Moore Building, Room 206
Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Bob:

Feb'

The Newsletter speaks of Arna Bontemps' book. I send you ours for your quickest reading. Get it back and we will send it to Arkansas and on down the line. Extraordinary commendation will be meted out to that State office that reads the book the fastest and mails it back the quickest.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

March 6, 1956

Mr. Nat Griswold, Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
211 Izard Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

Feb 1

The Newsletter spoke of Arna Bontemps' book. I send you ours for your quickest reading. Get it back and we will send it to Florida and on down the line. Extraordinary commendation will be meted out to that State office that reads the book the fastest and mails it back the quickest.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

Signed by mef in Dr. Mitchell's absence.

April 10, 1956

Mr. William K. Williams, Executive Director
Florida Council on Human Relations
324 South Beach Street
Daytona Beach, Florida

Dear Mr. Williams:

The February 1 Newsletter spoke of Arna Bontemps book. I send you ours for your quickest reading. Get it back and we will send it to the Georgia Committee and on down the line. Extraordinary commendation will be meted out to that State office that reads the book the fastest and mails it back the quickest.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

May 21, 1956

Mr. Galen Martin
208 West Main Street
Frankfort, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Martin:

The February 1 Newsletter spoke of Arna Bontemps' book. I send you ours for your quickest reading. Get it back and we will send it to the Georgia Committee and on down the line. Extraordinary commendation will be meted out to that state office that reads the book the fastest and mails it back the quickest.

Sincerely,

Returned 6/7/56

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Under Separate Cover:
Arna Bontemps' Story of the Negro

June 8, 1956

Mr. Guy H. Wells
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Wells:

The February 1 Newsletter spoke of Arna Bontemps' book. I send you ours for your quickest reading. Get it back and we will send it to the Virginia Council and on down the line. Extraordinary commendation will be meted out to that state office that reads the book the fastest and gives it back the quickest.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl:

Arna Bontemps' Story of the Negro

June 12, 1956

Mr. Milton C. Vigo
303 Board of Trade Annex Building
New Orleans 12, Louisiana

Dear Milton:

The February 1 Newsletter spoke of Arna Bontemps' book. I send you ours for your quickest reading. Get it back and we will send it to the Virginia Council and on down the line. Extraordinary commendation will be meted out to that state office that reads the book the fastest and gives it back the quickest.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Under separate cover:
Arna Bontemps' Story of the Negro

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MAGNOLIA 4295

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in Louisiana.

June 16, 1956

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED JUN 19 1956

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Yesterday I received your copy of Arna Bontemps' book "The Story of the Negro" which I read last night with great interest.

I am returning it under separate cover.

Thank you very much.

BK rec'd 6/20 mailed to repl. release officials

Sincerely yours,

Milton

Milton C. Vigo

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(Affiliated with the Southern Regional Council)

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JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI

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1104 Lynch Street
Jackson 3, Mississippi

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July 11, 1956

RECEIVED JUL 13 1956

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

✓ file

Re Bontemps' Story of the Negro, MCHR owns a copy and I have read it already.

Now what does honest Charlie get?

1. Disqualification for the "extraordinary commendation ... meted out to that state office that reads the book the fastest and gives it back the quickest";

or 2. Super duper citation for ex post facto performance.

At any rate, I enjoyed the book and concur in Mr. Spingarn's opinion "... the best written, most interesting, accurate and concise work for the general reader."

Sincerely yours,

Ruby S. Lyells

Mrs. R. S. Lyells
Executive Director

RSL j

P.S. I might have added that two other people have read the book and it is currently out on loan.

July 5, 1956

Mrs. R. S. Lyells
1104 Lynch Street
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Mrs. Lyells:

The February 1 Newsletter spoke of Arna Bontemps' book. I send you ours for your quickest reading. Get it back and we will send it to the Virginia Council and on down the line. Extraordinary commendation will be meted out to that state office that reads the book the fastest and gives it back the quickest.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Under separate cover:
Arna Bontemps' Story of the Negro

mailed from Commission on Race

Relations, Austin, Texas

RECEIVED JUL 30 1956

July 13, 1956

Mr. Edwin G. Kloppe
504 West Twenty-Fourth Street
Austin, Texas

Dear Mr. Kloppe:

The February 1 Newsletter spoke of Arna Bontemps' book. I send you ours for your quickest reading. Get it back and we will send it to the Tennessee Council and on down the line. Extraordinary commendation will be meted out to that state office that reads the book the fastest and gives it back the quickest.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Under separate cover:
Arna Bontemps' Story of the Negro

July 30, 1956

Mr. John H. Marion
100 East Franklin Street
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Jack:

The February 1 Newsletter spoke of Arna Bontemps' book. I send you ours for your quickest reading. Get it back and we will send it to the Tennessee Council and on down the line. Extraordinary commendation will be meted out to that state office that reads the book the fastest and gives it back the quickest.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Under separate cover:
Arna Bontemps' Story of the Negro

November 27, 1956

Mr. Harry S. Jones
121 East Third Street
Room 209
Charlotte, North Carolina

Dear Harry:

The February 1 Newsletter spoke of Arna Bontemps' book. I send you ours for your quickest reading. Get it back and we will send it to the North Carolina Council. Extraordinary commendation will be meted out to that state office that reads the book the fastest and gives it back the quickest.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Under separate cover:
Arna Bontemps' Story of the Negro

January 25, 1957

Mrs. Alice N. Spearman
1508 Lady Street
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Mrs. Spearman:

The February 1, 1955, Newsletter spoke of Arna Bontemps' book. I send you ours for your quickest reading. Get it back as soon as you can. Extraordinary commendation will be meted out to that state office that reads the book the fastest and gives it back the quickest.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

GSM
HCF/eab

Under separate cover:
Arna Bontemps' Story of the Negro

BOOKS FOR EQUAL EDUCATION

236 EAST 46th STREET • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017 • 687-3676 • CABLE, YACWAY

Co-Sponsors: UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION, UNITED STATES YOUTH COUNCIL • National Director: FRANK A. MILLSPAUGH

AU

1st of December, 1964

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I understand that you have returned from your long-deserved vacation trip. Sounds great.

Last year we discussed ways in which the Southern Regional Council might be involved in the distribution end of the "Books for Equal Education" program. As you can see from the letterhead, I am still interested in discussing these possibilities.

I am negotiating such a tie-in with the "Council of the Southern Mountains" for Appalachian distribution, and the program we are working out might be applicable to the SRC. The CSM is providing a warehouse and one full-time staff person who will supervise volunteer workers and all distribution. I am responsible for promoting, obtaining, and shipping the books to his location. He is responsible for storing categorizing, and distributing them throughout the region. His position is being funded by the federal government under the Economic Opportunities Act.

I am pledging 250,000 books to the CSM, and I'd like to move about a million through the SRC. I think the CSM has larger problems of distribution because they will have to create libraries in many areas as well as to stock them. SRC would only have to stock them. However, CSM will probably have an easier time finding volunteer help.

An additional factor in all this is that the CSM has its greatest need for children's books and grade school texts, whereas our Southern needs have been mostly on a higher level. Therefore, appropriate warehouse stock transfers can alleviate some of the problem of oversupply of children's books in the Atlanta warehouse.

I am enclosing a memorandum I wrote recently which describes our current thinking about BEE. I am operating right now under a short-term grant from the Foundation for Youth and Student Affairs and am administering the program out of the offices of the United States Youth Council of which I am vice-president.

Supporting Organizations:

Americans for Democratic Action, Campus Division
American Friends Service Committee, College Section
American Youth Hostels
Association of International Relations Clubs
B'nai B'rith Young Adults
Collegiate Council for the United Nations
Cooperative League of the U.S.A., Student Div.
Encampment for Citizenship
4-H Clubs and Young Men's & Young Women's Programs
Lisle Fellowship, Inc.
National American Indian Youth Committee of Arrow, Inc.
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Youth Division
National Catholic Youth Organizations Federation
National Federation of Catholic College Students
National Jewish Welfare Board
National Newman Club Federation
National Student Christian Federation
National Student Council of the Young Men's Christian Association
National Young Men's Christian Association Young Adult Council
Students for a Democratic Society
Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee
Student Religious Liberals
United Christian Youth Movement
United World Federalists, Student Division
United States National Student Association
United States Student Press Association
Workmen's Circle
Young Christian Students
Young Christian Workers
Young Democratic Clubs of America
Young Women's Christian Association of the United States of America

I hope to be in Atlanta in another two weeks and would greatly appreciate the chance to discuss all this more thoroughly with you. I will phone when my travel plans are more definite and make an appointment with you.

Regards,

Frank

Frank

FAM/aa

Enclosures

Southern Office Administered through the SRC -

~~Budget - Southern program~~ through Southern Regional Council

Project Director	$6,000.00
Secretary	4,000.00
Part-time help	6,000.00
Promotion & Travel	2,500.00
Shipping & related costs	2,500.00
SRC Overhead (for rent, phone, etc.)	2,500.00
Total	$ 23,500.00

National Office

Project Director	$8,000.00
Secretary-Assistant	4,000.00
Promotion & Travel	6,000.00
Shipping & Related Costs	6,000.00
Administrative Costs (rent, telephone, printing, etc.)	6,000.00
Special Funds for Indian Project	4,000.00
Special Funds for Aid to Undeveloped Countries (Mainly shipping costs)	14,000.00

48,000.00
6,000
54,000

Contingency

1. ~~71,500~~
77,500

Memo from **PAUL ANTHONY**

Frank [redacted] Southern Mississippi

Project Director	6,000
Secty	4,000
Part-time helps	6,000
Promotion + travel	2,500
Shipping + other	2,500
	21,000
SRC overhead	2,500
	$23,500

Memo from **PAUL ANTHONY**

LWD ✓ would like to discuss before Dec 14.

PA - BEE might make a new Soviet article

United States Youth Council

345 East 46th Street, New York, N. Y. 10017

Cable Address: YACWAY

Youth Affiliate of the National Social Welfare Assembly
United States Affiliate of the World Assembly of Youth

MUrray Hill 7-8300

September 10, 1964

Memorandum

To: Joseph Fallon

From: Frank Millspaugh

Re: Books for Equal Education

"Books for Equal Education" (BEE) is a nationwide book drive co-sponsored by the United States Youth Council and the United States National Student Association. It was officially begun in March of 1964 with the receipt of a grant for $2500.00 from the Edgar Stern Family Fund for the promotion and administration of the drive.

The goal of the 1964 drive, held during the spring and summer months, was the collection of 250,000 books of all educational levels for distribution to Southern Negro schools and community centers. Special emphasis was to be given to Southern Negro Colleges and Universities whose accreditation had been withheld, withdrawn, or otherwise jeopardized due to inadequate library facilities.

Books were solicited through the member organizations of the Council and the member schools of the United States National Student Association. The Council was responsible for mailing promotional material to its membership. I was then employed by USNSA which promoted the program on its member campuses and assumed responsibility for the over-all administration by contributing my time to serve as director of the project.

With the assistance of Miss Connie Curry, then director of the USNSA Southern Project office in Atlanta, Georgia, I secured the use of a full floor in a large warehouse in Atlanta. With the grant mentioned above, I hired Mr. Harry deLung as a full-time assistant to receive, sort and distribute the books from the Atlanta location. The USNSA Southern Project office provided Mr. deLung with clerical support.

The policy of the BEE program was to hold contributing campuses and agencies responsible for the cost of shipping books to the central collection point in Atlanta. The project then assumed responsibility for shipping arrangements to the recipient campuses and agencies.

To assist us in establishing policy and criteria for the distribution of the books, Mr. deLung and I created an Advisory Board consisting of several outstanding men: Dr. Benjamin Mays, President of Moorehouse College; Dr. Stephen J. Wright, President of Fisk University; Dr. Lucius H. Pitts, President of Miles College; Mr. Paul Anthony, Field Director for the Southern Regional Council; and Mr. Monroe Schlactus, Director of the Southeast Region of the Anti-Defamation League. One meeting of the Advisory Board was held in June. The expenses were covered by the grant. Mr.Anthony and Mr. Schlactus live in Atlanta and were, therefore, readily available for consultation. Subsequent consultations with the other members of the Board were conducted

by telephone and through correspondence. All the Advisors were most enthusiastic about the project and gave freely of their time and assistance. The project could not have been successful without their aid.

By the end of August, approximately 250,000 books had been received at the Atlanta warehouse. About 90% of these were usable. By September 17, the last of these books will have been distributed. Most of the children's books and pre-college texts were contributed to the community centers operated by the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO) and to similar projects throughout the South. The major recipients of the college-level books were six Southern Negro colleges and Universities: Shaw University, Raleigh, North Carolina; Friendship Junior College, Rockhill, South Carolina; Allen University, Columbis, South Carolina; Miles College, Birmingham, Alabama; Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama; and Rust College, Holly Springs, Mississippi. These schools were selected upon the advice of our Advisory Board. No state schools were included because our Advisors felt that giving books to state schools would make it more difficult for the administration of such schools to then secure proper assistance from state legislatures. Furthermore, each of the schools selected, with the exception of Tuskegee Institute, is having problems with accreditation which center around the sole or primary factor of inadequate library facilities. Such schools were given first preference because it was thought that the books they received from BEE could have a substantive effect on their status. Many other schools had the same desperate need for books, but their status would not have been affected because of other serious deficiencies. In addition, some schools otherwise eligible to receive books were given a lower priority because they did not have the staff available to catalog and shelve books in any appreciable quantity. Tuskegee Institute, however, is the one fully accredited school to which we contributed books. The request from this school was based not on its own need, but on a special project which the school wished to inaugurate: a mobile library unit to provide the rural communities surrounding the school with the first and only library facilities available to Negroes in that section of Alabama. Tuskegee Institute was able to provide the staff and the truck, and BEE supplied about 15,000 books of every educational level.

Following a lengthy correspondence with the Presidents and librarians of each of the recipient schools, but prior to distribution, Mr. deLung visited each of the schools to conduct final negotiations and to determine the ability of the staff to handle the numbers of books requested. Final distribution was made according to his judgment and in consultation with one or more of the advisors.

The owners of the Atlanta warehouse have indicated that we may have free use of that facility for an indefinite period of time; in effect, as long as we wish. Therefore, we are assured of appropriate facilities for next year's drive. There is furthermore the strong possibility that the Southern Regional Council may be able to provide us with staff assistance for book distribution in the future, since Mr. deLung returns to school in a couple of weeks, and the grant which provided his salary is almost exhausted. Further negotiations with the Southern Regional Council will be necessary and should be conducted at the earliest possible time.

Recommendations

1. Base of Support - Because I was primarily related to USNSA at the time of the drive, I was unable to devote much effort to fully involving the member organizations of the United States Youth Council. Most participated at least to the degree of listing their names on the letterhead and brochure

(OVER)

as "Supporting Organizations." Several made small financial contributions to the program for administrative expenses and publicized the drive in their publications. A few, most notably the National Federation of Catholic College Students, participated directly by holding book collections through their local chapters.

Almost all the organizations, however, have voluntarily expressed great interest in the program and have urged me to work more closely with them in planning the next drive. Many have indicated intentions to make the drive a major spring project for their local chapters. USNSA intends to maintain its efforts in promoting BEE through its member student governments. I therefore believe that the "Books for Equal Education" program can become a major national service if the Youth Council can secure the staff to work closely with its member organizations in the coming year.

2. Base of Solicitation - It was agreed that the first drive would be based primarily on student and youth organization sources, because one of the goals of the program was to offer an opportunity for as many as possible of such organizations to work together productively. This should continue to be the primary emphasis, with extra effort devoted to dully involving all the members of USYC as discussed above. However, there are many other sources which should be developed. Public libraries, Boards of Education, and publishing companies would be especially receptive to this program. Although no effort was made to solicit them, three publishers made voluntary contributions of several boxes of first-rate new books. As such contributions are eligible for tax write-offs, there in unlimited opportunity in this area.

3. Base of Distribution - For a number of excellent reasons, distribution this year was confined to agencies which would enhance the educational opportunities of Southern Negroes. Although first priority will probably continue to be assigned to this area, the base of recipients should be expanded as the quantity of books grows to include other areas of educational need: urban tutorial projects; deficient school facilities in the Appalachian region; mission schools on Indian reservations; literacy projects in migrant worker camps; and, on the international level, educational assistance to selected projects in the developing nations.

/mps

THE NEW YORK TIMES,

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 20, 1964.

Book Campaign

A trailer-truck with 15,000 books last week went to rural Southern Negroes who have never before seen a library, stationary or moving. The venture is sponsored by Books for Equal Education.

The "bookmobile," staffed by students from Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, contains books collected on Northern college campuses. Frank Millspaugh, director of the drive, visited Tuskegee last week to meet the librarian-drivers.

Mr. Millspaugh, 27, also went to Fort Valley, Ga. to present a set of reference books, slides and a projector to an all-Negro school.

Co-sponsored by the National Student Association and the United States Youth Council Books for Equal Education has collected 275,000 books since the drive began last March. Several thousand volumes have enriched the resources of Southern Negro colleges, and 100,000 books were given to freedom schools and community centers established in Mississippi last summer by the Council of Federated Organizations.

Mr. Millspaugh and a few other National Student Association workers launched the drive with a grant from the Edgar Stern family Fund. Working through the member organizations, BEE used facilities already set up in the South to service needy Negro schools. In the North, similarly, the collections were conducted among affiliates of its sponsoring agencies.

The contributed books are stored in a warehouse in Atlanta.

From a small room in the offices of the United States Youth Council at 345 E. 46th St., contact is maintained with donor and recipient agencies and with an advisory council of five prominent Southern educators.

Priority is generally given to institutions that lack accreditation because of inadequate library facilities, or whose accreditation is threatened on that account.

CHICAGO TRIBUNE, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 16, 1964

Cromie

LOOKS AT AUTHORS AND BOOKS

Group Collects Books for Southern Schools

BY ROBERT CROMIE

A LITTLE-PUBLICIZED but highly successful project to collect books—and money for books—for those who have none, or need more, is being directed by a group called Books for Equal Education, whose co-sponsors are the United States National Student association and the United States Youth council.

As a concrete example of the group's work: it recently provided 8,000 volumes to replace the library of a Freedom school burned—not accidentally—in Mississippi.

Frank Millspaugh, former assistant dean of the Central Y. M. C. A. Junior college in Chicago, now head Books for Equal Education, which at the moment is concentrating on finding books for southern Negro schools and community centers. It is hoped that the plan soon may be widened to include impoverished white and Indian areas as well.

[Books for Equal Education Photo by N. T. McNamara]

• • •

"NEGROES CAN'T USE the public libraries in most areas in the south," Millspaugh said. "This is not just a question of disability, but a conscious and deliberate effort to deprive them of the means of self-education. It's more subtle, but nonetheless as harmful as open oppression. It keeps them defenseless and unable to cope with their environment in many, many ways—defenseless not only against the abuse of authority, but also against unauthorized acts."

Millspaugh said the project, which began only last March, raised approximately 250,000 books in a nation-wide drive on about 100 campuses. He said that the emphasis is on college students, in the quest for books, because the student is the biggest single purchaser of books in the United States, but that donations of either books or money will be welcomed from any source. Virtually all worthwhile books are wanted, including texts, workbooks and reference works [if recent], as well as novels, poetry and nonfiction, either in hardcover or paperback.

Among the accomplishments of Books for Equal Education to date have been the supplying of enough books for several southern Negro colleges to avert a threat of disaccreditation because of too-meager libraries, and the providing of some 12,000 books to Tuskegee institute for use in a mobile library which is sent into the rural Negro areas where there are no library facilities whatever.

• • •

BOOKS FOR EQUAL Education has a warehouse in Atlanta, which is used as a distribution center, and Millspaugh is arranging for pickup groups to operate across the country. These volunteers will ship any usable books offered them.

If you'd like some credentials, supporting organizations include 30 well-known national associations, or their youth councils, among them the Y. M. C. A., B'nai B'rith, American Friends Service committee, 4-H clubs, National American Indian Youth Committee of Arrow, N. A. A. C. P., National Jewish Welfare Board, National Catholic Youth Organizations federation, S. N. C. C., and many others.

If you would like to help, write Millspaugh at Books for Equal Education, 145 East 49th St., New York 17, N. Y. He'll tell you the proper procedure.

mm

December 31, 1964

Mr. Frank A. Millspaugh
National Director
Books for Equal Education
236 East 46th Street
New York, New York

Dear Frank:

Enclosed are my first efforts at an expanded budget for BEE.

Happy New Year!

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

National Office

Project Director	$8,000.00
Secretary-Assistant	4,000.00
Promotion & Travel	6,000.00
Shipping & Related Costs	6,000.00
Administrative Costs (rent, telephone, printing, etc.)	6,000.00
Special Funds for Indian Project	4,000.00
Special Funds for Aid to Undeveloped Countries (mainly shipping costs)	14,000.00
	$48,000.00
Contingency	6,000.00
Total	$54,000.00

Southern Office Administered Through the SRC

Project Director	$6,000.00
Secretary	4,000.00
Part-time help	6,000.00
Promotion & Travel	2,500.00
Shipping & related costs	2,500.00
SRC Overhead (for rent, phone, etc.)	2,500.00
Total	$23,500.00

April 28, 1965

Mr. Frank Millspaugh
National Director
Books for Equal Education
236 East 46th Street
New York, New York

Dear Frank:

Have talked with Les. He does not plan to be in New York until May 11 or 12. He would like to see you before as well as after his meeting with Freeman. Will you be there then?

In the meantime Les pledged to try to think of some way to speed up the process. It won't be easy but he will try. The project has his complete support.

Could you send us copies of the letters of recommendation you got from Pitts, Mays, and Wright?

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

BEE -

SOUTHERN EDUCATION FOUNDATION

INCORPORATED 1937 FROM
PEABODY—SLATER—JEANES—RANDOLPH FUNDS
811 CYPRESS STREET, N. E., ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30308

MY

TRS
0279

June 4, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I tried to reach you a couple of times in connection with the BOOKS FOR EQUAL EDUCATION project. Your colleague, Frank A. Millspaugh, has written me and submitted a budget of $3,850.00 for a so-called "Limited Southern Operation." This figure is about two and a half times what we had talked about. It may be that the Rockefeller Brothers Fund is still considering the possibility of making a contribution or that you and Mr. Millspaugh have some other possible sources. Anyway, let's talk about this as soon as we have an opportunity, for I must get an answer back to Mr. Millspaugh right away.

Sincerely,

John

John A. Griffin
Executive Director

JAG:vk

Dave Freeman

Books for = Ed.

June 14, 1965

Southern Bell Telephone Company
Central Business Office
49 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia
ATTN: Desk 151

Gentlemen:

Pursuant to your conversation with Mr. Harry DeLong, this will authorize you to install a telephone at 416 Mzrietta Street, Atlanta, under the name of Books for Equal Education, charged to the Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W. (telephone numbers: 522-8764-65-66, 525-8197). It is our understanding that we will be billed separately for this telephone.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

BEE

LWDV

mm

June 29, 1965

Dr. John A. Griffin
Executive Director
Southern Education Foundation
811 Cypress Street, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30308

Dear Dr. Griffin:

Please accept my sincerest thanks for the $1,380.00 grant you recently made to Books for Equal Education. As I indicated in my previous letter, this money will be used to process and distribute the books received this spring and summer from campus and community agencies throughout the country.

In our distribution, we are working very closely with Paul Anthony and the Southern Regional Council. Both of us will be happy to provide you with any information you may require on the project. I will, of course, send you a copy of the drive report when it is issued this fall.

Once again, thank you for your interest and concern.

Sincerely yours,

Frank Millspaugh
National Director

FM/ep

CC: Paul Anthony
David Freeman

XERO COPY XERO COPY XERO COPY XERO COPY

BOOKS FOR EQUAL EDUCATION

236 EAST 46th STREET • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017 • 687-3676 • CABLE, YACWAY

Co-Sponsors: UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION, UNITED STATES YOUTH COUNCIL • National Director: FRANK A. MILLSPAUGH

Fifth floor
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303
August 30, 1965

Dr. John Griffin
Southern Education Foundation
811 Cypress Street, N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Dr. Griffin:

Enclosed is an article that appeared in the Atlanta Journal of August 23, 1965, concerning our Books for Equal Education (BEE) project. I understand you are on vacation now, and might not have seen the article. Since I knew you would be interested, I am sending this copy and an explanation of its results.

The article was part of an effort to find worthy recipients for the large quantity of books we have received which are not suitable for use in colleges or the other agencies with which we have contacts. Miss Margaret Long of the Southern Regional Council contacted Mr. Frank Daniels of the Journal for me, and he was interested in doing a story about our work. I explained the work and the problem of the unsuitable books to him. He sent a photographer to get pictures of some of our volunteers sorting books in the warehouse.

As it was printed, the article had the flavor of announcing a public give-away. This, of course, was not what I expected; however, we have sifted out a substantial number of very worthwhile contacts from the hundreds of calls that came in. Some of the groups that have already received books as a result of the article are: Negro public school system in Randolph county, Ala.; Atlanta Choral School nursery (underprivileged Negro area); Appalachian Job Corps training center (Franklin, N.C.); State training school for girls (Fulton co. reform school); Atlanta area VISTA projects, and several local high schools.

In this respect, I consider that the article served its purpose as well as if it had been a more accurate and complete description of our work. While some of the benefits of good publicity may have been lost due to the scant coverage given to our activities with educational institutions, I do not believe the article could be a negative influence on the project, so long as its purpose is understood, and the fact is made clear that the books to be "given away" were those which we found to be inappropriate for our usual programs.

Supporting Organizations:

Americans for Democratic Action, Campus Division
American Friends Service Committee, College Section
American Youth Hostels
Association of International Relations Clubs
B'nai B'rith Young Adults
Collegiate Council for the United Nations
Cooperative League of the U.S.A., Student Div.
Encampment for Citizenship
4-H Clubs and Young Men's & Young Women's Programs
Lisle Fellowship, Inc.
National American Indian Youth Committee of Arrow, Inc.
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Youth Division
National Catholic Youth Organizations Federation
National Federation of Catholic College Students
National Jewish Welfare Board
National Newman Club Federation
National Student Christian Federation
National Student Council of the Young Men's Christian Association
National Young Men's Christian Association Young Adult Council
Students for a Democratic Society
Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee
Student Religious Liberals
United Christian Youth Movement
United World Federalists, Student Division
United States National Student Association
United States Student Press Association
Workmen's Circle
Young Christian Students
Young Christian Workers
Young Democratic Clubs of America
Young Women's Christian Association of the United States of America

I sent you a copy of my report to Mr. Frank Millspaugh about our activities during the first half of the summer. Our distribution to colleges and selected secondary schools has more than doubled last year's number. By the end of September, my complete report for the summer will be mimeographed, and I will forward several copies to your office.

Yours truly,

Harry L. DeLung, Jr.,
Assistant Director
Books for Equal Education

MARGE - for your interest

BOOKS FOR EQUAL EDUCATION

General Report of the Southern Operation, Summer, 1965

Harry L. DeLung, Jr.,
Assistant Director

CONTENTS:

I. Introduction
II. How BEE works
III. Placements Recommended by the Advisors
IV. Other Placements and Special Projects
V. Problems and Prospects for the Future

INTROCUTION

Books for Equal Education (BEE) was founded in early 1964 by Mr. Frank Millspaugh, then the Community Issues Director for the U. S. National Student Association. U. S. N. S. A. and the U. S. Youth Council agreed to co-sponsor the project which would receive and distribute new and used books to unaccredited southern Negro colleges. Since that time, BEE has expanded to become a clearing house for hundreds of thousands of donated books which are distributed to colleges, primary and secondary schools, V.I.S.T.A. projects, reform schools, Job Corps training centers, literacy projects, community libraries, and similar programs.

The common object to every placement of books by BEE is that they will go in the hands of persons who do not have normal access to the books they need. The reason may be racial, economic or cultural disadvantage. Every request for books is considered on this basis, and the ability of the requesting agency or individual to effectively utilize the books.

HOW BEE WORKS

BEE is financed by foundations grants, and all books are contributed. Each spring an appeal is made for books from college students, publishers, and other organizations. Since the project began, over 500,000 volumes have been received at the Atlanta warehouse.

When the books are received, they are sorted into 15 catagories, ranging from college academic disciplines to pre-school story books. All college-level volumes are shelved according to academic classification. Books suitable for use in primary and secondary schools, community libraries, vocation training, "Head-Start" programs, and other uses are stacked separately.

A board of advisors recommends colleges and certain other educational institutions which are contacted in regard to receiving books. Members of the board have been: Dr. Benjamin Mays of Morehouse College, Dr. Lucius Pitts of Miles College, Mr. Robert Cousins of the Southern Education Foundation, Mr. Paul Anthony of the Southern Regional Council, and Dr. Stephen Wright of Fisk University.

At the original meeting of the board, a basic criteria was established for schools that would be contacted. They would be Negro schools because these institutions have suffered the greatest general disadvantage. Unaccredited colleges would be given first priority, especially those which are close enough to meeting accreditation standards that the books might be an appreciable gain. Recognizing that southern states should bare the first responsibility of seeing that their colleges are accredited, it was decided work would be more effective if it was primarily with private institutions. This would leave maximum pressure on the states to bring up the standards of their schools.

When a college decides to accept books, representatives are sent to the Atlanta warehouse to select the books they want. Because the shelves are continuously being re-stocked as more books are sorted, no limit is put on the number of volumes a school can take. No charge of any kind is made to institutions that receive books, but these must be responsible for transporting them. Usually a truck or trailer is rented, although some schools have preferred to use motor express.

The major emphasis of the project has always been on colleges (and a few selected preparatory schools), and only these institutions may select books off of the shelves. Other recipients select books from the broad catagories that are arranged in the warehouse which are books that are not of an academic level suitable for colleges.

This summer broad contacts have been used to locate suitable agencies in which to place the books that colleges have not found useful. Since these books account for about 70 percent of all those received, the type of recipients is somewhat less specialized.

Dr. J. T. Brooks, executive secretary of the Negro American Teachers Association, has sent letters to his affiliated organizations in the South, advising them of the availability of large numbers of secondary and primary school text books. Since some southern states still do not provide free text books to all students, these books have been very useful to grade school teachers. In most public school systems, very little money is available for the school libraries, and substantial contributions have been made in this area.

Newspaper publicity has been responsible for putting BEE in contact with many agencies who qualify for our books. A full page feature article appeared in the Atlanta Journal this summer, and about 25 qualified recipients were selected from the hundreds of requests that were made as a result of the article.

Additional placements have been made with the help of the agencies with which we have regular contact. These include the Southern Regional Council,Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee, National Urban League, and the Southern Student Human Relations Project (of USNSA).

PLACEMENTS RECOMMENDED BY THE ADVISORS

Last summer our advisors recommended six colleges be contacted. Those which responded and received books were · Allen University, Friendship Jr. College, Miles College, and Shaw University. Also, books were provided to Tuskegee Institute to use in a book mobile, This summer, more than twice as many college and other recommended schools have received books. On the average, each has taken about three times as many books as each school last year.
These schools are·

KITRELL COLLEGE, Kitrell, North Carolina. - This is a junior college operated by the A. M. E. Church. It has state, but not regional accreditation. Its importance to Negro education is measured in part by its location in the eastern, plantation section of North Carolina, which is the least developed part of the state and has the worst racial situation.

BOGGS ACADEMY, Keysville, Georgia.- This is the only Negro preparatory school in Georgia. Their need was heightened by a recent fire which totally destroyed their library. It is operated by the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.

VOORHEES COLLEGE, Denmark, S. C. - This is an Episcopal-sponsored junior college which hopes to expand into a four year institution, and needs to greatly increase their library facilites to get accreditation for their new curriculum.

MORRIS COLLEGE, sumter, S. C. - Morris lost is regional accreditation in 1951, and is in serious need of building up its library facilities. Last year, Morris did not have a professional librarian, and the advisors felt that the books could not be utilized effectively. However, this year they have hired a full-time professional librarian and the decision was made to invite their participation.

BARBER SCOTIA COLLEGE, Concord, N. C. - This school is in danger of losing its regional accreditation if library facilities are not enlarged. It is a four year college with a predominantly rurla, local student body. It was felt that an accredited college is very important in the area.

CLINTON COLLEGE, rock Hill, S. C. - This is a junior college, without regional accreditation. Books are seriously needed to imporve their standing.

PALMER MEMORIAL INSTITUTE, Sedalia, N. C. - This is a Negro preparatory school which meets the critical need of giving Negro students the background necessary for entrance into better colleges, including the recently de-segregated state institutions in the South. In addition to college-level reference and library books, Palmer received secondary school books which are provided free by the state to public institutions, and are necessary for state accreditation.

LANE COLLEGE, jackson, Tenn. - This is a four year institution which has regional accreditation, but has had very limited money with which to develope its library facilities.

MATHERS SCHOOL AND JR. COLLEGE, Beaufor, S. C. - This school has a preapratory function similar to that of Palmer in North Carolina. In addition, the junior college is in the developing stages, and seriously needs college-level books.

MILES COLLEGE, birmingham, Alabama. - Miles has been considered the most critical institution for both summer of our operation. It is the only Negro college in the entire Birmingham area. Despite a very competent administration, limited funds have kept it from reaching accreditation standards. During the summer, I personally selected books for their library, including an unused 1964 edition of Encyclopedia Britannica. These books were sent to Miles with a professional librarian who volunteered her services for her vacation period. It is hoped that the school will receive Southern Association accrediatation after its examination this winter.

All of these schools sent representatives to Atlanta, and have received a substantial number of books from us. In every case, their response to BEE was very positive, and most schools asked to come back for more books next summer.

ADDITIONAL PLACEMENTS AND SPECIAL PROJECTS

An important expansion of the BEE program has been the placement of secondary and primary school textbooks. About 300,000 volumes have been received since 1964, most of them sent as discards by county and municipal systems in the North and West. Some of the obvious problems is finding uses for these books are: few agencies are equipped to receive such large quantities of identical text books. most schools receive text books free from the state, and only certain titles and authors are on the accredited lists which each state requires in its accredited grade schools. Finally, most of these texts are concerned only with academic subjects (such as algebra, grammar, and physics), and are therefore of little interest to community libraries, literacy projects, etc.

Research has indicated that only Alabama and Mississippi are completely inadequate in providing free text books to all students, although laws provide for free distribution in both states. Official state channels have not been receptive to using our books, so it has been necessary to restrict contacts to individual schools and teachers' organizations. The need is very great in this area, and I regret that I have had so little time to work with it this summer.

Our text books are being sent to both states now, and the observation of (a) Randolph county, Alabama, Negro principal is worth repeating: "When your school children don't have any books at all, it doesn't matter whether the books you can give them are on the state's accredited list or not."

The largest single recipients of our non-college books (other than Alabama and Mississippi public schools) have been:

PRINCE EDWARD CO., VA. LITERACY PROJECT - This project, sponsored by the Southern Student Organizaing Committee, consists of four teaching centers located in this part of Virginia where public schools were closed for serveral years.

"HEAD-START" PROJECTS - Several predominantly Negro schools in the Atlanta area received children's books for use in the well-known "Head -Start" program for culturally deprived pre-schoolers.

VINE CITY COMMUNITY ACTION PROJECT - Vine City is an Atlanta Negro ghetto in which several welfare and civil rights organizations have organized a community action and self-help project. Books were given to their new community house library.

SNCC FREEDOM SCHOOLS- The Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee operates these schools, primarily in Mississippi, Southwest Georgia, and Arkansas, to train Negroes in citizenship, government, and other educational areas. So many books were sent to these schools during the Summer Project in 1964, that most of this summer's BEE books have gone to new schools opened this year.

JOB CORPS TRAINING CENTER - The Job Corps school in Franklin, N. C., which is attended by trainees from all over the South, received a truck load of books for their library.

YOUTH DEVELOPMENT CENTER - This is the state reformatory for girls in Georgia. The books they received will be used primarily for pleasure reading and self-improvement by the students who are sent there.

Another function of our warehouse has been as a clearing house for food and clothing. None of these materials have been solicited as a part of the BEE program. However, contributors in the North who wished to send supplies to southern Negroes have apparently gotten our address. The food and clothing has been stored in a corner of the warehouse until it could be distributed through some of the same contacts that take our books. Most of it was given to SNCC or to an American Friends Service Committee project in Vine City.

Early this summer BEE planned to send books to the Negro library at the Georgia state prison in Reidsville, This library was built at the same time as the white library and by the same plans. The difference is that there are little or no books in the Negro library. Before books were sent, it was decided that the local office of the American Civil Liberties Union should be contacted about the possibility of bringing a suit to de-segregate the prison library. A former inmate of Reidsville, who served a term as a result of civil rights activity, was put in contact with the ACLU, and the shipment of books has been postponed, pending the proposed suit.

This summer we came into contact with a New York-based organization called Friends of Freedom Libraries. Their membership is mostly professional librarians who are concerned with assisting southern Negroes through work with books and library facilities. Four volunteers came to our Atlanta warehouse this summer to help in classifying books. They stayed for a week, working very hard and for long house. Their help was of great benefit to our work, and BEE is now acting to put some of their members in contact with other institutions in the South that need this kind of help. In August, one of their volunteers went to Miles College in Birmingham, where she worked in their library.

PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS FOR THE FUTURE

When I worked with the first BEE project in the summer of 1964, it was a pilot project, and its success had to be measured not just in terms of practical accomplishments, but as a proving ground for something that had never been done before. The trial and error approaches that were taken were necessary and helpful· the benefits of the 1964 experiment can be seen in the 1965 success. Approximately two hundred times as many books have been placed this year as last. Types of books which seemed useless within the scope of the 1964 project are now in the hands of those who want and need them.

Much of this year's success can be attributed to an improved utilization of time and money. Funds were available for me to hire an assistant to work in the warehouse. In addition to sorting books, he was able to manage the warehouse and take care of visitors who came for books when I could not be there. This freed more time for me to spend in the administration of the project, developing contacts, corresponding with schools, and researching the book needs of various institutions. Only with this administrative time were we able to effectively distribute a large number of books.

Last summer I was able to visit three Negro college libraries and talk to the college administrators. After this experience, I felt that money alloted for 1965 travel expenses could more effectively be used to build book shelves in the warehouse. Before this was done, all books were stacked on the floor, and it was very difficult for librarians (or me) to know what books we had. Shelves were built for all of college-level volumes and effieiency was greatly improved in sorting books,

keeping inventory, and the selection process by visiting schools

The installation of a telephone in the warehouse was well worth the price, in terms of time and convenience. Locks were installed on the front door of our floor and on the freight elevator door. This became necessary to keep out unauthorized persons who took books and snoopers who rummaged my desk. I had planned to buy a fan rather than pay expensive rental, as was done last year. However, both became unnecessary because of the relatively cool summer.

A substantial amount of money was allowed for any necessary transportaion charges. However, our policy of insisting that all incoming shipments be pre-paid, and recipients pay the cost of transporting their books was entirly successful. Only when I sent some books to Miles College by train with a volunteer who was going to help in their library was it necessary to pay a small excess baggage charge.

BEE owes a great debt of gratitude of the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta which allowed us to use their offices and facilities whenever necessary. Their clerical and mailing services were invaluable, and we were able to use their bookkeeping facilities for my $1,000 summer operations fund.

Our warehouse space, conveniently located near downtown Atlanta, is given to BEE without charge by the Massell Company. However, I have been informed by a paying tenant in the same building that he is considering renting the space this winter. In this event, we are under agreement with Massell to vacate the space on 30 days notice. Considering this possibility, I have tried to empty the warehouse as much as possible so that we will not be faced with a tremendous moving project in the winter when BEE is inactive and without salaried help. A salvage company will remove all trash, discarded books and waste paper on the last day of our summer operation. All that will be left in the space are our shelves, the college books left on the, and whatever other books that have not been distributed by that date.

Should moving be necessary, I anticipate that the Massell Company will try to give us space at some other location. Transferring what is left, including the shelves, should not be too difficult.

My strongest r commendation, on the basis of two years experience with BEE, is that it be made a year-round operation. During the eight months when no one is available to look after the warehouse, shipments come in which are unattended: this results in such a mess at the warehouse that the paying tenants are antagonized, Massell threatens to evict us, and last winter, the city fire department threatened court action if steps were not taken to reduce the hazzard.

More important is the need for an administrator who can give 12 month attention to correspondence, the annual appeal for books, reciet of these books, sorting and distribution of books, and general organizatinnal problems. Simply getting the warehouse back in shape and re-organizing the project required most of the first month of our peration this summer. Despite the very substantial accomplishments of the 1965 BEE project, I feel greater results could be had from the same amount of time, and with less money, if we operated on a 12 month basis.

The ultimate goal of Books for Equal Education, as I expressed it at the end of last year's report, should be to act as a clearing house for books which are donated by all types of organizations and individuals, and to distribute these where they can be of the greatest use and meet the greatest need. I feel this remains the most realistic and useful role BEE can serve. Certainly a major emphasis should remain on Negro colleges, since they represent one of the most critical areas of need in the South.

In considering the "clearing house" role, BEE is probably the largest agency active in this field. The concept of re-distributing books is a very valid one in a society where part of our population has more printed matter than it knows what to do with, and another part is thirsting for books to which it has no access. Although my education and career in law will probably separate me from BEE after this summer, I sincerely recommend the project's continued support and operation.

Harry L. DeLung, Jr.
Atlanta, Georgia
September 15, 1965

XERO COPY XERO COPY XERO COPY XERO COPY

BOOKS FOR EQUAL EDUCATION

236 EAST 46th STREET • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017 • 687-3676 • CABLE, YACWAY

Co-Sponsors: UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION, UNITED STATES YOUTH COUNCIL • National Director FRANK A. MILLSPAUGH

DOMESTIC COLLECTION and DISTRIBUTION*

PROGRAM BUDGET

May, 1965 ~~thru~~ April, 1966

* Excludes International Program and BEE Comics Project.

Supporting Organizations:

Americans for Democratic Action, Campus Division
American Friends Service Committee, College Section
American Youth Hostels
Association of International Relations Clubs
B'nai B'rith Young Adults
Collegiate Council for the United Nations
Cooperative League of the U.S.A., Student Div.
Encampment for Citizenship
4-H Clubs and Young Men's & Young Women's Programs
Lisle Fellowship, Inc.
National American Indian Youth Committee of Arrow, Inc.
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Youth Division
National Catholic Youth Organizations Federation
National Federation of Catholic College Students
National Jewish Welfare Board
National Newman Club Federation
National Student Christian Federation
National Student Council of the Young Men's Christian Association
National Young Men's Christian Association Young Adult Council
Students for a Democratic Society
Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee
Student Religious Liberals
United Christian Youth Movement
United World Federalists, Student Division
United States National Student Association
United States Student Press Association
Workmen's Circle
Young Christian Students
Young Christian Workers
Young Democratic Clubs of America
Young Women's Christian Association of the United States of America

I. NATIONAL OFFICE

General Operation:

Salaries:			
Director -------(covered by previous grant)			
Administrative Secretary-------5000.00			
Typist, part-time ----------2400.00		7400.00	
Travel----------		4000.00	
Promotion:			
Printing----------1500.00			
Advertising----------500.00		2000.00	
Shipping----------		2000.00	
USYC Overhead:			
Postage---------- 500.00			
Telephone----------1200.00			
Misc. (bookkeeping, supplies, etc.)----800.00		2500.00	
Contingency----------		2000.00	
Total General Operation----------			19,900.00

Campus Drive (USNSA-Philadelphia):

Salary, Director (four months)----- ----------		1300.00	
Travel----------		200.00	
Promotion:----------			
Postage---------- 1800.00			
Printing----------350.00		2150.00	
USNSA Overhead (phone, bookkeeping, suuples,etc.) ----------		550.00	
Total Campus Drive----------			4 200.00
TOTAL National Office ----------			24,100.00

II. SOUTHERN OFFICE

Salaries: ~~[illegible] 6000.00~~			
Director---------- 6000.00			
Secretary---------- 4000.00			
Wafehouse Help, partime----------3000.00			
		13000.00	
Travel----------		2000.00	
Promotion----------		500.00	
Shipping----------		2500.00	
SRC Overhead (rent, phone, post, bookkeeping, etc.)-		2500.00	
TOTAL Southern Office----------			20,500.00

III. WEST COAST OFFICE

Salaries:			
Director	6000.00		
Secretary	2200.00		
Warehouse Help, parttime	1000.00	9200.00	
Travel		1000.00	
Promotion		300.00	
Shipping		1000.00	
YMCA Overhead		1200.00	~~12,700.00~~
TOTAL West Coast Office			12,700.00

IV. APPALACHIAN OFFICE

Salaries --(covered by federal grant)		
Promotion	500.00	
Shipping	500.00	
Travel	800.00	
SRC Overhead --(covered by federal grant)		~~1,800.00~~
TOTAL Appalachian Office		1800.00

TOTAL DOMESTIC BUDGET ---------- $59,100.00

300 West 49th Street
New York, New York 10019
September 26, 1966

Books for Equal Education
5 Fosyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Friends,

I have been wondering why I have not heard from you. Suddenly I realized that I have not yet written the letter that I planned. With revisions necessitated by its being late, here it is.

On September 16, 1966, I sent you via Railway Express Agency, three boxes of magazines that I believe are all of use in college libraries: IGY Bulletin, The Nation, Science, Saturday Review, and a couple of other single items. Each of the boxes contained in triplicate a listing of its contents.

I had hoped that you would in some way receipt each page of this list, in such a way as to make it 'official', and return the receipt to me. In that way, not only would I be sure that the package had been received, but I would also have information relevant to tax-deductibility.

The other two copies were included in case that either Books For Equal Education, or the institution receiving these might find a list convenient.

Perhaps it would also be practical to let me know, when the determination has been made, where these are going. I have only one reason in mind: the missing issues are likely to turn up, and will be much more useful as fill-ins than individually. When I send them, I could remind you where the bulk of the particular volume is. Or do you manage to keep such records as to make this unnecessary?

In appreciation of your work, I am

Sincerely yours,

Deborah D. Weisburd

Mrs. Abe Weisburd

P.S. If you are willing, but do not have any longer a copy of the lists - I do, and could send a stat.
DDW

Books for Equal Education

BOOKS FOR EQUAL EDUCATION

236 EAST 46th STREET • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017 • 687-3676 • CABLE, YACWAY

Co-Sponsors: UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION, UNITED STATES YOUTH COUNCIL • National Director: FRANK A. MILLSPAUGH

Fifth Floor
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Sir:

Your inquiry about Books for Equal Education has been received. Our operation is only on a summer basis, although we hope to be able to expand to a year-round status later this year.

We will not be able to act on your request until the project is reactivated, and this may not be until summer, 1966. Your letter will be kept on file, and will be given immediate attention as soon as possible. If there is a change in the nature of your request between now and next summer, please write again to the above address after June 1, 1966.

Our sponsoring organization, the United States Youth Council, maintains an office in New York all year, and some additional information may be available by writing to:

Mr. Frank Millspaugh
United States Youth Council
236 East 46th Street
New York, New York 10017.

Thank you for writing.

Yours truly,

Harry L. DeLung, Jr.,
Acting Director of
Southern Operations,
Books for Equal Education

Supporting Organizations:

Americans for Democratic Action, Campus Division
American Friends Service Committee, College Section
American Youth Hostels
Association of International Relations Clubs
B'nai B'rith Young Adults
Collegiate Council for the United Nations
Cooperative League of the U.S.A., Student Div.
Encampment for Citizenship
4-H Clubs and Young Men's & Young Women's Programs
Lisle Fellowship, Inc.
National American Indian Youth Committee of Arrow, Inc.
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Youth Division
National Catholic Youth Organizations Federation
National Federation of Catholic College Students
National Jewish Welfare Board
National Newman Club Federation
National Student Christian Federation
National Student Council of the Young Men's Christian Association
National Young Men's Christian Association Young Adult Council
Students for a Democratic Society
Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee
Student Religious Liberals
United Christian Youth Movement
United World Federalists, Student Division
United States National Student Association
United States Student Press Association
Workmen's Circle
Young Christian Students
Young Christian Workers
Young Democratic Clubs of America
Young Women's Christian Association of the United States of America

Books for Equal Education

PLEASE COMPLETE AND RETURN IMMEDIATELY

Send to: Harry DeLung, Jr.
Books for Equal Education
5th Floor, 5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Ga., 30303

1. Name of Institution _____

2. Who will you send to select books? _____

   What is his position? _____

3. On what date will you send persons to select and receive books? _____

   What time should we expect him to arrive? _____

4. Approximately how many books can your library accept? _____

5. In what academic areas do you need the most books? (please be specific)

   _____

   _____

   _____

6. Are you interested in good condition paperback books of any kind? _____

   What kind? _____

   _____

   _____

THIS ADDITIONAL INFORMATION IS NECESSARY FOR OUR RECORDS

1. Approximate enrollment of institution _____

2. Has you institution ever been accredited by the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools? _____. If so, what was the last year accreditation was given? _____. Is your institution accredited by any other public or private body?

   _____

   _____

3. Are there any unusual circumstances or reasons for your library's inadequate facilities? _____

   _____

PLEASE INCLUDE ANY OTHER INFORMATION YOU CONSIDER TO BE SIGNIFICANT.

Signature _____
(President)

BOOKS FOR EQUAL EDUCATION

Classification of Books
Summer, 1965

Southern Office: Harry DeLung, Jr.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W., 5th Floor
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS TO CLASSIFICATION PERSONNEL:

Books are stacked according to the categories below. Books with loose binding, missing pages, or heavily marked are discarded. Copyright dates are observed in the appropriate categories, with the exception of books that are obviously of current interest despite old copyright date; such exceptions are to be made with care.

Periodicals are not placed in the following categories unless they are of academic quality (such as American Heritage, National Geographic, Scientific American, Foreign Affairs, etc.). All other periodicals are stacked together without regard to subject matter, date, etc.

Books on subjects taught in college, but which are apparently high school level (such as Algebra, General Business, English, etc.) should not be placed in the academic categories. These should be put in the general category of SUB-COLLEGE.

1. GOOD FICTION - includes all classical works, recent quality best sellers, and works by well known authors.

2. POOR FICTION - includes condensations, obscure books of all ages, and popular pulp (romances, etc.).

3. ENGLISH - includes texts, anthologies, poetry, dramatic collections, etc.

4. DICTIONARIES AND REFERENCE - includes nothing with copyright date older than 1940, except Britannica and unabridged dictionaries.

5. HEALTH, HYGIENE AND FIRST AID - includes nothing older than 1945.

6. NATURAL SCIENCES - includes college level biology, chemistry, astronomy, zoology, etc. Nothing older than 1945. (Includes Geology, but not geography).

7. PHYSICS AND MATH - includes college level technology, engineering, and electronics. Nothing older than 1945.

8. BUSINESS AND ECONOMICS - includes business law, computers, data processing, etc. Nothing older than 1945.

9. HOME ECONOMICS AND PRACTICAL TECHNOLOGY - includes books for laymen on radio, auto repair, secretarial skills, bookkeeping, and general commercial and industrial skills.

10. RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY - includes Bibles, theology, ethics, and biographies about religious persons of dubious historical value (does not include fiction such as Ben-Hur, The Robe, etc.).

11. HISTORY, GOVERNMENT, AND POLITICS - includes texts, all biographies of persons of historical significance (not movie stars, etc.), geography, bound political propaganda, foreign policy, etc. Copyright dates are not important.

12. SOCIOLOGY, EDUCATION, AND PSYCHOLOGY - includes anthropology, criminology, teaching techniques, marriage and the family, etc. Nothing older than 1945.

13. FOREIGN LANGUAGES - includes all texts (college level) and all works not in English. Copyright date does not matter.

14. SUB-COLLEGE - includes all material on high school level.

15. CHILDREN - includes all material under senior high school level. (Includes Hardy Boys, Landmark, Nancy Drew, etc.).

16. EARLY SCHOOL - includes all material appropriate for kindergarten through second grade.

* * * * * * * *

Books for Equal Education

BOOKS FOR EQUAL EDUCATION, c/o S.R.C.
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

FORM FOR REQUEST OF PAYMENT FOR MOVEMENT OF BOOKS AT BOOKS FOR EQUAL EDUCATION WAREHOUSE:

SUBMIT THIS FORM TO TREASURER, SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Pay the sum of $2.50 to:

_____
(name)

_____
(address)

NOTE TO TREASURER : Take this amount from Second Special Fund for Educational Projects (BEE).

THE BELOW MUST BE FILLED IN FOR PAYMENT TO BE MADE:

date shipment was received_____

name and address of party that send shipment _____

_____

number of cartons _____

type of material (books, food, or clothing)_____

name of trucking company (if known)_____

_____ _____
Date of request for payment Signature

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

March 13, 1963

TO: Persons who attended the September 13-14, 1962, meeting of the Southern Interagency Conference

FROM: Marge Manderson, Southern Regional Council, Secretariat, SIC

The enclosed memorandum prepared by Mr. and Mrs. Carl Braden, Southern Conference Educational Fund, is being sent to you pursuant to an agreement made between Mr. and Mrs. Braden and the Rev. Cornelius Tarplee, Chairman, SIC.

Enc.

MEMO March 11, 1963

FROM: Carl and Anne Braden

TO: Members of the Southern Inter-Agency Conference

This memo is being written for members of the Southern Inter-Agency Conference.

At last September's meeting of this group in Atlanta, a matter was discussed concerning us, the Southern Conference Educational Fund which we work for, and our work. The discussion, we learned afterward from some of those present, was very derogatory to us, and serious mis-statements of fact were made.

We were shocked that a group of this kind would hold a discussion of this kind without first giving us an opportunity to state our side of the matter under discussion.

We immediately, last fall, communicated with the Rev. Cornelius Tarplee, who was then chairman of the Inter-Agency Conference, protesting this procedure and asking him for an opportunity to present our side of the story. He was most cooperative and eventually worked out a procedure whereby a statement from us could be sent to all members of the Conference. However, by the time this procedure was worked out, the whole fall had gone by and it was too late to get anything out before the next meeting of the Inter-Agency Conference which was in January.

We are therefore writing this memo for distribution to the members before the next meeting, scheduled for April.

The matter under discussion at the September meeting was the publication in the Jackson (Miss.) Daily News of a confidential report by Carl on a trip he made in Mississippi last July. The report was accompanied of course by a red-baiting attack on Carl and,by a guilt-by-association process, an attack on the Voter Education Project in Mississippi and the people working in it.

When the articles were discussed at the September meeting, the statement was made that Carl had deliberately sent copies of this confidential report to the press. This was not true. Additionally, we understand, some of those present attacked Carl as being irresponsible and expressed the opinion that he should not have been in Mississippi at all. Some also attacked his motives and indicated that he had gone deliberately to make trouble for the voter registration work. These latter matters are of course questions of opinion and not fact. The entire discussion, however, was obviously based on an incomplete knowledge of the facts. These are the facts concerning Carl's trip to Mississippi in the summer and the subsequent publication of the newspaper articles in Jackson.

Carl's trip to Mississippi last July had its origins in the preceding May. At that time, Anne was in Jackson at the

request of Mrs. Diane Bevel to assist in writing up her difficulties with the courts at that time; this was at the time when she had decided to surrender and serve a two-year sentence. While Anne was there, Bob Moses approached her and asked her to return to Mississippi during the summer to conduct some workshops on civil liberties among people interested in civil rights in Mississippi. It was her understanding that Bob's plan at that time was to have a whole series of workshops on important issues of democracy for people working at the leadership level in the civil rights movement in Mississippi.

Anne told Bob that she would like to conduct the workshops but feared that other commitments during the summer would prevent her returning at that time. She asked him whether, if she was unable to come, he would want Carl to come. He said yes, that it did not matter which one of us came.

Later the two of us discussed it together, decided it was something that should be done and, for reasons of our own schedule and convenience, agreed it would be best for Carl to go. There was some subsequent correspondence between us and Bob, verifying plans, arranging mutually suitable dates, etc.

Thus, Carl did go to Mississippi and was there from July 13 to July 19. His activities while there are reported, accurately in his opinion, in the report which unfortunately later became public property---so there is no need for a detailed recapitulation of them here. In summary, however, he, along with Bob Moses conducted workshops at a number of locations over the state. These workshops were attended by people concerned with civil rights and integration. The workshops dealt primarily with civil liberties: the theory of civil liberties, the United States Bill of Rights and what it guarantees, the relationship of this to movements for social change (the right to speak, protest, etc.) and the exercise of these rights in a place like Mississippi. The workshops also dealt with the theory of nonviolence to a certain extent---since it is our opinion that these two things, civil liberties and nonviolence, are very closely related in that a civil libertarian atmosphere provides the channels for nonviolent social change.

Before Carl went to Mississippi, a workshop on voter registration had been scheduled at the Mt. Beulah Center, under leadership of Bob Moses and the Mississippi Adult Education Committee. The dates of this workshop (July 22-27) happened to fall in the week after Carl's visit to Mississippi. Therefore there was much work going on in regard to it while Carl was there. Thus, in the natural course of events, Carl was present on several occasions when plans for this workshop were discussed; also in the natural course of events, this workshop came into the discussion at the workshops Bob and Carl were holding---and Carl joined Bob in urging people to attend. It should be made very clear, however, that Carl had absolutely nothing to do with the sponsorship of this voter registration workshop at Mt. Beulah; it had all been scheduled before Carl ever went to Mississippi, and neither of us knew anything about it until he went down there. Carl's only connection with it was to do what any other human being concerned with matters of human rights would have done

under those circumstances: to express, when it came up, interest in and approval of the idea of such a workshop and to urge people with whom he was in contact to attend.

(We emphasize the above point because the subsequent stories in the Jackson Daily News stated that Carl sponsored this Mt. Beulah workshop. The Daily News also printed photostats of what it said were parts of a questionnaire used at Mt. Beulah and connected this questionnaire with Carl. Carl had nothing to do with any questionnaire used at Mt. Beulah or anywhere else in Mississippi and never even saw a questionnaire. In fact to this date, neither of us has ever seen an original of a questionnaire similar to the photostat used by the Daily News.)

Before Carl went to Mississippi, Anne had written Bob Moses that she wanted to get a story on what was going on there during the summer for the Southern Patriot, which she edits. She told him a good opportunity to get a first-hand story would be when Carl came down and this would kill two birds with one stone, in Carl's trip.

Therefore, while he was in Mississippi, Carl gathered information for such a story. When he returned, he wrote it; before we printed it, we sent it to Bob Moses to check for inaccuracies or any statements that might be harmful---a routine procedure we always follow with stories for the Patriot, sending them for checking to the people involved in them. Bob sent the story back and said it was o.k. We then printed it in the Patriot. Carl then also made use of this same material which Bob had approved for publication and wrote a story for the York Gazette & Daily, in York, Pa.

These two stories are absolutely the only things Carl wrote for publication in regard to this trip to Mississippi. He had planned to write similar stories for a few other publications (all based on the same material), but because of the press of other things had not got around to this when the furor broke about the articles in the Jackson Daily News.

In addition to these stories written for publication, when Carl returned he wrote a letter to Jim Dombrowski, executive director of SCEF, reporting on his travels in Mississippi. This is routine procedure in our organization and we presume in any organization. Jim Dombrowski then mimeographed this letter, marked it confidential and sent to the members of the board of directors of SCEF and to a limited list of other supporters of SCEF.

We did not know the letter had been mimeographed and sent out in this manner until a week or more after it was done, as we were on vacation at the time and mail was sometimes delayed in being forwarded from Louisville. We mention this fact because it bears on statements later made by Bill Higgs and Charlie Butts which we will discuss below. We do not mention it, however, to imply in any way that we disapproved of the report being sent out, made any protest, or considered it reprehensible. On previous occasions, Jim has mimeographed copies of such reports which he considered of special interest and sent them to our

board members and some other supporters. Never before have we had any problem of such mimeographed items falling into the wrong hands. Once before we had a problem of one of them getting published by one of the Negro weeklies, but this was because the editor of that paper is on our board, received the report in that capacity and did not realize that it was not for publication.

After that happened---and because we have several people on our board who either work on newspapers or are editors of them---Jim began the practice of marking all such material "Confidential. Not For Publication." The newspaper people on our board are of course friendly people and when they receive a document so marked, they do not publish it. This explains why Jim marked this particular Mississippi document "Confidential. Not For Publication."

The first we knew of the report getting to the Jackson Daily News was on Saturday, September 1, when we received a note from Jim Dombrowski saying someone had telephoned him from Mississippi to tell him the report had appeared in the paper. The next morning, Sunday, September 2, Bob Moses and Bill Higgs telephoned Carl and gave him further information.

We have no notion how the report reached the Jackson paper. The first thing one would suspect is that there must be a stool-pigeon somewhere, either on our board or in the list of supporters to whom the document was sent. However, we think it is important to point out that nothing like this had ever happened before, so there was no reason for Jim Dombrowski to think he was doing a risky thing when he sent the report out. The fact that this had not happened before would indicate that if there is a stool-pigeon it is someone who has recently come on to our list that would receive such a report. Because of this, it might be possible to narrow down the suspicions. However, this seems a rather fruitless pursuit to us: there would be no way to be sure, and it would be possible to suspect an innocent person, and such suspicion is very debilitating, we think. And it would do no good if we did know now, as the damage is long done.

Another possibility, of course, is the chance that the mail of someone who received the report was tampered with. Or maybe someone who received the report lost it somewhere and it was found by a hostile person. Who knows?

One possibility never occurred to us: we never dreamed that anyone would think we deliberately sent such a report to the press---until after the September inter-agency meeting when we learned that this statement had been made there. And this is the slanderous version of the affair that has been spread around ever since.

When we heard about this last September, we immediately telephoned Bob Moses and asked him if he knew how such a report could have got started. He said that Jim Dombrowski had made a statement in a telephone conversation to him and Bill Higgs that gave that impression. We asked Bob specifically what Jim had said. He then quoted Jim as saying: "It looks like you have to mark something confidential if you want to get it printed."

Now it was perfectly obvious to us that Jim said this in jest. Perhaps it is more obvious to us because Jim had made a similar statement in a note to us, worded slightly differently and in a way that makes the jest obvious: "I guess from now on if we want to get our news releases printed, we'll have to mark them confidential." But it still seems a little strange to us that anyone would not see that he was joking.

Maybe it is a mistake to joke about a serious matter. We have never thought so; in fact, in the intensive attack we have been under for so many years, we have often thought that if we did not keep our sense of humor we'd go batty. But in the future, we guess we'll all have to watch facetious remarks.

After we talked to Bob Moses about this, Anne telephoned Bill Higgs---since Bob had said it was to him and Bill that Jim Dombrowski had made the statement. She asked Bill where the report came from that we had sent the document deliberately to the press. Bill said: "Carl told me that." Carl, who had been busy when Anne initially made the call to Bill, then got on the extension telephone and told him that he had said no such thing. Bill insisted that this was his recollection. Anne then said: "Exactly what do you remember him saying?" Bill then quoted Carl as saying: "I marked it confidential so the press would use it." He said the time of this conversation was when he and Bob called Carl on Sunday morning, September 2 (see above).

This is ridiculous. Carl could not have logically made the statement Bill Higgs quoted---as in the first place he was not the one who marked the report confidential, since he was not even the one who sent it out in mimeographed form. We were both in Rhode Island on vacation when the stencils were cut and the report duplicated by the New Orleans office of SCEF, and neither of us---as noted above---even knew this had been done until a week or so later.

As for the telephone conversation between Carl and Bob Moses and Bill Higgs on Sunday morning, September 2, there was only one exchange that bore in any way on the question of how the report got out to the press. Bill Higgs asked Carl what the report was that the Jackson Daily News had printed, and Carl replied: "I wrote Jim Dombrowski a letter and he mimeographed it and sent it to our board."

We do not recall the exact date of our telephone conversation with Bill Higgs in which he stated that it was on Sunday, Sept. 2, that Carl had told him and Bob Moses that he deliberately marked the report confidential so the press would use it. However it was sometime before September 25, as we have in our files a carbon of a memo Anne sent Wiley Branton on the whole affair dated September 25, and this conversation with Higgs is reported in this.

In late October, we received a letter from Wiley Branton, dated October 24. In this he enclosed a carbon of a letter to him from Bill Higgs dated October 2. In this letter, Bill stated that it was in a telephone conversation with him and Charlie Butts that Carl made a statement that he deliberately had the report marked

"confidential" so the press would use it. He stated in this letter that Butts also recalled the conversation that way,and in detail.

Carl had talked with Bob Moses and Bill Higgs on the telephone on Sunday, September 2. He did also talk with Bill and Charlie Butts jointly a couple of times a few days later, about September 4 and 5, as we recall. However, these conversations with Bill and Charlie did not bear on the origin of the report at all. They were in regard to the possibility of libel action against the Jackson Daily News which was then being considered.

There is certainly no way we can prove that Bill Higgs is wrong in his quotation from Carl. It is his word against ours. We want to add that we do not think Bill Higgs is a vicious person, and so we do not believe that he deliberately made up something he knew was not true and attempted to ruin another man's reputation. The only way we can explain the whole episode is that Bill was under such terrific pressure in Mississippi at that time that several conversations ran together in his mind; the fact that in September he said Carl made the statement in question during a conversation with him and Bob Moses on September 2 and then in October said that Carl made the statement in a conversation with him and Charlie Butts several days later indicate that these two conversations had certainly run together in his mind. In this same period, he and Bob Moses also apparently talked on the telephone with Jim Dombrowski; he apparently confused the remark made in jest by Jim with what Carl had said.

Regardless of all this, however, it is still perplexing to us that people would believe that we or anyone connected with us would deliberately send a report of this kind to the press. Even if Bill Higgs, through honest confusion of conversations, said to them, "Carl Braden told me that," we think people, at least those who know us, would find this so unlikely that before believing it they would have contacted us and said, "Is this true?" We are sure that this is what we would have done if we had heard such a report about someone else.

Because in a thing like this, before believing it---as with fixing responsibility for a crime---you have to think of a motive that the person might have. What motive could we have had for sending such a report as this to the press? We can think of only two possible ones that anyone might have (although we may be overlooking some possible ones): 1. One would be that Carl had a desire to identify himself publicly with certain civil rights activity in Mississippi and, we suppose, take credit for it. And 2., the second would be that he wanted to cause exactly the kind of trouble that was caused. The fact that some people seriously entertained the idea that we might have done this thing deliberately would indicate that they harbor some deep suspicions of us. Naturally, we object to that, because we do not feel we have done anything at any time we can think of to merit such suspicions.

In regard to the second possible motive mentioned above, we will not even attempt to comment on it. Anyone who is so suspicious of us that they would think we would deliberately want to cause trouble for people working for civil rights is beyond the reach of logical argument. In regard to credit-seeking, we know that many

people in social movements are often accused of this, and we personally feel that the charge is often made where there is no foundation for it. We ourselves are always hesitant to pass judgment on another human being's motives. In our own case, we believe we have reason to feel that our whole record of work over the past years indicates just the opposite. It is a simple fact that much of the work that we do and which SCEF does is never publicized and we seek no publicity for it. We seek publicity when we want to make a public statement on some matter, and we seek publicity when we are holding some public meeting which we hope will have an impact on the public atmosphere.

But these things are only a small part of our work; the greater part of it goes on quietly. This does not mean we attempt to be secret about our activities; it is simply that so much of our activity is related to people and projects which we consider more significant than ourselves and therefore it is they who should be publicized. (For example, it is of no particular significance or news when we take some action or say something in favor of civil rights since this is to be expected; often when other people do, it is significant and newsworthy.) SCEF sends out a large number of news releases; although many of these are printed widely (even without being marked "confidential" if we may risk being facetious one more), few people except newspaper editors and others who receive the releases directly realize how many because the great bulk of the releases never mention SCEF's name except as the identification as to where the release came from; they are about other things and other people and other activities---things we consider worthy of comment and publicity for their own news value. In the Southern Patriot, we devote much more space to the activities of others than to our own; in fact, often because of space problems, we decide to omit news of some action by SCEF in order to include news of what someone else is doing; we try to run a newspaper, not a publicity sheet.

In regard to Mississippi, we have in the past few years sent much material on it and what is happening there to the press. Virtually none of such material has been about our activities there --again not that we are being secretive but just that we think what is being done by civil rights advocates in Mississippi and what is being done to them is the news in the situation. In regard to the very matter under discussion, Carl's trip through Mississippi this past July, if he had wanted to publicize his own activities there, he would have put in the articles he wrote for publication, in the Patriot and the York Gazette & Daily. He did not. The Patriot article does not even say specifically that he was in Mississippi; there is the implication that he was because story carries a Jackson dateline, but the story is about the people in Mississippi and what they are doing. In the Gazette & Daily story, he does say he was there and traveled over the state; this fact is more needed in a paper of this kind to give authenticity to other things reported; but we imagine anybody reading the Gazette & Daily article cold would assume Carl was there as a reporter, which of course he was in part; the story does not go into his own activities there at all. Only once before that we know of since we have been working for SCEF have we been accused of deliberately seeking publicity for ourselves.

We won't take time to go into the details of this episode here, although we would be glad to at another time for anyone who is curious. However, in that situation we think a close analysis reveals that some of the same factors were present as in this Mississippi situation; certain people became embarrassed by being publicly associated with us and in their embarrassment unconsciously twisted perfectly natural actions by us into an evil intent. This sort of fear and distortion of reality are results of years of unchallenged witch hunting and red-baiting.

So this is our side of the Mississippi story. We would like to make several additional observations:

1. We agree that this kind of attack levelled by the Jackson Daily News is harmful to the movement. We realize it creates fear and confusion and diverts attention from the real issue of civil rights---which is of course exactly what papers like this intend such an attack to do. We do not in any way make light of the difficulties that come in the aftermath of such an attack for many people; we are deeply concerned about the persons who may have been directly hurt by this attack.

However, we feel strongly that blame for this difficulty should be placed where it belongs---on the Jackson Daily News and the other segregationists who undoubtedly had something to do with getting the report published and stories of this type printed about it.

We are indignant---and we think we have a right to be---because the anger of some people in the civil rights movement was directed more at us than at the people who made the attack.

Some people might say: "But you gave them the chance to make the attack." Well, we suppose in a sense we did: by living and breathing and existing in the world and by caring about what is wrong in Mississippi, by Carl doing what is a perfectly natural thing---accepting an invitation to come to Mississippi and lead workshops on a subject he happens to be qualified to discuss, by his following the normal procedure of reporting to his superior in the organization he works for, and by that superior then passing the report along to his board of directors and other people he thought he could trust. To say that we provided the opportunity for the attack is precisely the logic used by officials who arrest people peacefully demonstrating against segregation on charges of disturbing the peace. The line of such officials is: "Your actions, although peaceful, upset other people to the point where they could have become violent. Therefore you disturbed the peace."

Just because Carl's presence in Mississippi upset the segregationists to the point that they made this attack, we do not think we should be torn to shreds by other people in the movement, and we understand that this is what went on last fall and is still going on in some quarters. Bill Higgs said to us on the phone last September: "What we are trying to do down here in Mississippi is very important, and we just can't afford to have things like this happen." We agree profoundly that what the civil rights movement is trying to do in Mississippi is crucially important, not just to that state but to the nation and the world.

But we do not think you can work toward even a good and important goal by stomping on other human beings; it's the old matter of whether the end justifies the means; some of us still feel that inhuman means corrupt the best ends before you get there.

2. Some people might question Jim Dombrowski's judgment in circulating copies of this report. We do not think this would be justified. Such criticism is made from hindsight. Jim had no reason to suspect that there might be a leak on the list he sent it to, as he had circulated similar reports and had never run into a leak before. At least one other organization that we know of (and maybe others) circulated a very similar report, also marked "confidential," on work of its representatives in Mississippi last summer, and we heard no criticism of its being circulated. Another report, by an affiliate of the Southern Regional Council, fell into the hands of the Jackson Daily News and the contents were made public. We heard no outcry about this and no charge that the report was leaked deliberately.

Some people might criticize also Carl's judgment in writing a report for private consumption and say he should have thought of the possibility of its falling into hostile hands. But again, it had never happened before. If we are going to let such possibilities stop us from writing private reports, we would all just about paralyze ourselves.

3. But the fact of the matter is that what is being criticized here (or "condemned"would be a better word) is not just a matter of judgment anyway. It's a matter of motive; those who did and are doing the condemning imply that we and/or SCEF deliberately tried to hurt the movement in Mississippi. We are afraid there is a high degree of scapegoating in this matter. People have to have somewhere to vent their frustration and fury over something like this; and we suppose we make easy targets. It is also easier to fight us than to fight the Jackson Daily News,and it is easier to fight us than it is to fight the real source of the attacks: Senator Eastland's Committee and the witch hunt generally.

4. One of the worst aspects of this matter is that it was brought up and discussed at a formal meeting of human relations agencies without our being there and before anyone had made any effort to get our side of the story. This is just not the kind of thing that decent people should do. In our opinion, it is completely immoral---and it is shocking that this sort of thing could occur in what is supposed to be (and in large part is, in our opinion) a moral movement. This is the kind of unjust treatment that all of us are supposedly working against in the society we live in; are we then going to practice such injustice among ourselves? It gives one very serious pause.

We should say that we are not directing the above statements at all of the people who attended the September inter-agency meeting. Some people there, we happen to know, reserved judgment until they could hear our side of the story and came to us, by mail or telephone, and asked for it after the meeting. It is quite possible that others were inclined to do the same thing but perhaps did not know us personally or did not know how to reach us. And

maybe no one there realized the injustice of what they were doing and did not do it deliberately---but collectively and impersonally it appears to us that this is what the discussion amounted to.

5. We think it is of significance too that this group which had the discussion is the same group which has excluded SCEF from membership---and yet it presumes to discuss us and pass judgment on us. Perhaps it will be said by some that as of last September we had not applied for membership, but this is dodging the issue. We were porposed for membership by another member of the group some time ago, and there was opposition by so many people that it did not come to a vote. And anyway, why do we have to apply? We understand that new agencies now joining the group make application for membership, but when the group was originally formed as a coordinate body of Southern agencies working in the field of human relations and civil rights, did the original member-agencies apply? We existed at that time; we were a Southern organization working in these fields; why were we not included from the outset?

Is it because some people in this inter-agency group give credence to the charges of subversion levelled against SCEF? If so, this is a very sad piece of business. The origin of such charges are the Internal Security Subcommittee headed by Sen. James Eastland after he attacked SCEF in New Orleans (and before that, the House Un-American Activities Committee which attacked SCEF's predecessor, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, and which Eastland quoted as "proof" of subversion), and it is indeed deplorable if people who are supposedly opposed to Eastland and what he stands for should nevertheless let their decisions be guided by what he says.

Or is the exclusion of SCEF because some people in the inter-agency group feel that they disagree with SCEF's approach and work so much that they can't sit in the same room with us? Actually, we imagine that the people who object to our inclusion know very little about our program and if they knew they might not be in as much disagreement as they think. But undoubtedly we would disagree on some things with some of the other groups. We should imagine that there would be many differences of opinion among agencies in such a body; in fact, we assume this was one reason for setting the inter-agency conference up---the fact that different organizations take different approaches and there is need for an exchange of information. Would any disagreements with SCEF be for some reason non-discussable? Whether other groups agree with us or not, we <u>are</u> an organization working for civil rights in the South.

In a democracy, it seems to us, it is assumed that there should be an inter-change of all points of view. Only people who do not really believe in democracy, in our opinion, want to shut out discussion of any point of view. It's a stange thing: SCEF is so often loosely accused of communistic tendencies, and yet in practice we wonder if we have not displayed more belief in the real principles of democracy than some of the people who have apparently given credence to these charges against us. We do not believe we have ever sought to exclude any point of view from being expressed; certainly we have never shut out any other group from any discussion of which we were a part. We think this situation calls for some re

calls for some real sour-searching on the part of the people who have excluded SCEF.

Or is this exclusion by the inter-agency conference because some groups who are members fear that an association with SCEF will cause them to come under the same kind of red-baiting attack, if they haven't already been so attacked, which many of them have? Or do they think they can escape the red-baiting they have been subjected to if they do a little implied red-baiting themselves? If this is the case, we think these people should read a little history and learn how all through history such irrational attacks as America's recent red scare feed on themselves, and the people who thought they could escape it by joining the pack or remaining silent finally get caught themselves by the monster they let grow. In fact, it is only necessary to read the history of the growth of McCarthyism in America to see how this process works.

6. This is related to our next point, which brings us back to Mississippi. We said earlier that the blame for the trouble in Mississippi last fall should be placed where it belongs: on the Jackson Daily News and other segregationists in Mississippi. In a deeper sense, there is also another culprit. This is the whole atmosphere of lingering McCarthyism which makes such an attack effective. And we believe that all persons who consider themselves liberal but who have refused to take a firm stand against the perpetuation of this atmosphere are in part responsible for the fact that the atmosphere exists. Unfortunately too many people are in this category. Sure, all liberals are against McCarthyism in the abstract---but the key question is what do they do when specific McCarthyite attacks occur. Do they stand up and say: "no, stop this"---or do they look the other way, stay quiet---and if the attack is not directed at them at the moment decide the person or organization under attack is expendable and that they'll stay out of it so the smear won't rub off on them?

Each time enough people do that sort of withdrawal, the power of this kind of attack grows and the atmosphere is polluted accordingly. Conversely, each time people stand up and say "no, we don't like this," the power of such attack is weakened and the atmosphere is improved accordingly. In other words, we all contribute our bit to the atmosphere.

One of the many problems in the South today is that too many people have, by default, placed their weight on the wrong side of this thing. They have not stood up and said no. If they had, they could long ago have taken the fire out of this sort of attack. To get down to cases, we are distressed about the difficulties that civil-rights workers in Mississippi had in the wake of the Jackson Daily News attack. But we are also convinced that if enough Southern liberals had taken a firm stand against this kind of thing some years ago, the people in Mississippi would not have been in such a situation in 1962. The Jackson Daily News might have tried to do the same thing, but it simply would not have had the same effect. The fires have been fed too long by some of the very people who now make us the scapegoats of the whole affair.

* * * * *

We realize that what happened last fall in Mississippi and at the inter-agency meeting in Atlanta is water over the dam now, and nothing can be done to undo any of it. But the issues raised by this episode remain to haunt us all.

We have written the above memo in the hope that it will be read and considered by all who were involved last fall and who will face such issues in the future. We know that many people will not agree with us; we do feel that you all should consider our viewpoint---just as we should consider yours.

We also request that we be given an opportunity to be present at any future formal meeting where such issues, if related to us, are to be discussed.

If you wish to contact us in person about this, our address is: 4403 Virginia Avenue, Louisville 11, Kentucky, telephone: 774-3331.

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John J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

Public School Consultant
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

September 6, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

In accordance with Les Dunbar's letter of August 28, it is my pleasure now to begin working with you on the Leadership Project. Please feel free to give me suggestions. I am sure with your "ear close to the ground", you sense many situations and places where we might give some help.

September, the month of opening the schools, is not a good time to call on school people; they are too busy with routine matters. However, I am planning to spend a day or two about the middle of September in Washington, D. C. visiting with Dr. Ralph Flynt and Dr. Robert Rosenzweig of the U. S. Office of Education; Miss Elizabeth R. Cole, Chief, Public Education Section, Commission on Civil Rights; and Mrs. Alice Fulmer Dunham, Staff Associate of the American Association of University Women.

In my report of August 23, I explained my efforts to have a conference with Mrs. Charles Feazel. Mrs. Dunham had given me the name of Mrs. Feazel, AAUW official in Birmingham a few days before I left on this trip. I was suggested to Mrs. Dunham by Dr. Rosenzweig of the U. S. Office as a qualified resource to give Mrs. Dunham of Washington and Mrs. Feazel of Birmingham the information they were seeking. My visits with these groups will be in the nature of follow-up, etc.

In October, I am planning to spend the week of October 15 in Birmingham. Instead of boring you with details here, I refer you to my report of August 23, beginning on page 3. This report gives my plans as far as I know them now. I am writing today to Superintendent Ike Browder of Gadsden and the superintendents in the Muscle Shoals area so they can arrange conferences with me during the week of October 15. I am writing also to Rev. Jimerson, Mrs. Feazel, Superintendent Wright, and others to give them time to arrange meetings.

John J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

Public School Consultant
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Enroute to Birmingham, I expect to spend October 11 in Atlanta and October 12 in Chattanooga. If I can finish in Birmingham in time, I expect to be in Atlanta again the afternoon of October 19. I hope to see you either or both October 11 and 19.

I am looking forward to seeing and talking with you.

Very sincerely yours,

Brew

J. J. Brewbaker
Public School Consultant

JJB:ab

C/c Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar

John J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

Public School Consultant
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

September 24, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Your letter of September 18 has been received. I expect to see you the morning of October 11 if it suits you -- or any time during the day.

I am enclosing copy of my report of my Washington, D. C. visit September 20 and 21, copy of expense account for the trip, and copy of my Revolving Office Expense account from January 1, 1962 through September 30, 1962.

Sincerely,

Brew

J. J. Brewbaker,
Public School Consultant

JJB:ab

Enc./ 3

REPORT
to
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
September 24, 1962

J. J. Brewbaker

September is a busy month for school people, so it occured to me this would be a good time to spend a couple of days in Washington, D. C. renewing and making new contacts related to but not directly concerned with the operation of schools.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

I spent September 20 and 21 visiting four different organizations, as follows:

UNITED STATES OFFICE OF EDUCATION

My first call was on Dr. Ralph Flynt, Assistant Commissioner for Research. Dr. Flynt seemed glad to see me and said he wished to tell me the progress that had been made since my last visit. He said they thought it advisable to select someone from his department (he didn't want to increase the personnel of his office) to direct this study which I described in a former report. After carefully screening the members of his staff, they selected Ed Ford of Missouri. He said they felt Mr. Ford was far enough south not to be objectionable to southerners. By the way, Dr. Flynt told me he was born in Georgia.

They intend to explore and discover local people in various professions or business who have favorable attitudes to furnish information. They will use also available outside consultants from time to time to give information and suggestions.

Dr. Flynt invited me to visit him whenever I am in Washington; that he would like to keep me informed as to the progress being made.

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

Mrs. Elizabeth Cole, Chief, Public Education Section is on vacation with her husband in Europe, but I had the pleasure of talking with Dr. Laurence W. Knowles who is in charge during Mrs. Cole's absence. Dr. Knowles is Professor of Law at the University of Louisville and is now on a one-year leave of absence, working with the Commission on Civil Rights.

Dr. Knowles showed much interest in the work I am doing and asked me to read and give my comments while in his office the section about desegregation in the Norfolk schools which will be in the next report of the Commission, entitled, "Equal Protection of the Laws in the Public Schools". I read this section eagerly and found it quite accurate. I understand the report will be printed and ready for distribution in October. At the present, it is in mimeograph form, and Dr. Knowles gave me copies of the report of the four southern states, but

he said the information must not be given out until the report is ready for public use. However, I have permission to give some general information about the report.

This report consists of four southern states, Virginia, Tennessee, North Carolina, and Kentucky; and four northern cities, St. Louis, New Rochelle, Chicago, and Philadelphia. (St. Louis may not be strictly northern but considered so in this report.) The report was written by eight lawyers on a contract basis who are members of the law faculties of Universities in the respective States and Cities. For example, Dr. Edward A. Mearns, Jr. of the Law School of the University of Virginia wrote the Virginia report, and Dr. Laurence W. Knowles of the Law School of the University of Louisville wrote the Kentucky report. These law professors gathered the information from school people, business men, lawyers, teachers, parents, both White and Negro. Another example, to give some idea of the report, is the Virginia report includes Legislative Background, then the school systems of Charlottesville, Norfolk, Richmond, Warren County, northern Virginia, and a Summary. This report promises to be most interesting.

Dr. Knowles said they were planning another similar report to come out about next April which would include eight more states and cities.

NATIONAL CHAPTER, AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF UNIVERSITY WOMEN

Last August, about a week before I left for my visit in Birmingham, and Northern Alabama, I received a letter from Mrs. Alice Fulmer Dunham, Staff Associate of the Elementary and Secondary Education section at the National Headquarters of AAUW requesting information on desegregation in different places, including Atlanta. Mrs. Dunham had received a request for information from Mrs. Charles E. Feazel of the AAUW of Birmingham for this information, and when she requested it from the U. S. Office of Education, she was referred to me. In my telephone conversation with Mrs. Dunham at that time, she asked me to come by to see her on my next visit in Washington.

In approaching the AAUW National headquarters at 2401 Virginia Avenue, N. W. through the grounds of George Washington University, I was so favorably impressed with the magnificent building that I could hardly believe it belonged to the AAUW. It is a large modern, built in 1959, eight-story building with a beautiful lounge, cafeteria and other rooms on the first floor, auditorium and conference rooms on the second floor and offices on the six upper floors. However, I learned that three floors at present are rented to a section of the National Science Foundation which affords the AAUW a nice income.

Mrs. Dunham had invited me to have lunch with her on September 21 which I enjoyed very much. She told me the chief concern of the AAUW

is to furnish information to any of their chapters when they requested it. Of course the National Chapter of AAUW is integrated, and they have several Negro employees in the building.

It was my good fortune to meet also Mrs. Tompkins, the President of the National Chapter. My visit was a most pleasant one, and I promised Mrs. Dunham that I would furnish her with information whenever needed if I had it.

THE POTOMAC INSTITUTE

Whenever in Washington, I drop in and have a chat with Harold Fleming. We brought each other up-to-date on happenings of mutual interest. It is always nice to see Harold.

This was a most interesting and worthwhile trip.

REVOLVING OFFICE EXPENSE ACCOUNT

September 30, 1962

This statement is for the period beginning January 1, 1962 through September 30, 1962.

December 31, 1961	BALANCE CARRIED FORWARD		$ 16.84
January 2, 1962	Check to replenish fund		183.16
	TOTAL		$ 200.00

EXPENDITURES

Secretarial Assistance for the period (1/1/62 thru 9/30/62)		$ 110.00	
Office Supplies: 1 Calendar filler		1.20	
Postage for period		20.39	
Subscription Renewals:			
Human Relations Training News - 1 year	$ 2.00		
Race Relations Law Reporter - 1 year	5.00		
		7.00	
Printing and Cost of paper, brochures, letterheads, envelopes etc. (Paid bill attached)		34.50	
TOTAL EXPENDITURES			$ 193.09
September 30, 1962 -	BALANCE		$ 6.91

J. J. Beerlessen

EXPENSE ACCOUNT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Date September 24 19 62

TRAVEL (type of transportation & destination)

Round trip from Norfolk to Washington

Auto -

425 Miles at .08
(auto @ .08 per mile) $ 34.00

TAXICABS & LIMOUSINES, ETC.

Taxi fare $ 2.25

~~MISCELLANEOUS~~

Auto Storage and Parking 4.25
Tunnel Tolls 1.50
Local telephone calls $ 1.20

MEALS and HOTEL (Subsistence)

2 days at $12.00

$ 24.00

OTHER EXPENSES (itemize)

Consultant's Fee - 2 days at $50.00 $ 100.00

Total $ 167.20

Less Advance

Total Due $ 167.20

Signed J. J. Brewbaker
(please type or print)

Address 545 Mayflower Drive City & State Norfolk, Virginia

J. J. Brewbaker

Date and purpose of trip September 20 and 21; To confer with U. S. Office of Education, U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, National Chapter of the American Association of University Women, and Harold Fleming of the Potomac Institute.

October 4, 1962

Mr. J. J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Brew:

Thank you for your letter of September 24. I will be in Nashville October 11 and 12. I hope we can get together during your October trip.

You probably know that a Negro serviceman did attempt to register his child in a white school in Princeville, Alabama. The application was rejected and a school board hearing on the matter was scheduled last week. I have not heard what occurred. Norman Jimerson has full details.

This would seem to be a particularly propitious time for your trip to Alabama.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

John J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

Public School Consultant
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

October 22, 1962

Dear Paul,

Since my secretary is on vacation, I shall be unable to send in my report for a few days.

In thinking over the best use of the extra days during the week of November 12 after I finished the meeting in Mobile, I wonder if a day or day and one-half in Birmingham wouldn't be good. It would be a month since I had been there and the Supt. should know something from the Court Hearing which resumed October 24. This would enable me to visit Pensacola and Birmingham enroute from Mobile to Atlanta for Board meeting November 19 & 20.

Be sure to send me in the info. I requested for Mrs. Frazel - Leader of the League of Women Voters, Thx

Sincerely, Brew

John J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

Public School Consultant
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

October 29, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I am enclosing copy of my report and expense account for trip October 9 - 20 to Atlanta, Birmingham, and Chattanooga.

Sincerely,

Brew

J. J. Brewbaker
Public School Consultant

JJB:ab

Enc./ 2

REPORT
TO
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
by
J. J. BREWBAKER
October 29, 1962

My chief objective in this October trip was to spend a week in Birmingham working with groups brought together by the Alabama school administrators and to have conferences with some of the business and professional leaders of Birmingham. The groups had state-wide representation. Enroute to Birmingham, I stopped off at Atlanta and from there made a one-day visit to Chattanooga.

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

At 10 A. M. on Thursday, October 11, I called on Dr. John W. Letson, Superintendent of Atlanta Schools. Dr. Letson is very pleased over Atlanta's progress, especially at Murphy High where they have the largest number of Negroes assigned. Since Murphy serves a rather low economic area, a smooth transition is even more gratifying.

He and I discussed also the forthcoming CBS program scheduled for October 24 which includes Atlanta, Clinton and Norfolk. He feels it will be good for Atlanta and is cooperating fully with CBS. The Norfolk School Board decided also to cooperate, but it seems the Norfolk City Council brought sufficient pressure on the School Board to cause a withdrawal of its permission. The Council stated it would "open up old wounds", offend the state organization etc. There is one important difference: Norfolk is fiscally dependent on the City Council while Atlanta is not.

As I understand, the program is to show how smoothly desegregation is working in these places despite the University of Mississippi episode. CBS has sufficient information to use Norfolk in the broadcast; they will be unable to get and use present classroom activities since they are prohibited from entering the schools.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Paul Rilling and I had an interesting conference in which we reviewed my visits on this trip and discussed some future plans.

GEORGIA COUNCIL OF HUMAN RELATIONS

Mrs. Frances Pauley, Director, and Mr. Oliver S. Holmes, Associate Director met with me in their office on October 19. They gave me some interesting reports on activities which are taking place in Savannah and Brunswick, Georgia.

CHATTANOOGA, TENNESSEE

Dr. Carmichael, Superintendent of Chattanooga Schools, had to be absent, attending a meeting in Chicago, but he arranged for me to meet

with Dr. Elizabeth L. Dalton, Coordinator of Secondary Education, who has been working closely with the superintendent on the problems of desegregation, and R. A. Taylor, Assistant Superintendent for General Administration.

There are now 45 Negro pupils, grades 1 through 3, assigned to classes in five different elementary schools. Both Dr. Dalton and Mr. Taylor said there had not been a single incident of any kind.

At the present time, Dr. Dalton is writing the story of desegregation in the Chattanooga Schools. This will come out in booklet or brochure form and should be very interesting, judging from the table of contents which she had set up already in tentative form.

It is interesting to note the approach Chattanooga is taking toward the recent development regarding transfers of pupils, at the pupil's request, "when the school he is zoned to attend is predominantly of another race".

To show the disagreement in the Circuit Courts of Appeals and because of the wide scope of the article as written in the October 11 edition of the Chattanooga Times, I am quoting below the article in full. The decision of the Supreme Court on this appeal will be quite significant because up to this time, this type of transfer generally has been allowed. The Virginia case referred to is Charlottesville.

WITT TO ATTEMPT HIGH COURT PLEA

Seeks to Present School Board
Argument on Transfer Plan

By Springer Gibson

The city school board Wednesday authorized Raymond Witt Jr. its vice chairman and attorney in desegregation litigation, to seek permission to file a brief as friend of the court when the U. S. Supreme Court reviews the pupil transfer plan of the Davidson County and Knoxville school systems.

Witt is expected to request George McCanless, state attorney general, to sponsor such a move. The attorney general's sponsorship, he said, offers the best avenue for getting the Chattanooga argument before the Supreme Court when it is not a litigant. Witt also may suggest to Memphis that it join Chattanooga in the proposal.

The Knoxville and Davidson County plans permit the transfer of a pupil at the pupil's request when the school he is zoned to attend is predominantly of another race.

NOT APPROVED

The Chattanooga board is not operating under that plan, although it desires to do so. District Judge Frank Wilson did not approve that part of the school board's plan for desegregation. The board has appealed Judge Wilson's transfer decision and the case is expected to be heard by the 6th Circuit Court of Appeals in Cincinnati in February.

In the meantime, Witt said, the decision of the U. S. Supreme Court in the Knoxville and Davidson County case will determine ultimately the result of its own appeal.

For that reason, it was decided, it would be to the advantage of the board to have its arguments presented when the Supreme Court considers the case.

Witt said that there have been conflicting decisions in the 5th and 6th Circuit Court of Appeals relating to transfers. He said that the 6th Circuit has upheld the Davidson County and Knoxville plan whereas the 5th Circuit has held such a plan unconstitutional in a Dallas case.

Avon Williams, Nashville attorney for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, pointed out that the 4th Circuit Court of Appeals also has ruled such transfer plans unconstitutional in a Virginia Case.

ILLINOIS CASE

Witt noted that the 7th Circuit Court of Appeals ruled in a desegregation case in Illinois that all state administrative remedies must be exhausted before a case may be accepted in a federal court. He said this may have significance in connection with the transfer proposals.

At the present time under the Chattanooga plan a pupil is required to attend the school in which he is zoned, unless the zone line has been changed, in which case he may continue to attend the school he attended before the zone lines were changed.

BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA

My first call in Birmingham was on Reverend Norman C. Jimerson early Monday morning, October 15. Mr. Jimerson felt better than he did when I

saw him in August, despite the Talladega experience, and he was much pleased that the recent Southern Christian Leadership Conference had been held without any major incident. He assisted me in completing my schedule for the week in Birmingham.

Some grouping of the items in this report will help to save time and space; therefore, I shall discuss the individual conferences first and then the group conferences.

The Episcopal Church and office of Bishop George M. Murray was in the next block above the Tutwiler Hotel where I was staying, and I made my next call on him. He seemed to be pleased with the improvement in the climate of the City and told me that he was a college classmate of Governor-Nominate Wallace. He and the others with whom I talked are quite discouraged with the attitude of Governor Wallace.

My next individual conference was with James A. Head, owner of a large stationery store and Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce Committee of 100 business men who are seeking new industry for the City. Mr. Head was quite enthusiastic about the improvement that was taking place and told me how they had held the meeting of the SCLC in Birmingham without major incidents, and he cited certain improvements and changes in the attitudes of important people. In fact, Mr. Head suggested and arranged a conference for me with James E. Mills, Editor of the Post-Herald. Mr. Mills is an example of some of those who are changing. I shall relate my conference with him later in the report.

Mr. Head has had much to do with the organization of the group of Senior Citizens which consists at present of 89 members, 10 or 15 of them Negro. He gives much of the credit for the successful meetings of SCLC to this committee. It seems the committee urged Commissioner Bull Conner to see that law and order be maintained which I understand was done very well.

Just before I left Mr. Head's office, Mr. Harry Pritchard, a director of the Alabama Gas Company, came in to see Mr. Head. I was invited to stay to meet him, and we had some interesting conversation about the Alabama situation. Mr. Pritchard lives in Tuscaloosa and is Chairman of the Tuscaloosa School Board.

At 8:30 A. M. on October 17, I called on Superintendent Kermit Johnson of Jefferson County Schools. His school system has had no applications of Negroes to enter white schools, so we discussed the situation generally. He has a more hopeful attitude than the superintendent of Birmingham; however, he is not facing the problem at this time. Dr. Johnson is a very fine superintendent, and everyone withwhom I talked in Birmingham has the highest praise for him.

Mrs. Charles Feazel of the AAUW met me at 12 Noon for lunch. The AAUW and the League of Women Voters had not formed definite plans, and she asked me for information as to procedures. I told her that I would send her the names of the leaders in the organizations in New Orleans and Atlanta where the groups had done a good job. She said she would call on me later for more help.

At 1:30 P. M., I met with Dr. Frazier Banks, former superintendent of Birmingham, and now Director of the Birmingham Education Television program. He was superintendent of the Birmingham Schools when the first petitions and applications for Negroes to enter white schools were received. He reviewed the history of the case and shaking his head said, "I'm afraid we are in for trouble".

My heavy schedule on this day took me at 3 P. M. to the office of James E. Mills, Editor of the Birmingham Post-Herald. As I stated previously, Mr. Head asked me to see Mr. Mills because of his changing attitude.

The Birmingham News had been more liberal in its policy than the Post-Herald, but now there was beginning to be a change, and the Post-Herald also was showing a more logical, liberal policy.

Mr. Mills opened the conversation with he had read my brochure and that he didn't have too much admiration for my sponsors. He said the Rockefeller Brothers are always sticking their noses into something which was none of their business; we could get along better without outsiders coming in to cause trouble, etc.

As tactfully as I could, I pointed out that the Rockefeller Brothers did much good; for example, the restoration of Colonial Williamsburg of which I am very proud. He agreed with this. I told him my sole purpose was to exchange experiences and give any information that might be helpful. I continued that some one did a good job when the SCLC had its recent meeting in Birmingham. This statement seemed to please him very much. (I knew that Mr. Mills had worked closely with the Senior Citizens Committee on this.)

We then discussed the coming election in Birmingham to change the city government from the Commissioner type to the Mayor-Council type. He is strong for the change and so am I except I would go still further to the City-Manager-Council type.

In concluding the conference, he said he hoped that they could get by with token desegregation in 1963. He was sure they would have to start then and that they just as well prepare for it. I wished them much success, and he cordially invited me to come to see him whenever I am in the City.

GROUP CONFERENCES

There were two group conferences. The first was held on October 16 at 10 A. M. and the second one on October 18 at 10 A. M. Both groups met

with me at the Tutwiler Hotel. The Hotel was most cooperative and gave me permission to use the very attractive living room of one of their suites.

The conference on October 16 consisted of seven superintendents of Nothern Alabama. Superintendent C. M. Brewster of Sheffield suggested when I saw him in August that a group of them meet with me in Birmingham in October to continue our discussion. He organized the group and did a good job bringing the following to the meetings:

Superintendent C. M. Brewster, Sheffield

Superintendent Rufus G. Hibbett, Florence

Superintendent R. E. Moore, Tuscumbia

Superintendent James F. Moore, Jr., Muscle Shoals

Superintendent H. R. Leeman, Decatur

Superintendent R. L. Christian, Huntsville

Superintendent Theo Wright, Birmingham

Superintendent Kermit Johnson of Jefferson County was unable to be present because of a previous commitment.

We discussed several problems in which the group was interested, but most of the time was used listening to Superintendent Theo Wright of Birmingham and Superintendent R. L. Christian of Huntsville. These were the only ones present who were facing immediate desegregation. Both told of their situations in detail. The hearings for Birmingham resume October 24 and the plaintiffs are asking for complete and all-out desegregation. The applicant in Huntsville has been denied, and the superintendent is waiting further action on the part of the parents.

This group decided that it was a good idea to get together to talk over these matters, and I suggested superintendents and their school boards should talk over their approaching problems as well as groups of superintendents. We have reached the stage where we can at least talk about desegregation.

The second and last group conference was held on October 18 at the Tutwiler. Superintdent Ike Browder of Gadsden proposed to me in August that he try to get together some state leaders to meet with me in Birmingham in October. This group was smaller than the first as a number who were invited were unable to come and maybe one or two didn't want to attend.

Those present were Superintendent H. D. Nelson of Tuscaloosa, Dr. Robert Bills, Assistant Dean of Research, College of Education, University of Alabama, and Superintendent Ike Browder of Gadsden. Several others were invited including State Superintendent-Elect A. R. Meadows. Superintendent

Browder wanted especially for me to meet Dr. Meadows. We fear he is too closely affiliated with Governor-Nominate Wallace. I told Superintendent Nelson of Tuscaloosa that I had the pleasure of meeting his Board Chairman Pritchard on Wednesday.

This group discussed the situation generally, including academic achievement. They agreed that those involved should meet often to discuss those matters facing them.

Superintendent Browder won't give up. He gave me a warm invitation to attend the annual state meeting of the Alabama Superintendents to be held in Mobile, November 11, 12, and 13. He said he would introduce me to the superintendents and also arrange for groups to meet with me. I tentatively accepted the invitation and promised to do my best to attend. This would afford superintendents an opportunity to meet me away from their offices which a few still prefer. I feel it is quite worthwhile for me to attend.

My impression of the people of Alabama is more favorable with each visit.

EXPENSE ACCOUNT

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Date: October 29, 1962

TRAVEL (Type of transportation & destination)

Atlanta, Chattanooga and Birmingham.
TRAVEL - Train Travel card except -
Greyhound from Atlanta to Chattanooga $8.36
Reserved seat - Birmingham to Atlanta .55

(auto @ .08 per mile) $ 8.91

TAXICABS & LIMOUSINE, ETC.

Taxi-fares $ 14.25

~~HOTEL~~

Train Porters and Red Caps 3.50

Local Telephone Calls 2.80

$

MEALS and HOTEL (Subsistence)

11 days at $12.00

Special - Luncheon with Mrs. Feazel - Ice $ 132.00
Water, beverage service and Maid service for
Conference room for two conferences. 12.10

OTHER EXPENSES (Itemize)

Consultant's Fee - 12 days at $50.00
(One day added for planning trip, completing $ 600.00
reports, etc.)

Total $ 773.56

Less Advance $

Total Due ..... $ 773.56

Signed J. J. Brewbaker Address 545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

Date &
Purpose of Trip October 9 - 20 inclusive; To confer with school people and other citizens individually and in groups.

November 1, 1962

Mr. J. J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Brew:

Thank you for your excellent and interesting report on your recent trip to Alabama. I certainly think your plan to visit Pensacola, Mobile, and Birmingham on your next trip is a sound one and I hope it works out. Concerning your request for names of Atlanta persons who were active with the American Association of University Women and the League of Women Voters in the Open Schools effort here: the League was extremely active; the AAUW not very. The people to contact concerning the League effort would be: Mrs. Ed Vinson, 328 Chelsea Circle, N.E., who was then president of the Georgia League of Women Voters, and Mrs. G. RayA. Mitchell, who was chairman of the Atlanta League (3986 Club Drive, N.E.).

For information about AAUW members, Mrs. Feagel should contact Mrs. Edgar Dunstan, 710 Pinetree Drive, Decatur, who was personally active and who is currently chairman of the Atlanta Chapter AAUW.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

John J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

Public School Consultant
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

November 5, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I am enclosing copy of my report and expense account for my attendance at the State Superintendents Conference and Virginia Education Association Meeting October 30, 31 and November 1, 2, 1962.

I thank you for your nice letter of November 1. I shall use the information at once. I am planning to visit Mobile, Pensacola, and Birmingham, leaving Norfolk on the night of November 9. The superintendent's meeting opens in Mobile on Sunday, November 11.

I shall see you at the Annual Meeting, November 19 and 20.

Very sincerely yours,

Brew

J. J. Brewbaker,
Public School Consultant

JJB:ab

Enc./ 2

REPORT
TO
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
by
J. J. BREWBAKER
November 5, 1962

The Virginia Education Association including the Department of School Administrators of Virginia held its 78th Annual Convention in Richmond, October 29 - November 3, 1962.

Probably the most significant event of the Convention was the passage of the "local option" policy by the delegate assembly by a vote of 591 to 550. Last year a local option study committee was appointed to report its findings to the board of directors of the Association and then to the delegate assembly for final action.

The local option study Committee recommended that the present V. E. A. membership policy remain unchanged and that local option not be permitted. The Committee's report had been approved by the board of directors by a vote of 13 to 3.

After a 45-minute debate in the delegate assembly, the Committee's report was voted down by secret ballot by a vote of 591 to 550. The secret ballot was a departure from the usual procedure, and the delegate assembly voted to depart from the Constitution and By-laws and use the secret ballot in this case. This change also required much discussion before the secret ballot procedure was used.

The local option plan means that local associations have the privilege to integrate their teacher associations, but the Negro members cannot become members of the Virginia Education Association. The State Negro organization is the Virginia Teachers Association.

The immediate effects of the change are:

(1) The Fairfax Education Association is free to integrate as it has indicated it may.

(2) The Arlington Education Association which lost its affiliation with VEA last year when it accepted about 80 Negro teachers into membership may now regain VEA affiliation. At the present time Arlington has only one local teachers association of approximately 1200 members, about 80 of whom are Negro.

It was my privilege to speak to the majority of the more than 100 state superintendents present, and a number of them voluntarily told me about their local situation. Superintendent Caldwell of Powhatan said they were waiting for action by the Federal Court, and Superintendent McIlwaine of Prince Edward, who has recently returned from a three-month

trip to Japan, also said Prince Edward was waiting for Court action. A number of other divisions, about 10 this year, had desegregated quietly without incident. The latest count brings Virginia to thirty desegregated school divisions.

It was my privilege also to hear some outstanding speakers among whom were Dr. Francis Keppel, Dean of the Graduate School of Education, Harvard University; and Dr. Lindley J. Stiles, Dean of the School of Education, The University of Wisconsin. Dr. Stiles formerly was Dean of the School of Education, University of Virginia.

EXPENSE ACCOUNT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Date November 5 1962

TRAVEL(type of transportation & destination)

Auto - Round trip from Norfolk to Richmond and some travel in Richmond

255 Miles at .08
(auto @ .08 per mile) $ 20.40

TAXICABS & LIMOUSINES, ETC.

$

~~HOTEL (meals & expenses)~~

Tunnel Tolls 1.50

Local Telephone Calls 1.20

$

MEALS and Hotel (Subsistence)

4 days at $12.00 48.00

$

OTHER EXPENSES (itemize)

Consultant's Fee - 4 days at $50.00

$ 200.00

Total $ 271.10

Less Advance

Total Due $ 271.10

Signed J. J. Brewbaker
(please type or print)

Address 545 Mayflower Drive City & State Norfolk, Virginia

Date and purpose of trip October 30, 31 and November 1, 2, 1962; To continue contacts with Virginia superintendents and discuss any desegregation problem that might arise.

John J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

Public School Consultant
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

November 30, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I am enclosing copy of my report and expense account for trip to Mobile, Pensacola, Birmingham, and Atlanta, November 9 - 20, 1962.

I am so sorry I could not stay for the entire Southern Regional Council Annual Meeting. The short time I was there was most enjoyable and interesting.

Sincerely,

Brew

J. J. Brewbaker
Public School Consultant

JJB:ab

Enc./ 2

Photo copies
L CK

REPORT
TO
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
by
J. J. BREWBAKER
November 30, 1962

This trip was planned with two main objectives in mind: first, to attend the Annual Conference of the Alabama Association of School Administrators in Mobile, November 11, 12, and 13 to which I had been invited; and second, to attend the Annual Meeting of the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta, November 19 and 20. Since there were several days between these meetings, I planned to visit Pensacola and Birmingham during the interim.

MOBILE, ALABAMA - CONFERENCE OF ALABAMA SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS

There were more than 100 superintendents, classroom teacher, Parent-teacher, and College and University representatives attending this three-day conference. Among these were the president and the executive secretary of the Alabama Education Association, the executive secretary of the Alabama Parent-Teacher Association, and the president of the Mobile classroom teachers. The tone was set by some state-wide happenings; such as: the November 6 election in Birmingham changed the City form of government from the antiquated commissioner type to the modern Mayor-Council type; on Friday, November 9, the Trustees of the University of Alabama, mindful of integration violence in Mississippi, in open session, expressed its determination that law and order must be maintained at all times on the campus of the University, and that the Board would not condone, and would take any measure it seemed necessary to prevent violence, riot, or disorder; on the following day, Saturday, November 11, the University of Alabama Alumni Council added its support to the trustees' stand for law and order; and one day after the end of the conference, November 14, the University of Alabama faculty of more than 600 members added its strength by approving a three-point resolution affirming that:

1. UA must discharge its duties in a manner consistent with the law of the land.

2. It is the duty and purpose of the faculty to teach all students enrolled at this institution.

3. Learning can flourish only in a peaceful atmosphere free from the threat of violence.

A News source said only one faculty member voted against the resolution.

It is most encouraging that Governor Patterson, a member of the Board of Trustees, was present when the unanimous vote of that body was taken. Also, the alumni group commended Governor Patterson and Governor-

Elect Wallace for their assurance "That law and order shall and will be maintained at the University of Alabama". These reports are most encouraging.

The registration of the delegates began Sunday afternoon, and I feel sure I met practically everyone there. Dr. Frank Newell, Superintendent of Calhoun County Public Schools, cordially invited me to be their guest at the opening dinner meeting that night which I accepted. The speaker was Dr. Carl Adkins, pastor of the Dauphin Way Methodist Church. Dr. Adkins is a powerful and courageous speaker. He began by describing the vital role of the educational profession in the modern world, and then he suggested that both educators and ministers have not fully met the challenge of their professions. Some excerpts from his address, as follows:

> "If we had," he said, "things which have happened in our state and our sister state would not have happened."
>
> Contending that "masses cannot be educated as masses" but that education must reach each individual on an individual basis, Dr. Adkins defined the "great school leader" as "one in whose presence other people gain a desire for knowledge and purpose to live higher, nobler and more useful lives."
>
> TRUTH HARD TO FIND
>
> The minister spoke of the problem of finding truth in the confusion of modern times and he commented that "the truth is difficult to obtain because of the prevalence of cheap imitations."
>
> "And we are paying a hideous price," he declared. "They have paid that price in Mississippi and we will pay it in Alabama unless certain people like you try to make your neighbors understand what it means to be a citizen of a law-abiding country."

Despite the fact that he is a Methodist, Dr. Adkins has been pastor of the same church in Mobile for 13 years. I had been previously introduced at the meeting, and when the meeting adjourned, I spoke to Dr. Adkins, commended him on his address and we talked for some time. He said he knew of my work and that at present they were working to have all the ministers in Mobile, Protestant and Catholic, propose a resolution for calmness and obedience to the law.

On Monday, November 12, I attended the sessions and had the privilege of hearing and meeting Dr. A. R. Meadows, State Superintendent Elect. Dr. Meadow's address was on Relationship of local

superintendents with state authority, but in meeting him after the meeting, he was most cordial and thanked me for attending the meeting. Superintendent Ike Browder introduced me to him and told him of my work. He expressed his regrets for not being able to attend the Conference with me in Birmingham last month to which Superintendent Browder had invited him.

Another highlight of my attendance was a group meeting with six interested superintendents at 4 P. M. after the general sessions of the day had concluded. Superintendent Ike Browder of Gadsden and Superintendent LeRoy Brown of Anniston arranged the meeting. Those present were:

Superintendent C. Frank Newell, Calhoun County
(Also President of the Association)
Superintendent LeRoy Brown, Anniston
Superintendent Ike Browder, Gadsden
Superintendent David W. Self, Phenix City
Superintendent W. W. Elliott, Tuscaloosa County
Superintendent T. H. Kirby, Opelika

We had an interesting round-table discussion for one hour.

The Conference concluded on Tuesday afternoon by adopting the following resolution:

"The association believes that the uninterrupted operation and continued development of the public school system of Alabama is essential to the preservation of our democratic way of life and the growth and development of the great state of Alabama."

My attendance at the Conference was a most interesting and helpful experience. It seems to me that the sound thinking leaders in Alabama are making a state-wide effort to meet this challenge, and I am encouraged to feel they will succeed. I have visited in Alabama three times for a total of about 25 days since August 1, consecrating on the Birmingham area. I have covered the entire state rather thoroughly, and my impressions continue to grow more favorable.

After I left Mobile, I read in the November 15 edition of the Birmingham News that an integration leader on November 14 placed before the Mobile school board a petition signed by 27 residents requesting the Board to act within 60 days to "provide for the elimination of all racial distinction and discrimination from the public school system, including the assignment of pupils and professional school personnel on a non-racial basis, with all deliberate speed".

PENSACOLA, FLORIDA

One of those interim days was spent in Pensacola. I went down from Mobile by Greyhound. I had a most interesting conference with Assistant Superintendent Reuben B. Orr and one member of the School Board. They are exceedingly well pleased with their situation and attribute their success to excellent preparation in advance.

Of the 58 Negro children who applied, 28 were assigned to 10 different schools, grades 1 - 12. Two more were quietly accepted later, and seven of the original ones moved or for various reasons did not report. At present, there are 23 Negro children attending White schools, and every one with whom I talked assured me that one would never know a change had taken place.

Dr. Orr feels that I could be of help in Duval and Hillsborough Counties, especially in Duval. I am planning to visit Duval in February.

BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA

My first call in Birmingham on the morning of November 15 was at the office of Rev. Norman Jimerson, Executive Director, Alabama Council on Human Relations. Mr. Jimerson was away in North Carolina, and I did not see him on this trip, but his secretary, Mrs. Annette Cox, was most helpful and told me of some of the developments since I had been there.

Mrs. Charles E. Feazel, the AAUW representative, wrote to me while I was in Mobile, thanked me for information I had sent to her and said she had had a very helpful talk with both Bishop Murray and James Head, whom I had suggested that she see. She said the League of Women Voters was working on the state level and felt there was nothing I could do for them until after Christmas. She closed by saying, "It is good to know that your kind offer of help still stands".

Mr. James A. Head, the business man on whom I lean heavily in Birmingham, seemed quite happy to see me. He is greatly encouraged with recent developments and asked me to go by again to see Superintendent Theo Wright of the Birmingham schools and to give him all the moral support I could. Mr. Head asked me for a dozen more brochures. He has distributed quite a number to his friends and feels they are helpful. You will remember that Mr. Head is Chairman of the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce Committee of 100 men working to bring industries into Birmingham.

Superintendent Theo Wright gave me an appointment Friday morning at 8 A. M. He starts to work very early, and on this day he had a Board

meeting at 10 A. M. He told me of the decision of Judge Seybourn Lynne in October which combined the two cases, reported on before, and gave the NAACP attorneys until December 1 to file additional briefs, and he set December 31 as the deadline for the school board attorneys to file answers to the briefs. Judge Lynne implied in his statements that there would be no desegregation before September 1963. Superintendent Wright is nervously waiting.

ATLANTA, GEORGIA - SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

My plan was to attend the Annual Meeting of the Southern Regional Council, November 19 and 20, and stay over to have three or four conferences on November 21. However, my stay was cut short by illness in my family, and I was able to attend only part of the first day of the Annual Meeting. Even this short time was quite worthwhile in that I saw and talked with some of my colleagues whom I had not seen for some time and heard the reports in the business session which brought me up-to-date in this area of the Council's work. I missed the program sessions in which I am much interested but hope to inform myself of these through reports of the meeting.

This was a most satisfactory trip.

EXPENSE ACCOUNT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Date November 30 1962

TRAVEL (type of transportation & destination)

Train Travel Card - Mobile, Pensacola, Birmingham and Atlanta.		
Greyhound from Mobile to Pensacola	$3.96	
Reserved seat - Birmingham to Atlanta	.50	
(auto @ .08 per mile)		$ 4.46

TAXICABS & LIMOUSINES, ETC.

Taxi fares	$ 13.50

~~HOTEL (Subsistence)~~

Train Porters and Red Caps	3.75
Local telephone calls	2.20
	$

MEALS and HOTEL (Subsistence)

11 days at $12.00	132.00
	$

OTHER EXPENSES (itemize)

Consultant's Fee - 12 days at $50.00 (One day added for planning trip, completing reports, etc.)	$ 600.00
Total	$ 755.91
Less Advance	
Total Due	$ 755.91

Signed J. J. Brewbaker
(please type or print)

Address 545 Mayflower Drive City & State Norfolk, Virginia

J. J. Brewbaker

Date and purpose of trip November 9 - 20, 1962; To attend Annual Conference of Alabama School Administrators in Mobile; Annual Meeting of Southern Regional Council in Atlanta; and consult with school people and interested citizens in Pensacola and Birmingham.

MM BB

John J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

Public School Consultant
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

January 30, 1963

Dear Paul,

In going over my pile of mail which accumulated while Mrs. Brewbaker was in the hospital, I've just read in the Newsletter of the Tennessee Council on Human Relations, December issue, that you are the new Director of Field Activities for SRC. Congratulations! I'm sure you will do a good job and it will be a pleasure working with you in your new position, as it has been in the past.

I plan to attend the Regional Meeting or Conference of the Associated Public School Systems in Savannah Feb. 4 + 5 and shall come on to Atlanta on Feb 6 and spend Feb. 7 + 8 there. I shall have the opportunity to see a great many of the superintendents of the Southeast at the Savannah Conference.

Shall see you next week.

Sincerely,

Brew

Copy for FP? Yes.
MM

John J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

Public School Consultant
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

February 11, 1963

Mr. Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I am enclosing my report and expense account for trip to Savannah and Atlanta, February 3 - 9, 1963.

It was a pleasure to talk with you, and I shall send you some tentative plans for the spring after my return from Atlantic City.

Sincerely,

Brew

J. J. Brewbaker
Public School Consultant

JJB:ab

Enc./ 2

REPORT
TO
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
by
J. J. Brewbaker
February 11, 1963

On February 3, I began my first trip since the latter part of November 1962. In the meantime, however, I did write a few letters, answered some questions, and thought through some tentative plans for the spring of 1963.

SAVANNAH, GEORGIA

The meetings of the Associated Public School Systems give me an opportunity to see and talk with some superintendents who still prefer talking about their desegregation problems away from home. The National annual meeting of this organization in July 1962 was held in Seattle, Washington which was too far for me to travel. During the fall and spring following the National meeting, regional meetings are held. The southeastern regional meeting was scheduled for Savannah February 4 and 5, and I planned to attend it. When I reached Savannah on the morning of February 4, the superintendent told me due to other conflicting meetings in Georgia, they had postponed the APSS meeting. He apologized for not notifying me but said the decision had been very recent, and there was nothing in the papers about it. He assured me I would receive notice of the next meeting. I was anxious to attend this regional meeting as I thought there would be some superintendents from Mississippi in attendance, and at this time I am angling for all the entrees I can find into this state. However, I am planning to attend the American Association of School Administrators annual meeting to be held in Atlantic City, February 15 - 20, and I'm sure I shall have an opportunity there to see some of the Mississippi superintendents.

Superintendent D. Leon McCormac and I had a nice visit while I was in Savannah on Monday, February 4, at which time he told me that the plaintiffs had petitioned all out desegregation including faculties as well as pupils. They are expecting the case to be heard very soon now. Savannah should have no particular problem. It seems all other organizations and activities are desegregated already to some extent except public schools and churches.

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

On Tuesday, February 5, I traveled on to Atlanta by train and spent the remainder of the week there, and in the surrounding area.

DeKALB COUNTY SCHOOLS

On Wednesday, February 6, I visited in the superintendent's office in Decatur and talked at some length with Deputy Superintendent S. A. Moss. There seems to be no immediate problem here, and in reply to my

questions, Mr. Moss said they had separate attendance districts for white and Negro pupils, that they had no active applications at this time, and they thought it would be wise for them to wait for a court order before proceeding. In reply to another question about the climate of the community, Mr. Moss thought they would not have any more trouble than Atlanta. When I observed that Atlanta's example should make it easier for DeKalb and other Georgia school systems, he agreed that no doubt it would.

Before I left the School Administration Building in Decatur, I went by Superintendent Cherry's office, spoke to him and Mr. Candler, School Board Attorney. They were busy preparing the papers necessary to offer for bids the bonds which had recently been voted for new buildings. Superintendent Cherry most cordially invited me to come again real soon; he would like to sit down and have a long visit with me.

On Thursday and Friday, February 7 and 8, I spent the time visiting Southern Regional Council Headquarters, Mrs. Eliza Paschall and her group of the Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations, and Mrs. William Pauley of the Georgia Council on Human Relations.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

I paid three visits to Southern Regional Council and had two pleasant and interesting visits with Paul Anthony. I missed Leslie Dunbar who was out of the City attending Council activities elsewhere. Paul Anthony and I analyzed the present situation the best we could and discussed future plans. In my opinion, there is cause for optimism in a number of regions.

ATLANTA AND GEORGIA COUNCILS ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Atlanta and Georgia Councils on Human Relations made it easy for me to visit with representatives of both Councils at a luncheon at Southern Regional Council Headquarters on Thursday, February 7. I had previously had a short visit with Mrs. Paschall and Mrs. Perkins of the Atlanta Council on Wednesday.

We had present at the luncheon on Thursday Mrs. Joseph Masuck, Education Chairman of the Georgia League of Women Voters, Mrs. William Pauley, Executive Secretary of the Georgia Council on Human Relations, Mrs. Eliza Paschall, Executive Secretary, Mr. Tom McPherson, Assistant Executive Secretary, and Mrs. Charles Perkins, Secretary of the Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations. We had a most helpful discussion of the situation in Atlanta and nearby communities as well as in Georgia generally.

Despite my disappointment in Savannah, I feel my trip was most worth while.

John J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

Public School Consultant
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

February 28, 1963

Mr. Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I am enclosing my report and expense account for trip to Atlantic City and Washington, February 14 - 24, 1963.

I am enclosing suggested places to visit in March, April, and May. I am setting up March rather firmly, as I have to write for appointments right away. April and May can be added to or subtracted from. Please be ready to give me additions or deletions when I see you in March. Now I expect to be there on Friday, March 15.

Sincerely,

Brew

J. J. Brewbaker
Public School Consultant

JJB:ab

Enc.

P.S. I have a feeling that there are more places in Georgia which I should visit — B

REPORT
TO
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
by
J. J. Brewbaker
February 28, 1963

The trip to Atlantic City to attend the annual meeting of the American Association of School Administrators, and stopping off in Washington, D. C., enroute home, had as its chief purpose to review old contacts and to make new ones. I was especially desirous to meet AASA members from Mississippi and to try to determine when the time would be right to make some visits in this state.

ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY

The American Association of School Administrators has decided, from now on, to have all annual meetings in Atlantic City. This is the only place in the United States where hotel facilities and places to meet are adequate. The registration this year was over 26,000 members in attendance. This was an average of over 500 from each of the fifty states.

Delegates began coming in large numbers on February 15, and most of them were ready to begin activities on February 16. The meeting was held February 16 - 20, 1963.

In addition, to talking to old friends and making new ones, (I talked with a number from each southern state) I attended several of the more important meetings. The outstanding speakers whom I heard were Vice-President Lyndon B. Johnson; Governor Terry Sanford of North Carolina; Judge Harold R. Medina, U. S. Circuit Judge of New York; Tobias R. Weaver, Deputy Secretary, Ministry of Education, London, England; and Francis Keppel, the new U. S. Commissioner of Education. Of all these, Terry Sanford made the most impressive speech for education and the general welfare. Many of us "shook hands" with him after his address, and he seemed pleased when I told him that we needed more governors like Terry Sanford.

In all the groups, I kept my eyes open for the "Mississippi boys". On Sunday night at the meeting of the Associated Public School Systems, from 11 to 12 o'clock (what an hour), I met an old friend of mine from the University of Southern Mississippi (old name: Mississippi Southern) at Hattiesburg, Dr. Ralph Owings, who is dean of the graduate school and the school of education at University of Southern Mississippi. I had forgotten that Ralph was located in Mississippi. I told him that I would like to meet some of the superintendents from Mississippi and told him why. He said he would do the best he could the next several days to bring us together -- that they should talk with me. Before we left the meeting that night, Ralph found Superintendent W. L. Rigby of Gulfport, who is facing some impacted area problems and told me that he felt sure that he and Superintendent R. D. Brown of Biloxi would be

interested in seeing me. These two cities are close together, and I understand there is a joint suit pending at this time.

Ralph told me that the Mississippi delegates were having a luncheon on Tuesday, and he would see how many of them would like to see me Tuesday afternoon or Wednesday. I suggested to Ralph that they have breakfast, lunch, or dinner with me at my hotel on Wednesday. Ralph saw Superintendent Kirby P. Walker of Jackson who arranged for a luncheon meeting with me on Wednesday.

Four superintendents from Mississippi, other than the two I had seen, met with me at the Colony Motel, where I was staying, Wednesday for lunch. These were Kirby P. Walker of Jackson, Thomas L. Reeves of Long Beach, F. W. Young of Yazoo City, and L. O. Todd of Meridian. Dr. Owings was leaving for home and couldn't be with us.

We had a most interesting discussion, and they all felt they must prepare for the inevitable; however, all except Superintendent Reeves of Long Beach, felt it would be best for me not to come to see them at this time. Superintendent Reeves said to let him know two weeks in advance when I was coming his way. He felt that the Gulf Cities would like to see me; namely, Long Beach, Gulfport, and Biloxi.

Ralph Owings of the University of Southern Mississippi gave me a most cordial invitation to visit him at Hattiesburg. This may give me an opportunity to see Superintendent S. H. Blair of Hattiesburg whom I did not see in Atlantic City.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Whenever I am in the vicinity of Washington, I find it advantageous to follow up on whatever information that may be available there. Then too, I am a member of the Planning Committee of the National Conference on Citizenship, and this Committee was meeting on Saturday. I was sure I would see Justice Tom C. Clark, who is President of the National Conference, at this meeting, and I was hoping I would be able to see Boyd Campbell from Jackson, Mississippi, who is on the Board of Directors of the National Conference. Unfortunately, Boyd Campbell died February 22, the day before our meeting. He was a very influential citizen of Jackson and Mississippi. He was President of the Mississippi School Supply Company. All the superintendents knew him favorably and well. Also, he was Director, First National Bank of Jackson, Mississippi Power and Light Company, and the Gulf, Mobile and Ohio Railroad. He was also President of the Chamber of Commerce of the USA, 1955. His passing is a blow to the State of Mississippi. I feel sure he could have been much help to us.

It was my privilege, and I deem it an honor to have been with Justice Clark for about three hours. I sat next to him at the luncheon and also at the discussion table in the afternoon. He was our

luncheon speaker. When we adjourned, he gave me a cordial invitation to visit him any time.

After I decided that I would stop off in Washington, I wrote to Mr. Ralph C. M. Flint, Associate Commissioner for Educational Research and Development, for an appointment while I was in Washington. He had to be in a budget meeting at the time, and I had the pleasure of meeting with Dr. Hunter Conrad, Director of Program Planning and Related Activities. We talked chiefly about the efforts of the Office of Education in connection with the "Clearing House" which was reported in some detail by me in my June 25, 1962 report, pages 1 and 2. In short, it was to be a report on the progress of desegregation in various school districts to show the problems which have arisen, how they were resolved, and the results, whether favorable or unfavorable. The report would serve as a guide to superintendents in their efforts to effect the smoothest and best approaches and solutions to the problems.

Dr. Conrad said that Ed Ford, who had been employed to direct this project, resigned after one month, to accept an assignment in a foreign country. Since then, very little progress has been made. The project has now been referred to Dr. Francis Keppel, Commissioner of Education, for his consideration, etc. I know Dr. Keppel and called by his office to congratulate him as our new Commissioner, but he was in a meeting, and his secretary wasn't sure how long it would last. I asked her to give him my card and to tell him that I had called.

While in Washington, as usual I called Harold Fleming. He was celebrating at home since it was Washington's Birthday, but we had a very interesting conversation by telephone. All seems to go well with him.

This was a most interesting, and I feel very helpful trip.

TENTATIVE PLAN OF TRIPS FOR
MARCH, APRIL, AND MAY, 1963

March 10 - 24 (Approximate dates)

Begin with State Superintendents Meeting in Roanoke--then Anderson, South Carolina; Atlanta, Orangeburg, Columbia, Sumter, Florence, and Darlington, South Carolina.

April 7 - 21 (Approximate dates)

Atlanta, Montgomery, Mobile, Biloxi, Gulfport, and Long Beach, Mississippi; probably New Orleans and Baton Rouge, Hattiesburg, Mississippi; Birmingham, and Huntsville (?)

May 5 - 22 (Approximate dates)

Charlotte, North Carolina; Atlanta, Columbus, Georgia; (and maybe other Georgia cities) Tallahassee, Tampa, Fort Myers, Daytona (?), Jacksonville; Brunswick, Georgia and Charleston (?)

Footnote: In this schedule, I need stopping places between Norfolk and Atlanta; and Birmingham or Huntsville and Norfolk in the April schedule; and between Brunswick, Georgia and Norfolk in the May schedule. I dislike driving two days without stopping to do some work.

LWD
PA

John J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

Public School Consultant
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

March 25, 1963

Mr. Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Enclosed is my report and expense account.

It was nice and helpful to see you. Expect to see you again April 18 or 19.

Since I might have difficulty seeing some superintendents during the Easter vacation, I have decided to leave Norfolk either on April 15 or 16 which should clear the Easter holidays. Probably this will make my May trip a week later.

Sincerely,

Brew

J. J. Brewbaker
Public School Consultant

JJB:ab

Enc./ 2

REPORT
TO
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
by
J. J. Brewbaker
March 25, 1963

ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF VIRGINIA SUPERINTENDENTS
ROANOKE, VIRGINIA

The Annual Conference of the Division Superintendents of Virginia was held at Hotel Roanoke, March 11, 12, 13, 1963. The Conference was sponsored by the State Department of Education. Practically all the superintendents attended and also some of the retired superintendents, school board members, members of the State Department staff, and representatives of text-book and supply companies.

Dr. Woodrow W. Wilkerson, Superintendent of Public Instruction, opened the Conference with an address which told of sound educational progress in the state and a wholesome spirit of optimism.

It was my privilege to speak to many of the superintendents present and to confer briefly with a number of them. Desegregation was progressing smoothly in most places, when it was being attempted, and only a few superintendents seem to have much concern with reference to it. Superintendent T. J. McIlwaine of Prince Edward County had some fears that the Board of Supervisors could not be compelled to appropriate money to open the schools which would cause the Federal Government to do so, thus giving the Federal Government undesirable control over the local schools and would also set a bad precedent which could be followed in other places.

Superintendent J. S. Caldwell of Powhatan County showed great concern over the situation which is developing in his county. In ruling that certain Negro children in Powhatan must be admitted to white schools, Judge John D. Butzner, Jr. issued an injunction against closing the public schools under any condition. Since the people know the schools must remain open, the ardent segregationist are trying to force all the white people in the county to send their children to private schools, which are planned to be constructed, thus leaving the public schools to be attended only by Negroes. Superintendent Caldwell said he thought I could be of much assistance in the County, but it would be suicidal for him, position wise, to invite me or even to introduce me. I told him I hoped there would be enough sound-thinking people with enough courage to resist this pressure. However, this is a vicious type to resist.

Only one other superintendent showed some concern, Superintendent M. L. Carper of Lynchburg. It seems they have some controversy over the location of a high school because of the race situation. He thinks I can be of help talking with certain groups of parents and would like for me to visit him some time in April.

I spent March 11 and 12 with the superintendents in their conference in Roanoke, then on March 13 drove to Anderson, South Carolina--a long drive for me, 335 miles. However, it was a beautiful day after two miserable ones, and the drive was quite pleasant.

ANDERSON, SOUTH CAROLINA

Superintendent W. Henry Cone became Superintendent of the Anderson, South Carolina Public Schools last July 1. He and I had a two hour conference, and I found him to be one of the more liberal-thinking, forward-looking superintendents in the South. His school district has about 11,000 pupils, approximately 20 per cent of them are Negro. They have had no petitions or applications from Negroes to enter white schools up to this time. I feel that Anderson, Greenville, and Spartensburg will experience very few problems when they have to desegregate their schools.

It is interesting to note that Dr. Cone was born in southern Georgia, graduated from the University of Florida, and received his doctorate from Harvard University. He has had eight year's experience as teacher and administrator in Florida and five years in Massachusetts, four of them as superintendent. I am relating this to show his broad background and his potential as one of our outstanding educational leaders in the South.

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

My visit with Paul Anthony of the Southern Regional Council was both interesting and helpful. Paul and I discussed my work for April and May, and he gave me a number of "leads" which will help me in making my work more effective.

Mrs. Frances Pauley of the Georgia Council on Human Relations gave me some most helpful suggestions with reference to certain places and situations in Georgia. I always find my visits with her quite worth while.

ORANGEBURG, SOUTH CAROLINA

It is coincidental that some important developments take place during my visits to some of the school districts. When I asked Superintendent H. A. Marshall of the Orangeburg schools as to desegregation in his City, voluntary or otherwise, he told me about the open-house which was held on Sunday (the day that I arrived) by the Kelsey-Hayes Company, tool manufacturer, which was attended by approximately 500 people, one-fourth of whom were Negroes. No one seemed to be concerned over this which pleased Superintendent Marshall. This Company employes about 700 people.

Then on Monday, March 18, the day I had my conference with Superintendent Marshall, the news came over television that the convictions of the 373 Negro College students in an anti-segregation march, which took place on March 19, 1960 in Orangeburg, have been ordered reviewed.

The Orangeburg march of March 19, 1960 involved an estimated 1000 students of Claflin and South Carolina State Colleges there. The march was called off after 373 were arrested. Each arrested marcher was sentenced to pay a fine of $50.00 or serve 30 days in jail. The convictions which were upheld by the South Carolina Supreme Court will now be reviewed by that Court after the March 18 order to do so by the U. S. Supreme Court.

Superintendent Marshall said the only other attempt there was a petition filed by the NAACP in 1954 asking for complete integration of the schools. This apparently caused quite an explosion, and Mr. Marshall described it as a "mess". Since then, there has been no other effort in the schools. This school district has 7800 pupils, about 58% of them are Negroes. Mr. Marshall feels they will go as far as the Courts will permit them before they desegregate, but they will desegregate before they resort to closing the schools.

COLUMBIA, SOUTH CAROLINA

In ordering a review of the Orangeburg march of March 19, 1960, the U. S. Supreme Court called attention to its February 25 reversal of convictions of 187 Negro State House marchers at Columbia. Conviction of the State House marchers was over turned on the grounds their right to free speech and free assembly had been violated when the state arrested them. This was noted in the same newspaper article which told of the Orangeburg decision.

Dr. Guy Varn, Superintendent of Columbia Schools, told me that he wanted me to see some of their integrated schools. He was referring to about 200 Puerto Rican children whose parents had been transferred to Fort Jackson since January 1, 1963 and were living in the Columbia school district. He said he understood about 800 more Puerto Rican families were being transferred here. The children are about as dark in color as Negroes and darker than some. We agreed that these transfers which were being accepted gracefully and the Clemson University desegregation would be helpful when the public schools have to desegregate.

Dr. Varn, after our morning visit to three or four schools, had Dr. Claud Kitchen, Administrative Assistant, and Mr. Clark Brockman, Co-ordinator of Instruction, to meet with us at which time we discussed the successful desegregation in Chattanooga, Knoxville, Pensacola, Atlanta, and other places. After our discussion, Dr. Varn took us as his guest, to the Palmetto Business Men's Club for lunch.

The lunchroom counters in Columbia were quietly desegregated about a year ago. Transportation and the libraries are also desegregated. Dr. Varn does not anticipate too much trouble but is sure the change will have to be under a Court order. About one-third of the school population is Negro.

The superintendents of Sumter, Florence and Darlington were not available because of their attending the annual teachers meeting in Greenville on Thursday and Friday. They understand that I shall see them in April, and the superintendent at Darlington is attempting to arrange for me to see all three of them in one conference. This, of course, saved time and enabled me to get home three days earlier on this trip.

It is my good fortune to find more and more outstanding educational leaders among the superintendents in the South. This fact alleviates my fears and continues to give me optimism.

mm-file

PA

SOUTHERN LEADERSHIP PROJECT

April 16, 1963

RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS - January 1 - March 31, 1963

Balance, January 1, 1963		$40,643.51

DISBURSEMENTS

Salaries	$ 4,400.04	
Travel and Communication	199.55	
Office Expense	230.02	
Printing & Distribution of L-Reports	1,024.84	
Consultant Fees	1,450.00	
Consultant Travel	650.09	
Southern Project	5,000.00	
Friendly Broadcasting Company	2,500.00	
Total Disbursements		15,454.54
Balance, April 1, 1963		$25,188.97

Speech by Hon. Albert Boutwell
Mayor of Birmingham
To the National Conference of Christians & Jews
at the Redmont Hotel, Birmingham
April 19, 1963

I am privileged and pleased to be here as your guest. If I am correctly informed as to the purposes of this great organization, I believe that you and I share one precept in common. I am told that you believe that basic conflicts between men can only be achieved by discovering and cultivating areas of understanding.

I am told that you believe that the emotional and intellectual differences that divide and separate men of differing beliefs should be worked out by local men, in local ways, and to meet the peculiarities of local problems.

If these assumptions are true, then you and I meet on common ground. But I must warn you, however, that even on common ground, I tread warily.

I was taught from childhood that even the Devil can quote Scripture to his own advantage. And after the recent experiences of campaign and election, I think you will agree that some caution should prevail.

The disciples of violence, on whichever side they stand, eagerly wait every statement of policy or intention. They scan it for some vulnerable phrase, sentence or paragraph that can be isolated from its context and used for a self-serving purpose.

I call this the hazard of deliberate misunderstanding. It involves using only that portion of a statement that would please or offend a particular viewpoint. This hazard imposes a deadly restraint upon discussions or actions.

No man, who has accepted the responsibilities I have accepted, can ignore this hazard. But, by the same token of responsibility, I cannot be intimidated into silence or indecision by the fear of being deliberately misunderstood or misinterpreted.

Knowing, as I do, that impulsive words or actions, in a time of stress like this, can inflame tempers that are equally dangerous on either side, I have no intention of speaking or moving until I have given all the possible consequences careful and soul-searching consideration.

The conditions which now prevail in this great city bear the hallmark of the century in which we live.

We have passed the mid-point of your century and mine. For a while, when Woodrow Wilson's words in "The New Freedom" were still fresh and challenging ... when the supposed high objectives of World War One seemed possible of fulfillment, we yearned to call our century, "The Century of Democracy."

But, in 1917, there began to rise the towering spectre called international communism, and the century no longer can be said to belong exclusively to the democratic concept.

(more)

For a while, during the Rooseveltian era, we wanted to call our century, "The Century of the Common Man." But, steadily and surely, many of the denominators that made us common have slipped out of perspective, and the title no longer fits.

If History finally gives our century a label, I think it may be called the "Century of Conflict."

Choose any decade, and you find on it the mark of conflict ... elemental conflict between ideas and interests ... between capital and labor, nationalism and colonialism, imperialism and economic self-determination ... and finally between traditionalism and liberalism.

It is not strange, therefore, in a century so keynoted by conflict, that here, in this land and in this city, we find that we, too, are in the midst of conflict.

It is in the attempt to resolve this many-faced conflict that I believe your organization and the new government of the city of Birmingham share a common purpose.

I do not believe it is the purpose of this organization to make all men Jews, or all men Christians. It is not your purpose to convert all men to Catholic persuasion or to Protestant belief. As I understand it, your purpose is to seek to resolve the conflicts between men - to establish common tolerance, and to affirm the guarantee of spiritual and intellectual freedom.

We share a parallel concept.

The purpose of the new government of Birmingham ... or of any government, anywhere, is not to deliver total power, control or direction to any element of the society or economy. It is to resolve the differences between them, that they may dwell in peace and joint prosperity.

It is not the purpose of the new government of Birmingham to serve with priority the single ambitions or hopes of any one race, but to resolve the differences between them, so that they may live in peace and mutual well-being.

Toward this end, there is engraved over the east entrance of the Jefferson County Courthouse the best expression of the high purpose of any government. It was written a century and a half ago, by Thomas Jefferson ... to render "equal and exact justice to all men, regardless of state or persuasion."

Before I enter upon an elaboration of how conflicts may be resolved, and how we hope to render equal and exact justice and government service, I must remind you of the logistics of military combat. If a battle commander were to reveal his final and ultimate objective, and detail the precise maneuvers to reach that objective, he would almost certainly be defeated.

I am also reminded, and would have you remember, that violent reaction is a potential on both sides, and that here, too, caution is a part of wisdom. Winston Churchill first said, "He who would ride a tiger, should first plan on how to dismount."

With these cautions in mind, let me lay down certain of the broad principles on which I believe this city can soon begin the resolution of its conflicts.

(more)

Let us first agree, however, that our conflicts are not confined to the inter-racial discord that presently prevails. If we were to presume that by solving this one problem we would wipe out all our difficulties, we could very easily lose the larger battle. Solve those problems we must, and we must solve them soon. But inter-racial conflict is not our only problem, and I am not convinced it is our greatest.

We have conflicts that are area-wide ... economic, geographic, and political. There are conflicts over what government can do, and what government should do.

If I were to single out one key that I genuinely believe leads to the resolution of all conflicts, I should say that key is public education.

I do not mean education in its commonly accepted sense. I do not mean schools and teachers, although they are included. I mean the wholesome and thorough education of the whole adult population, Negro and white, capital and labor, urban and outlying community, in the problems, the beliefs and the ambitions that produce our conflicts.

I am convinced that there can be no real assumption of civic momentum and political cohesion until we accomplish general understanding. I am further convinced that no true understanding really exists until it is shared by everyone concerned.

No accord will be lasting, no peace will be permanent until, and unless we can educate each party to each conflict into a reasonable understanding of the other parties. We cannot resolve race differences by getting the white citizenship alone to understand the Negro. Responsible Negro leadership has an absolute and essential responsibility to undertake to help educate the Negro to a comprehension of the white man's position and belief problems. Understanding is not - has never been, will never be a one way street.

A distinguished Jewish professor once said, pertinent to this, that any man who undertakes to combat intolerance in others, must first examine himself for evidences of it.

This broad principle of talking out differences and opening ways to understanding can, and should be applied to every area of conflict: social, racial, and economic. And, in the talking out, even, of problems, I pray that we may be governed by the spirit of restraint ... the spirit of reserved judgment and action until we are profoundly sure in which direction lies right and justice.

There is, in the New Testament, in the Acts of the Apostles, one of the profoundest pieces of political and spiritual advice ever offered.

It was given by a Pharisee, a teacher and doctor of the law. Certain of the apostles had been brought before the council of the Chief Priest, possibly for punishment by death. Beginning in the 34th verse, is this passage:

"Then stood there one up in the Council a Pharisee, named Ga-ma-li-el, a doctor of the law ... and said unto them, Ye men of Israel, take heed to yourselves what ye intend to do as touching these men.

(more)

"I say unto you, refrain from these men, and let them alone; for if this counsel or this work be of men, it will come to nought;

"But if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it; lest haply ye be found even to fight against God."

Let me, then, clearly define the restraints that should guide us in the new government:

First, I said, during the campaign, that nothing can be politically right which is morally wrong.

Second, I have said, again during the campaign, that whatever solutions we find, they must be solutions within the law.

Third, I have said that in my conception of the law, it is a respecter of neither persons, races or creeds. It will be equally applied, equally enforced against all who break it or seek to take it into their own hands.

Fourth, I have said that local agencies and local citizens are sufficient, and exclusively sufficient, in time, to the solution of local problems. We will not be intimidated by pressure or directed by interference.

I believe that when the whole community of this city understands and accepts these restraints, and is fully informed on the problems that face us, we will enter a new era of economic and cultural progress.

We have, already, a broad foundation of restraint and good judgment.

We are becoming increasingly aware that the areas of agreement among us are by far, far greater than the exaggerated areas of disagreement.

We have seen recently practiced by our law enforcement people a degree of restraint that has won them nationwide praise. Chief Jamie Moore, and the men and women serving under him, deserve our heartiest commendation and encouragement.

Equal praise for restraint is due that self-chosen and self-imposed by the news media of Birmingham ... news writers, editorial writers, city and managing editors, television and radio commentators and reporters.

I praise the restraint exercised by a vast majority of the Negro community. In fervor, which to many of them was a spiritual crusade, they have shown a restraint from violence of words and conduct that does them honor and gives all of us hope.

The white community, which in other places and times, have reacted in open violence to the things we have experienced here, has demonstrated a public and private restraint that I am proud of. I am delighted that newspapers and other media, outside the state, have taken note of that fact.

This attitude of restraint, this waiting on calmer judgment, is the solid

foundation of our hope for future peace and understanding.

When the new government is in undisputed leadership, I am completely convinced that with deliberation, diligence and determination we shall take the first confident steps into a new age for this city ... and an age marked by peace and rewarded in common prosperity for all our people.

# # #

John J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia
May 4, 1963

Mr. Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I am enclosing copy of my report and expense account for April 15 - May 3, 1963.

You will note from the report that my visits in Mobile and Baton Rouge were most encouraging, especially Baton Rouge. Superintendent Burns of Mobile seemed interested in your May 16 visit and made a note of it. I believe Assistant Superintendent Scarborough would be especially interested in talking with you. I feel that you would have no trouble making an appointment with them.

I am planning my May trip now and shall be in Atlanta on May 20, probably arriving from Tallahassee sometime on Saturday, May 18. I plan to leave Norfolk on May 12 and enroute to Atlanta visit Darlington, South Carolina, Charleston, Brunswick, Georgia, Jacksonville, and Tallahassee. On my way home from Atlanta, I plan to visit DeKalb County and Charlotte.

Sincerely,

J. J. Brewbaker
Public School Consultant

JJB:ab

Enc. 2

REPORT
TO
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
by
J. J. Brewbaker
May 4, 1963

This was one of my long trips from April 15 to May 3, 1963 inclusive, a period of 19 days, during which time I traveled 2675 miles. Not only was this a long trip, but it was a most interesting and encouraging one. I visited three new cities, Florence, South Carolina, Montgomery, Alabama, and Hattiesburg, Mississippi. I had visited Montgomery before, but this was my first official visit. The others were re-visits, and all showed much improvement except Sumter, South Carolina.

FLORENCE, SOUTH CAROLINA

Very soon after I entered my room about 4:30 P. M. at the Holiday Inn in Florence on Easter Monday, April 15, my telephone rang, and Superintendent Henry L. Sneed, Jr. was calling to ask that I see him that evening. Since my appointment had been made, it developed that he had to be in Columbia the next day in connection with a legislative committee hearing on the state's proposed tuition grants bill.

Mr. Sneed came across the street from his office to my room, and we had a very interesting conference until about 6 P. M. Up to this time, there have been no applications in Florence by Negroes to attend white schools. He feels that they are satisfied with the provision that Florence has made for them.

Mr. Sneed was concerned about the proposed state's tuition grants bill. He, along with practically all other superintendents with whom I talked, is opposed to tuition grants. I found one outstanding exception: Sumter.

Later in the evening, I had an unexpected and pleasant experience by attending the movie, "To Kill a Mockingbird" with Mr. and Mrs. Sneed. As I was leaving the Holiday Inn dining room about 7:30 P. M., they drove up, and Mr. Sneed said that they had been trying to call me in my room to invite me to go with them to see the movie. I accepted, of course, and enjoyed it. The theatre was well filled, and I feel this movie will be most helpful in the South. When I reached Montgomery on Friday, April 19, it was showing there. My brother told me that during the first few days the people had formed long lines before the theatre to see it. It was being shown also in New Orleans and the other cities which I visited. It has a southern setting, somewhere in Alabama. However, Macon was mentioned somewhere in the movie.

While I was in Florence, I called Superintendent Mangum of Darlington and arranged to see him on my next trip, at 10 A. M., May 13.

SUMTER, SOUTH CAROLINA

This was a most disappointing visit. I met with Superintendent L. C. McArthur, Jr. and Vice Chairman of the school board, Robert O. Purdy II. These two met with me on my earlier visit to Sumter on January 9, 1961. This is one place where the situation has grown worse with time. They told me that additions to some of the churches had been completed for school use if the time ever came that they needed them. They were most uncomplimentary to any outside "interference", as they called it, and as usual, they would get along all right if left alone. Truthfully, that is exactly what I intend to do.

They pointed out that Clarendon County, one of the original cases, had done nothing yet. I could not refrain from adding that we have one of the original cases also in Virginia, Prince Edward County, which has developed into a most disgraceful and tragic situation.

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

This time, I had visits with both Dr. Leslie Dunbar and Paul Anthony. They felt I was visiting some strategic spots on this trip, and we worked out one more short trip for May. As in the past, I received good help from both.

MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA

This was my first official visit with Superintendent W. T. McKee of Montgomery. They have had no applications from Negroes to attend white schools, but they do have Maxwell Field which is being affected.

Superintendent McKee said the Federal Government was building a $400,000 elementary school on the grounds of Maxwell Field to take care of about 500 federal employees' children. I understand these children may attend the new school on the base, or if they prefer, continue to attend the segregated city schools, but the city will not receive any federal funds for their education. The high school children will continue to attend the segregated city schools.

The transition will not be easy in Montgomery. The Governor lives there which makes the situation worse. In fact, he is making it worse for the entire state.

MOBILE, ALABAMA

Upon my arrival on Monday, April 22 at 9:30 A. M. in Superintendent Cranford Burns office in Mobile, he said that he hoped he had not upset

my plans, but he had invited all his board members who could attend to meet with us at 10:30. I assured him that I was delighted that he had, and I could give them all the time they wished. He also stated that his board was no longer hiding its head in the sand, but in a fast changing climate was attempting to meet the problem in a sensible manner.

The meeting at 10:30 consisted of only one board member, Mr. Kenneth Reed, a business man who had been on the board for some time, serving as Chairman as far back as 1954. Dr. Burns, Dr. C. L. Scarborough, Assistant Superintendent in charge of Pupil Personnel, were also present. The other members were unable to come because of previous commitments. They wanted to know about everything that we had done in Norfolk, feeling that Norfolk and Mobile had many similar characteristics. They were especially interested in the best way to handle dances and other social activities. Our conference ended at 12 o'clock because Dr. Burns and Mr. Reed had luncheon engagements, but Dr. Scarborough and I talked for another hour on the details. I promised to send him the present procedure used in Norfolk, after five years of experience, relating to all social activities.

Superintendent Burns seemed to have a high regard for the SOS group, and told me that his daughter was a leader in it. I told him that Paul Anthony would be in Mobile on May 16, and he would be glad to talk with him about anything helpful that he could do. Dr. Burns thanked me and made a note of the date.

It seems that the Department of Justice had issued an order to Mobile to the effect that all schools serving the children of federal government workers would have to be desegregated by September 1963 or federal funds for the education of these children would be withheld. However, the order has been modified and does not specify a definite date. Dr. Burns said that 12,000 of their 75,000 children would come in this group, and they attended practically everyone of their 75 schools. In this case, the Federal Government could not build a building as it is doing at Maxwell Field in Montgomery. The children are too scattered. The school officials are not sure when they will have to comply with this order.

It seems to me that the climate in Mobile is getting better all the time for the change and the major roadblock will be Governor Wallace. However, he is having his problems. I read in the Montgomery Advertiser on Sunday, April 21, that his lieutenant governor was taking jabs at him. I have heard the state attorney general has been taking jabs also. A break may come in the official family.

NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA

Superintendent C. Perry Walker seemed to be in good spirits despite the fact that they were to be the defendants in the Fifth Circuit Court

of Appeals on April 24 and 25. I talked with him the day before. It is the old case in which Judge Wright ordered desegregation through the sixth grade which order was modified later by Judge Ellis, who succeeded Judge Wright, by permitting the grade-a-year plan providing they stripped the process of certain limitations and took all who applied. The NAACP is appealing the decision of Judge Ellis to enforce the original six-year decision of Judge Wright. Superintendent Walker said everything is quiet, and that New Orleans is not experiencing any marches of protest such as those in Birmingham.

My final conference in New Orleans was a luncheon meeting on Thursday, April 25, with a group of five citizens with whom I had worked on former visits. When I arrived in New Orleans, I called Mrs. C. W. Coffey and invited her and some of our mutual friends to meet for lunch or dinner. We selected April 25 for a luncheon, and she as usual was successful and had to meet with us Dr. Robert Lancaster, President of the Citizens for Public Schools organization, Reverend Ralph Bridges, Episcopal Minister, who is on the board of Citizens for Public Schools and Committee for Public Education, Mrs. Robert Lancaster, member of the boards of both the above committees, and Mrs. Gerald Osborn, First Vice-President of the Louisiana League of Women Voters. Mrs. Coffey is on the board of both the above named groups also.

We met for about three hours and had much discussion about the situation in New Orleans, Baton Rouge, and the state generally. This group feels that desegregation is moving along very well but is concerned about what they feel is weak school administration, ineffective teaching personnel, especially in public relations, and the lack of money for public education. Tuition grants, $360 plus $44.00 for supplies etc. per pupil who attend private non-sectarian schools, is much more than is given per pupil in public schools.

This group informed me also about the change in board members in Baton Rouge. Recent elections in both Baton Rouge and Birmingham have elected more liberal-minded people over the strong segregationists.

The group expressed interest in the American Legion Convention scheduled to meet in New Orleans soon. It is the feeling of this small group that the New Orleans hotels would be willing to accomodate those attending the Convention on an integrated basis.

BATON ROUGE, LOUISIANA

My visit in Baton Rouge on April 24 was most pleasant and interesting. Superintendent Lloyd L. Lindsey had written to me that they would be glad to see me, and I spent three hours with Mr. Lindsey, Dr. John D. Greene, Director of Instruction, Mr. Robert Aertker, Assistant Superintendent, and several other members of the staff.

The attitudes of the administrators and the climate of the community were in striking contrast to what they were when I visited Baton Rouge, May 16, 1962. I was told by the group of citizens with whom I ate lunch in New Orleans that the change came about in Baton Rouge by the defeat of the segregated-minded board members with whom the board had been packed by the recent election of more liberal-minded members. Superintendent Lindsey stated frankly that they had decided they could not sacrifice the welfare of the children and the community because they opposed to desegregation in principle. They feel they will have to desegregate this coming September, and the school board has asked the superintendent to present a plan for doing so. They are not sure at this time whether they will recommend beginning with the first grade and working up or with the twelfth grade and working down. They may even accept applications for all grades as we did in Norfolk. They have requested me, as was done in Mobile, that I send them in detail what had developed in the social activities in Norfolk over the past five years. The fears of most people seem to lie in the social life of their children in desegregated schools.

The change in the climate of the community was indicated by the fact that Superintendent Lindsey showed me a petition signed by 400 of the leading and outstanding citizens of Baton Rouge urging the school board to comply with the orders of the Courts, but to limit the number of Negro children assigned to white schools as much as possible. He showed me another petition of 800 names of average citizens urging that segregated schools be maintained.

I stressed the weight this petition of 400 leading citizens would have on the Community, comparing it with the one signed in Norfolk by 100 leading business and professional men. I have found no place that has changed more quickly than Baton Rouge and with more determination to meet the challenge. Baton Rouge, I feel sure, will come through without too much trouble. This gives all of us optimism, including the school officials there.

HATTIESBURG, MISSISSIPPI

Dr. Ralph S. Owings, Dean of the School of Education and Psychology of the University of Southern Mississippi, asked me several times to come by to see him at any time I happened to be in the vicinity of Hattiesburg. This is a very impressive looking and large University with approximately 6000 students.

Hattiesburg is about one-third of the distance (360 miles) from New Orleans to Birmingham. I arrived in Dr. Owings office at 11 A. M. on Friday, April 26, and was greeted by his secretary, a young lady who had taught in one of Norfolk's neighboring school systems who said she had heard me speak a number of times. I am not sure whether this impressed her favorably or otherwise, but she was quite cordial.

Dr. Owings was disappointed that I had been unable to see any of the Mississippi superintendents on this trip, but frankly said that they were fearful of what might happen. I was impressed with the fact that the White Citizens Council with the implied or otherwise consent and support of Governor Barnett was spreading as much terror as possible.

After a most pleasant chat with Dr. Owings, I proceeded on to Birmingham.

BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA

This was the most interesting of my four visits to Birmingham. I found some frustration because of the two city governments operating at the same time, and because of the protest marches under the direction of Dr. Martin Luther King which were beginning to cause many of the more liberal-thinking people, especially those people who had worked for the new and more liberal form of government, to resent Dr. King's uncompromising position. At this time, an effort is being made to get Dr. King to declare a moratorium to allow the new city officials an opportunity to try to resolve the problem.

Despite all this confusion, everyone with whom I talked said the climate and situation generally in Birmingham is greatly improved over what it was a year ago. The leaders are quite optimistic, and the situation is far from what reports would lead one to believe.

An unexpected opportunity presented itself on Sunday, April 28, for me to get a viewpoint of an average citizen of Birmingham. I decided to eat lunch at the Britling Cafeteria, about a block from the Tutwiler and happened to sit next to a man, Leon Triplett, who was employed by the Hayes International Corporation. As we were eating, a large crowd of people began pouring into the cafeteria, and Mr. Triplett remarked they are people coming from church. He continued, we had three Negroes at my church again this morning, the First Baptist Church, and this is the third Sunday, beginning with Easter Sunday. We had felt they would not come back, but they are coming and are being accepted by more churches each Sunday. (The Birmingham Post-Herald carried an inconspicious short item on an inside page Monday morning, "Negroes Visit White Churches". It stated, "Groups of Negroes carrying printed cards saying, "We come in a spirit of love" visited 39 churches here yesterday. They were accepted at nine.") I am not sure, continued Mr. Triplett whether we were wise or not when we accepted them the first Sunday.

A policeman was standing inside the entrance to the cafeteria, and in reply to my question, Mr. Triplett supposed he was there to keep out any Negro who might try to enter. He felt that Birmingham could control the Negro activities but feared what might happen if the extreme element of the white race should get started.

This average citizen seemed to be accepting the situation, hoping that nothing of a serious consequence would happen. However, this may not have been quite the viewpoint of another average citizen since Mr. Triplett was employed by Hayes International, but I am sure there are a lot of people like him in Birmingham. The casual visitor and I understand many of the citizens would not know anything is happening here unless he accidently ran into it, saw it on television, or read about it in the newspapers.

My next conference in Birmingham was a long telephone conversation early Monday morning with Mrs. Charles Feazel, Chairman of the "Social and Economic Issues" of the American Association of the Birmingham University Women, an organization of 550 members.

Mrs. Feazel said she was disappointed that something of a more positive nature had not developed in the school system, but she was pleased with the recent election of citizens of more moderate attitudes. She said her organization had not been able to do much yet, but was ready to help at any time. She felt the best thing they could do now was to give out the right kind of information.

Mrs. Feazel concluded by saying that she was pleased with the change in government at city hall, and she felt a much better climate had developed in the City during the past year. Now people were not afraid to discuss the situation.

My next visit was with Reverend Norman Jimerson, Executive Director of the Alabama Council on Human Relations. Mr. Jimerson looked so much better, and he said he felt better but was still frustrated. He was having trouble trying to get Dr. King to be more reasonable and also trying to influence the Negroes to temporarily cease to attend a couple of the white churches where the ministers were being threatened by their congregations of losing their job. He felt, and rightly so, that the Negroes were doing injury to the cause and bringing about the loss of some of their strongest friends. -- If people would only be reasonable.

While I was in Mr. Jimerson's office, David J. Vann, the man who did the most to bring into existence the new government, walked in. I understand from others that Mr. Vann is a member of the leading law firm of Birmingham, and his firm supported him all the way despite the vile and rough criticism thrown at him by Bull Connor and the other opponents. When Mr. Vann walked in after he found out who I was, said he was both angry and disappointed because the Negroes led by Dr. King would not give their friends an opportunity to do something. By their friends, he meant the newly elected Council for which he had worked so hard to put in office.

At the present time, there are two sets of government operating in Birmingham. The Commissioners meet, and then the Mayor and Council meet on

the same day at different times. So far, they have been in agreement, but no one knows when they will disagree. The decision of a local state judge that the newly elected officers should take over the government has been appealed to the Alabama Supreme Court. In an editorial in the May 1 edition of the Birmingham Post-Heard, "TOO MUCH GOVERNMENT" the editor said, "The Alabama Supreme Court has its hands full, we are sure, but it certainly would relieve a lot of headaches in Birmingham by moving as quickly as possible to settle the question of who's supposed to be running the City".

After my visit with Mr. Jimerson and Mr. Vann, I ran into Dr. John Bryan, Jr., as I left the elevator on the first floor. He seemed very glad to see me, and after we talked for awhile at the foot of the elevator, we went to his office on the ninth floor to continue our conversation. I did not know until he told me that he was one of the newly elected Councilmen. In fact, he led the field of 75 in the elimination and again received the largest vote of the 18 from whom the nine were selected. He received over 30,000 of the approximately 42,000 votes cast. I learned also that Dr. Bryan has been selected "Man of the Year" for 1962 by the Young Business Men's Club. He asked if I could do anything to persuade Dr. King and the other Negro leaders to give the new Council an opportunity to get to work on the problem. He said the City Council would appoint a bi-racial committee which he preferred to name The Citizens Community Relations Advisory Committee with a minimum of 10 members to a maximum of 24, with half of them white and half Negro if the Negroes would cease their marches and quiet down. He said they were asking for the appointment of the bi-racial committee, the intergration of lunch counters and the upgrading of positions for Negroes. He was in favor of all these things, but the Council was prevented now by "Marches" and "two governments".

As I stated in a former report, Dr. Bryan and I have been good friends for a number of years. He was Superintendent of Schools of Jefferson County for a number of years and since his retirement has served several years as Executive Secretary of the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce. He is a popular and influential man. His father was a Presbyterian minister and was much loved and highly respected by all the people in this area.

Dr. Bryan took delight in giving me copies of a speech by Honorable Albert Boutwell, the new Mayor of Birmingham, which I am attaching as part of this report.

James A. Head, owner and operator of a large school supply store and one of the strong workers in the Chamber of Commerce as well as a private citizen for a better Birmingham, was in a jolly mood when I saw him on Tuesday morning, April 30. He said there has been a wonderful

improvement in the situation and that he felt he had enough influence with the Negro leaders and that he could effect the changes which Dr. Bryan felt so necessary now. He was confident that they were well on the way of resolving the problem. However, at the time of making this report, he has not been successful.

My last call on Tuesday morning before leaving for Huntsville was on Dr. Theo Wright, Superintendent of Schools. Dr. Wright is still nervous and frustrated but feels the situation generally is greatly improved. However, the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals has not given a decision on the "Hearing" of last November, and he does not know where the schools stand at this time. The appeal was on a petition by the Negro attorneys for complete and all out desegregation of the pupils and teachers in the schools.

HUNTSVILLE, ALABAMA

On Wednesday morning, May 1, I called on Dr. Raymond Christian, Superintendent of the Huntsville Schools. Dr. Christian reviewed what had happened in Huntsville since the first child applied last August and was denied admission to a white school. Out of that hearing before the school board came a petition for complete and all out desegregation of their schools similar to the one in Birmingham. This petition will be heard by the Federal Judge on May 28, 1963.

Huntsville has before it also a petition to desegregate all schools which are attended by the children of parents employed at the Redstone Arsenal. This petition is similar to the one in Mobile.

In conclusion, with the exception of Sumter, South Carolina, I found much improvement in the attitudes of the leaders and the general climate in the South.

May 7, 1963

Mr. J. J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Brew:

Enclosed, your check. Thanks for the good report and the Boutwell speech. I shall make an effort to see Mr. Scarborough while in Mobile.

Look forward to seeing you on the 20th.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm
Enc.

COURT TERMS:
DAWSON COUNTY
1st Monday in March
1st Monday in August
HALL COUNTY
3rd Monday in January
3rd Monday in July
1st Monday in May
1st Monday in November

Sidney O. Smith, Jr.
JUDGE SUPERIOR COURTS
NORTHEASTERN JUDICIAL CIRCUIT
P. O. BOX 545
GAINESVILLE, GEORGIA

COURT TERMS:
LUMPKIN COUNTY
3RD MONDAY IN MARCH
3RD MONDAY IN SEPTEMBER
WHITE COUNTY
2ND MONDAY IN APRIL
2ND MONDAY IN OCTOBER

May 24, 1963

Mr. John J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Mr. Brewbaker:

While I am no longer a member of the Gainesville School Board on account of my present public office, I recall with deep appreciation your two visits here and the valuable advice you gave us in regard to our local school problems. I suppose that school business gets in your blood, because I retain an interest in this work whenever I run into other school people.

Recently I made the acquaintance of Mr. Albert D. Oliphant of Chester, South Carolina. As a member of the elected school board in that county, he mentioned that they have been using a consultant from the University of South Carolina and I told him about your visits to Gainesville. I am writing to inquire if you are still involved in this work for your foundation. If so, I would appreciate it if you will try to arrange your itinerary to call on Mr. Oliphant. Their problems will be different from ours because of the fact that their Negro population is 56% but I know you can be of valuable assistance to them. You will find Mr. Oliphant a gentleman in every respect and I am sure a gracious host.

Very truly yours,

Sidney O. Smith

Sidney O. Smith, Jr.

jg

BB

John J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

Public School Consultant
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

May 31, 1963

Mr. Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I am enclosing copies of my report, May 12 - 23, 1963, the Summary Report for three years, July 1, 1960 - May 31, 1963, the expense account for last trip, and copy of a complimentary letter from Judge Sidney O. Smith, Jr. of Gainesville, Georgia. I replied to Judge Smith's letter.

As I told you, I shall continue to give whatever information I can and send requests to you. You will note the latter part of the enclosed May report contains the type of information which will probably be requested.

I shall send you the balance of the Revolving Account as soon as I finish reports, letters, etc.

Paul, I have enjoyed very much knowing you and working with you. Let me know whenever I can be of help, and I hope to see you from time to time, if just on a visit to Atlanta.

Sincerely,

Brew

J. J. Brewbaker
Public School Consultant

JJB:ab

Enc./ 4

REPORT
TO
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
by
J. J. Brewbaker
May 31, 1963

Included on this trip, May 12 - 23, 1963, were two new cities, Darlington, South Carolina and Brunswick, Georgia. The others had been visited before. I visited this time two school divisions in South Carolina, two in Florida, two in Georgia, one in North Carolina, and Southern Regional Council Headquarters.

DARLINGTON, SOUTH CAROLINA

Superintendent G. C. Mangum was in a talkative mood or it may be that is his usual mood. He started at the beginning and told me the story of the Darlington area; good race relations before 1954 when they had a Negro on the School Board, poorer race relations for several years, and now again some improvement.

It seems the "protest march" in Orangeburg several years ago was caused, according to Superintendent Mangum, by the NAACP accusing the Coble Ice Cream and Milk Corporation of supporting financially the White Citizens Council. The Coble Corporation was boycotted in Darlington, and the pupils at the high school refused to buy the milk. A controversy followed, and some of the pupils were suspended. After sometime, the Negro leaders presented to the School Board some requests and an ultimatum. The requests were to fire the principal, take back the pupils, and stop using Coble products, or else, the pupils would apply to go to the white high schools. This was four or five years ago. The requests were denied and some pupils applied who were also denied. At this time, five of these pupils are still applying, and the case is before the Fifth Federal Circuit Courts of Appeals.

Superintendent Mangum feels that the climate is such now that there would not be too much trouble. However, there is no Negro on the school board at this time -- the board members are appointed by a legislative committee. Over fifty per cent of the school enrollment is Negro in the Darlington schools.

CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA

Superintendent T. A. Carrere seemed very happy to see me. I had visited Charleston on two former trips and have kept in close touch with the situation. He told me that Charleston and Darlington are the only South Carolina school systems under immediate Court Order. Charleston has 13 applications of Negro children to be assigned to white schools, and these are on appeal in the Fifth Federal Circuit Court on the same basis as Darlington's.

Superintendent Carrere says his school board has accepted the inevitable, and he feels there will not be too much difficulty in making the assignments under Court order. They have, at this time, a school enrollment of 73 per cent Negro. I have felt for sometime that Charleston will come through all right.

We spent sometime talking about the tuition grants in Virginia. Some one has told many people in the South that the tuition grants are working well in Virginia. I point out at all times their short-comings, and misuses and emphasize that many people in Virginia are not pleased with them. Educators generally do not like the idea in practice or in principle.

Instead of reporting on these school systems in order of my visits, I am grouping them. I shall skip Brunswick until later and now report on the two Florida cities. Of course, in Florida, the cities form part of the larger County school division. It is coincidental that the two South Carolina cities were facing similar situations and also the two Florida cities were approaching the problem in much the same way. For sometime, I have felt that Jacksonville and Tallahassee would be the two most difficult school systems in Florida. Each is only a few miles south of "South Georgia". Today, I feel greatly encouraged with both of them.

JACKSONVILLE AND DUVAL COUNTY, FLORIDA

Superintendent Ish Brant had been called away to sign some school bonds in New York, and in reply to a telegram I received from him at Charleston, I arranged by telephone to meet with Charlie Council, Director of Education for the schools. I was happy to have an opportunity to talk with Mr. Council for he was very familiar with the situation. He said they had adopted the same plan that was used in Tennessee, beginning with the first grade to start in September 1963. He said he understood the plan had been approved, and if there were no objections from the plaintiffs, all first grade children, regardless of race, would attend the school serving the attendance area where they lived. He said they would allow the voluntary "transfer out" provision if the Court approved.

TALLAHASSEE AND LEON COUNTY, FLORIDA

Superintendent Amos R. Godby was attending a program in one of the junior high schools when I arrived at his office on Friday morning. When he came in later, he seemed anxious to tell me what they are doing. This is the first time he has shown any interest or enthusiasm in talking with me. When I mentioned the good job Pensacola was doing and the encouraging program at Jacksonville, he replied, we are doing the same thing as Jacksonville. He said earlier this spring, they sent a letter to the parents of each of the 17,000 pupils telling them about the plan to accept all children regardless of race in the first grades this coming September. He said they did not receive a single application in

the early spring registration from first grade Negroes to attend white schools; however, they received three applications from high school Negroes to attend the white high school. He said these would be considered and probably accepted, at least, two of them. Mr. Godby said there would be another registration later in the summer, and some may apply then. He commented that only about half of those eligible to enter school had registered. This is so often true with Negroes; they do not value the importance of doing things on time.

BRUNSWICK AND GLYNN COUNTY, GEORGIA

The first Georgia school division I visited on this trip was Brunswick. This is the first time I have visited here. Superintendent Ralph E. Hood was interested in talking about most everything, including his and my retirement. He said he would like to talk with me in about a month, that they were being "threatened" with a desegregation suit, and he could tell me more later. I told him I would be glad to give him any information I could even after my second retirement.

Superintendent Hood said they had very few children now of government worker and there were no Negroes among them. He had no suit facing him of the "impacted area" type.

DEKALB COUNTY, DECATUR, GEORGIA

When I called Superintendent Cherry on Monday morning to confirm an appointment of either Monday afternoon or Tuesday morning, his secretary said he would be away this afternoon and had to attend a grand jury hearing tomorrow morning. She told me that they had no immediate problems in desegregation, so I saw no reason to postpone my visit to see him. From newspaper reports, they may have problems with "fire bugs".

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Both Dr. Leslie Dunbar and Paul Anthony were available for conferences, and I enjoyed my visits with them. We discussed and exchanged opinions on the stategic places, and I promised to send them any information that came to me that I thought would be helpful. The indications are that I shall continue to have some request for information from time to time, and many of these I shall send on to Southern Regional Council.

CHARLOTTE AND MECKLENBURG COUNTY, NORTH CAROLINA

My last visit on this trip was with Superintendent Craig Phillips of the Charlotte Mecklenburg County Schools. Dr. Phillips came from Winston-Salem to Charlotte this past July, and he is doing a good job in his new position. About the time he came, a merger had been effected

of Charlotte and Mecklenburg County school systems.

This school system has one of the most interesting developments that I have found. Last September, one of the elementary schools became predominantly Negro with about 400 Negro pupils and 60 White ones. The faculty and principal were changed from White to Negro. At the opening of the school in September, all the White children had moved away or had requested transfers except 11, who remained in the school. Dr. Phillips said now in May, 12 other white children have returned to the school, making a total of 23 white children in a school of 450. It will be interesting to watch the developments in this school.

Dr. Phillips said this coming September, they would have five schools to which pupils regardless of race would be assigned on a geographical basis. He said some might request to be reassigned. He said each year they added more schools to be in this class of assignments. In reply to my question as to what happens when a Negro child in some of the other schools applies to go to a white school, he said we assign them upon their request.

It seems to me that Charlotte is one of the cities of the best racial climate of any that I have visited.

MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS

During my last two trips, I have had request for information which I feel is of enough interest to be reported. There is also a change that has taken place in Norfolk and Portsmouth, Virginia which indicates an improvement in the racial climate. On the 11 o'clock T. V. news report on Friday night, May 24, there was a routine announcement that all Norfolk and Portsmouth motion picture theatres began admitting Negroes today; however, this is prohibited by State Law, but I feel the State will cause no trouble. The only follow-up of the event was an inconspicuous item in the Ledger-Star on Saturday, May 25. Despite the fact it was on the front page of the second section of the paper, it was near the bottom of the page with a very small "heading". It is short and interesting, and I am quoting the article:

CITY MOVIES INTEGRATED

Motion picture theaters in Norfolk and Portsmouth have begum admitting Negroes.

The dropping of the racial barriers came quietly Friday after an agreement among theater operators in the two cities.

Theater sources said the agreement applies to all theaters in Norfolk and Portsmouth, including neighborhood movie houses and drive-in theaters

Two weeks ago, a small band of Negro and white demonstrators carried placards along Granby Street, urging further desegregation of public facilities in Norfolk.

An assistant manager of a downtown Norfolk theater said only a few Negroes bought their way into downtown movie houses Friday. At least two Negroes reportedly purchased tickets, then walked away from one theater.

The new admission policy will mean that at least one neighborhood theater operator won't have to turn his back anymore.

The manager, who asked that his name not be used, said he had occasionally admitted Negro sailors in the company of white sailors. "one of the white boys would buy the tickets, and I'd sort of turn my back and they'd all go in."

He didn't think the practice had cost him any business.

TUITION GRANTS

Dr. T. A. Carrere of Charleston, South Carolina said there were rumors that the best non-sectarian private schools in South Carolina would not accept pupils with state tuition grants if the state adopted them, and asked me about this situation in Virginia, especially about Woodbury Forest. The following is a quotation from my letter to Superintendent Carrere:

"This morning I called J. G. Blount, Jr., Finance Officer for The State Board of Education, and Mr. Blount said as far as he knew all non-sectarian private schools in Virginia accepted students with state tuition grants except the Collegiate school in Richmond, Virginia. He said he knew that Woodbury Forest had accepted one or two. Norfolk City has not had any to apply to go there. He said further that a few of the schools would accept them but would not sign receipts or in any way acknowledge the grants in writing."

SOCIAL ACTIVITIES IN THE SCHOOLS

Superintendent Lloyd L. Lindsey of Baton Rouge, Louisiana and Assistant Superintendent C. L. Scarborough of Mobile, Alabama asked me the status of social activities in the Norfolk schools after five years of desegregation. The following is a quotation from my letters to Superintendent Lindsey and Assistant Superintendent Scarborough:

"Last Monday, May 27, I had a conference on the subject with the key members of the administrative group, including the superintendent and

his three assistants. As I stated when I saw you, in the beginning we transferred the responsibility for dances to the parents who conducted them by invitation in meeting places, including the Country Clubs, outside the school buildings. At present, some of these are being held in school buildings with parent sponsorship, but the question has arisen as to how far they can be considered private if held in public buildings. The Norfolk administrators seem to be of the opinion, in order to maintain private control, they will have to be held outside of school buildings.

In the activities, such as, plays, other stage programs, choruses, bands, athletics etc., which are part of the school program, the Norfolk school officials from the beginning have taken the position that any pupil who is eligible and qualified would participate. Up to this time, the participation of Negroes has been in the choruses and athletics. I feel sure they would be included in any school activity if they showed talent and qualified."

This, the last official trip I shall make as a consultant, was most pleasant and interesting.

SUMMARY REPORT
of
J. J. BREWBAKER, PUBLIC SCHOOL CONSULTANT
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA
July 1, 1960 -- May 31, 1963

This summary covers briefly, the main statistical aspects of my work for the approximate three years that I have served as Public School Consultant for the Southern Regional Council, Inc. The details have been reported after each trip, and I shall report here only a few examples that seem unusual.

It was agreed when I accepted this position that I would work about one-third of my time. During the three-year period, I worked 337 days and traveled approximately 63,270 miles. As I do not travel by air, 34,380 miles were traveled by automobile and 28,890 miles by train and bus.

It was my privilege to travel in eleven states and the District of Columbia. I visited the larger cities and larger county school divisions in all states except Arkansas, Mississippi, and Texas. In Arkansas, I visited Little Rock and Pine Bluff; in Mississippi, the University of Southern Mississippi at Hattiesburg; and in Texas, Dallas, and conferred with the Superintendent of Schools of Houston while in Dallas. The Superintendents of Mississippi felt the time had not come for them to talk at home with an outside consultant; however, I talked with several of them at last February's meeting of the American Association of School Administrators in Atlantic City, New Jersey.

The states that I visited were Alabama, Arkansas, District of Columbia, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. The cities are recorded in my reports after each visit.

In making these visits, I made 42 trips and held interviews, conferences, and attended meetings 217 times. This does not mean that I visited 217 different places because in a number of them I made two or more visits. Nor does this number include all the interviews and conferences because at meetings; such as, the American Association of School Administrators, Virginia Education Association, State Superintendents meetings, State School Board meetings, National Education Association, and Associated Public School Systems, I had a number of interviews and conferences each day during my attendance. At these meetings, many people would take advantage of talking with me rather than have me visit them at home. Some school people are still being terrorized at home.

One of the most interesting and pleasant meetings of this nature was the Annual Conference of the Alabama Association of School Administrators in Mobile, November 11, 12, 13, 1962. I was invited to attend as a guest by I. J. Browder, Superintendent of Gadsden City Schools and Dr. Raymond Christian, Vice-President of the organization and Superintendent

of the Huntsville Schools. I was treated with true southern hospitality and met practically everyone of the Alabama superintendents, and had the privilege of talking with many of them individually and in groups. This illustrates in general the type of meetings which I have attended, except the national meetings give opportunities to cover a broader field.

In all the places I visited, I observed improvements in attitudes and climate except one. This was Sumter, South Carolina. On my first visit, I noted a strong feeling of non-compliance on the part of the Superintendent and Vice-Chairman of the School Board. This was January 9, 1961. After more than two years, April 16, 1963, I revisited Sumter and talked with the Superintendent and Vice-Chairman of the Board again. The attitude of both of these men apparently had hardened against compliance. They were among the few whom I met in favor of state tuition grants and said that the desegregation of Clemson College had not had a good effect.

At the other extreme is Baton Rouge, Louisiana. When I visited Baton Rouge the first time, August 11, 1960, I did not see the Superintendent of Schools. At that time, friction was developing between the Superintendent and the School Board, and a little later, the Superintendent who was apparently more liberal-minded than the School Board was replaced by one who was more in accord with the then School Board's thinking. My first visit was to attend an organizational meeting of Citizens to form a Committee to save the public schools.

My next visit was on May 16, 1962, and I saw the new Superintendent and his assistant. At that time, they were in a mood for non-compliance; in fact, the Superintendent would not even admit the inevitability of desegregating the schools. Almost one year later, on April 24, 1963, I visited Baton Rouge on the Superintendent's invitation. He and his associates were very happy to see me and said the school board had asked the administration to submit a plan for the desegregation of the schools; that they could not see the welfare of the children and the public schools suffer because of a disagreement in principle. In the meantime, I understand, the people had elected a more liberal-minded school board.

There are many examples I could repeat here, but I think these are typical. The first one is alone in its extreme position, and the last one shows more change for the better than most others. However, all others are either between these two with more favoring the liberal attitude or much more liberal than either, for example, more like or approaching the climate that has developed in Charlotte, North Carolina. The states of North Carolina, Florida, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia should, with a few exceptions, experience very little trouble.

It seems to be that school people at this time have available sufficient information of plans and practices that have been successful and

those that have not worked well, to approach their problems in the light of the experience of others in such a way to assure them reasonable success.

It has been a pleasure to try to do a small bit, and to visit so many old friends and meet interesting new ones. I sincerely hope the problems of desegregation will more and more be resolved in an intelligent, mature, and non-violent manner.

BB

June 10, 1963

Mr. J. J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Brew:

Thank you for the reports. Your check should have reached you by now.

It has been very pleasant working with you. I hope you have a deep sense of satisfaction from the good job you have done these past 3 years.

Good luck on your second retirement. I am sure we shall keep in touch.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

June 27, 1963

Mr. J. J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Brew:

Thanks for the credit cards and the final settlement of the revolving fund.

These are indeed serious times and it will take quite a bit of luck as well as skill to begin to contribute to a solution.

I hope you are enjoying your second retirement but that in time you'll get just restless enough for an occasional fray!

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

RA MM file

BREWBAKER REPORTS

1960 - 1963

SCHOOL SUPTS. and/or ASSISTANTS

TOTAL: 220

STATE DIRECTORS OF INSTRUCTION
AND
SCHOOL BD. CHAIRMEN AND/OR MEMBER

TOTAL: 36

OFFICIALS OF SOS-TYPE GROUPS

TOTAL: 9

GOVT. OFFICIALS (Nat'l & State)
and
CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE

TOTAL: 10

GOVERNORS AND MAYORS

TOTAL: 2

EDITORS

TOTAL: 1

NOTEWORTHY ACTIVITIES

Special BREWBAKER Press Conference - August 9, 1960, New Orleans, La.
Reporters and photographers from 2 Newspapers:
Times-Picayune & New Orleans States Item

Reporters and camera crews from 3 TV Stations: WDSU; WWL; WVUE.

Reporters from 2 radio stations: WWL-AM; WDSU-AM.

****

Nov. 1-5 Attended annual conf. of VA. Association of School Admns, and Va. Ed. Assoc.

Nov. 14, 1960 Spoke to 55 County School PTA's (Fulton County)

Dec. 5-6, 1960 Spoke to special PTA gatherings, Atlanta, Ga.

Jan. 11, 1961 Spoke at Emory University to group of Univ. professors.

Jan. 12, 1961 Spoke to Lions Club, Carrollton, Ga.

Mar. 31, 1961 Attended American Assoc. of School Admns., Atlantic, N. J.

June 25-30, 1961 Attended Nat'l Educatipn Assoc., Atlantic, N.J.

July 19, 1961 Attended Summer Conf. for Supts. and School Bd. Members, Univ. of Virginia, Charlottesville.

Brewbaker Reports - Cont'd.

NOTEWORTHY ACTIVITEES - continued

July 23, 1961 Attended Annual Mtg. of Associated Public School Systems, New York, New York.

Oct. 5-7, 1961 Attended Annual Mtg. of Virginia School Bd. Association Virginia Beach

Oct. 30 - Nov. 1, 1961 Attended Virginia Education Association, Richmond

Feb. 17-21, 1962 Attended AASA Conf., Atlantic City, N.J.

Apr. 9-11, 1962 Annual Mtg. of Va. Supts. Meeting, Roanoke, Va.

Oct. 16, 1962 Attended specially arranged conference of 7 Supts. of of Northern Ala. (Birmingham)*

Oct. 18, 1962 Attended second specially arranged conference of 5 Supts. (Birmingham) *

Oct. 29-Nov. 3, 1962 Attended Virginia Education Association (Richmond, Va.)

Nov. 11-13, 1962 Attended Annual Conf. of Ala. Association of School Admns. (Mobile, Ala.) Brewbaker chaired, at this meeting a specially arranged round-table discussion with 6 school superintendents*

*These figures included in total number of superintendents reached during Brewbaker's tenure with the SLP.

Mar. 11-13, 1963 Attended Annual Conf. of Va. Superintendents Roanoke, Va.

Feb. 16-20, 1963 Attended Annual AASA conference, Washingtn, D. C.

Publication

1959

Messenger Press
2,000 Copies "Organizing to Save Public Schools" $300.00

1960

Higgins
1,000 "Racial Differences in Academic Achievement" 195.70
1,500 295.85

pie
5,000 "The South and the Nation" 657.06

8,000 "A Southerner's View of the South" ? 224.45

National Public Co.
5,000 "Council of Churches Folder." ? 715.49

Higgins
5,000 Frank Sruggett articles 220.96

1961

Forgione + paste
8,000 "Fowler Commission Reports" 365.65

Higgins + mailing
5,000 "New Census Look at Cities + Race" 210.19

H-Md
5,000 "The Case for Segregation" ? 629.23

H-mc
5,000 "Birmingham News paste-up" ? 80.56

1962

H-mc
5,000 "A positive Plan to Help Solve our Racial Dilemma" ? 190.40

S+P
5,000 "Reprint Wall Street Journal" 122.21

5,000 "Virginia's View of Race and Reason
1,000 "Negro Force in Market Place" (Reprint) ? 215.29

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL D. WILLIAMS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
FREDERICK B. ROUTH, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER, SECRETARY-TREASURER
PAUL ANTHONY, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT
JOHN HOPE II, CHIEF CONSULTANT
C. H. PARRISH, PROGRAM ASSOCIATE
MRS. M. E. TILLY, DIRECTOR OF WOMEN'S WORK
JOHN CONSTABLE, DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
MARGE R. MANDERSON, RESEARCH ASSISTANT
EMORY F. VIA, LABOR CONSULTANT

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

1962 5,000 "Richmond Quietly Leads Way in Race Relations" 21959

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date _____

To: _____ From: _____

Subject: _____

1963
"Plans for Progress"

"Business - Next Target for Integration" 365.00
2,000. (Ind. & Bus. Review)

2,000 MIS Report No. 229 248.00

6,000 Charlotte Report 448.80

Transition without Tragedy

Consultant Fees

1959

William Lightsey	300.00
Jane Reiy	100.00
Boyd Ridgeway	150.00
Everett Jones Rei	150.00
Frank H. Stallings	150.00

1960

Sid Boat	35.00
J. Kenneth Morland	240.00
Jos. Bam Price (Margaret)	334.00
Clarence Patrick	100.00

1961

George McMillan (Univ. of Ga. Research)	500.00

1962 Emory Via	40.00
George E. Barrett	40.00

SLP

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
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ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL D. WILLIAMS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
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Consultant Fees

1963

Fred Powledge	350.00
Rev. Jerry Sims	50.00
Rev. Duncan Gray	50.00
Mr. Florence Robin	450.00

BEN MUSE REPORTS
1962-1964

MAYORS AND CITY MANAGERS

3 + 14 = 17

NEWSPAPER EDS. & PUBS.

20
+ 56
76

INFLUENTIAL BUSINESSMEN

46
+ 43
89
3
92

lump together

GOVERNORS

James E. Folsom, Ala.
Albertis Harrison, Va.
James P. Coleman, Miss.

CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE

3

OTHER STATE-OFFICIALS

1
15
+ 16
31

*SPECIAL CONF. WITH SCHOOL SUPT. CARL F. HANSEN of WASHINGTON SCHOOLS/ PURPOSE: To obtain balancing information and clear cut answers to principle arguments and questions of Southern segregationists raised relative to and following desegregation of Washington schools.

Al

Add to Governors
Buford Ellington, Tenn.
Former Gov. Colgate W. Darden, Va.
Terry Sanford, N.C.
Luther Hodges, N.C.
Almond, Va.
Orval Faubus, Ark.
Sid McMath, Ark.
LeRoy Collins, Fla.

Han
Al
Coll
Hod
San
Faubus
Ellington

SUGGESTED BY-LAWS FOR LOCAL AFFILIATES OF STATE COUNCILS ON HUMAN RELATIONS

ARTICLE I NAME

This organization is _____
(an affiliate of the _____Council on Human Relations)

ARTICLE II PURPOSE AND POLICY

Section I.
The purpose of this organization shall be as follows: To strive through fact-finding and reporting, education and consulation to improve the educational, economic, and civic conditions of the people of _____without regard to ethnic or national orgins; to combat the causes of inter-group friction and misunderstanding, and to encourage inter-group cooperation for the common welfare; to interpret to the public the needs and aspirations of minority groups; to strive to attain the goal of equal opportunity for all the people of the state; and to purpose from time to time constructive measures for the attainment of these purposes.

ARTICLE III MEMBERSHIP

Section I.
Any person who is in accord with the purposes of _____ _____ may be a member. Membership includes individual membership in the _____ (state council).

ARTICLE IV BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Section I.
The BOARD OF DIRECTORS shall be composed of the officers and not more than twenty (20) members. They shall be chosen from the membership for a term of two (2) years. They shall be eligible to succeed themselves. Whatever the number of Directors, one-half of the total shall be elected each year

Section II.
The BOARD OF DIRECTORS shall have the power to fill vacancies in its membership which occur between Annaul Meetings of the Council.

Section III.
The BOARD OF DIRECTORS shall meet at least six (6) times per year

(ARTICLE IV - BOARD OF DIRECTORS, continued)

Section IV.
One-half of the members of the BOARD OF DIRECTORS shall constitute a quorum for the conduct of its affairs.

ARTICLE V OFFICERS

Section I.
The officers of the organization shall be the Chairman, two vice-chairmen, secretary and treasurer.

Section II.
The officers shall be chosen by the full membership at Annual Meeting. Their terms of office shall be for one year and they shall be eligible to succeed themselves.

Section III.
Officers shall be nominated by a Nominating Committee appointed by the Chairman with the approval of the board and composed of five (5) persons, three (3) chosen from the Board of Directors, and two (2) chosen from members-at-large.

Section IV.
The functions of the officers shall be those customary with those duties outlined by Roberts Rules of Order, and such duties as may be assigned by the Board of Directors (and/or the membership).

ARTICLE VI MEETINGS

Section I.
Meetings are to be arranged to fit local conditions, with the recommendation that meetings be held at least monthly.

Section II.
At meetings where notice of not less than two weeks has been given the full membership, those present shall represent a quorum.

Section III.
Special meetings may be called of the membership, at the direction of the chairman, and must be called on the written request of twenty.

ARTICLE VII COMMITTEES

Section I.
The Executive Committee of the Board of Directors shall be composed of officers and shall be in charge of the affairs of the organization between meetings of the Board of Directors.

Section II.
There shall be the following Standing Committees:
A. A membership committee to organize and carry out membership campaigns.
B. A finance committee which shall plan and execute fund raising when necessary.

Section III.
Other permanent or temporary committees shall be appointed by the chairman upon authorization of the Executive committee. At the discretion of the chairman, non-members may be asked to serve.

ARTICLE VIII FINANCES

Section I.
The Fiscal year shall be the calendar year.

Section II.
Annual dues are to be established by the state council on human relations. A portion of collected dues shall be reserved for state council operations. This amount shall be specified by the state council. However, local council dues may exceed the minimum set by the state organization.

Section III.
A budget shall be submitted by the Board of Directors to the membership at the Annual Meeting for their approval.

Section IV.
In the event this organization should be dissolved or otherwise terminate its activities, then all of the assets of the organization shall be distributed to a charitable, religious, or educational organization exempt under Section 501 (C) (3) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1964, to be selected at that time by the Board of Directors.

ARTICLE IX AFFILIATIONS

The organization may become an affiliate of the _____

(ARTICLE IX - AFFILIATIONS, continued)

(state council) upon conditions prescribed by the _____ _____ (state council) and with the mutual consent of both Boards of Directors. A two-thirds majority vote of either Boards of Directors will nullify the affiliation.

ARTICLE X AMENDMENTS

These by-laws may be amended at any annual meeting of the members or in any special meeting called for that purpose, by a majority of members present, provided a notice, containing the proposed changes, has been sent to members ten (10) days in advance of the meeting.

This is the info mentioned in Saturday's meeting

March 19, 1964

THE CIVIL RIGHTS BILL AND THE POSSIBLE ROLE OF THE CHURCHES

I BACKGROUND

As the Civil Rights Bill faces a Senate filibuster, there will be an increasing number of demands for religious leaders throughout the country to speak out in favor of this legislation.

This is particularly desired in areas in the interior of our nation where there are relatively few Negroes in the population. In such areas, senators are not likely to have any political reasons for taking a stand on civil rights. But they may be amenable to pleas based on moral grounds. Senators in this category can be critical in providing the majority needed to obtain a strong civil rights bill and to avoid the danger of racial strife in our nation.

II PROPOSED ACTION

It is suggested that churches and synagogues, either separately or in an interreligious fashion, make clear the moral basis for civil rights. They can insist that the rights defended in this Bill are human rights and involve the dignity of persons created by Almighty God. Such action could include:

A. Statements by religious leaders and by lay organizations in the religious community.

B. Letters to the senators involved. Telephone calls from influential persons.

C. Informal contacts with senators.

D. Rallies to dramatize the moral aspect of civil rights. Possibly Human Rights Week, April 26-May 2.

III GROUPING OF STATES

The States of the United States are listed below under one or more of three classes: A. Senators opposed to the Civil Rights Bill. B. Senators not strongly committed. C. Senators favorable to the Bill.

It is felt that little can be done with senators who are unalterably opposed to the Bill. Those favoring the Bill would like to receive encouragement and endorsement, since the organized opposition is strong. Uncommitted senators can be encouraged on moral grounds to take a favorable stand.

Where the senators in a state belong in different groupings, the state is listed twice, with the name of the senator given after each listing.

A. Senators Strongly Opposed. Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Texas (Tower), Virginia. (Total: 19 votes)

B. Senators Not Strongly Committed. Alaska (Bartlett), Arizona, Delaware (Williams), Idaho (Jordan), Illinois (Dirksen), Iowa (Hickenlooper), Kansas, Kentucky (Morton), Maine (Smith), Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire (Cotton), New Mexico, North Dakota (Young), Ohio (Lausche), Oklahoma, South Dakota (Mundt) Tennessee, Texas (Yarborough), Utah (Bennett), Vermont, West Virginia (Byrd), Wyoming (Simpson). (Total: 31 votes)

C. Senators Favorable to Civil Rights Bill. Alaska (Gruening), California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware (Boggs), Hawaii, Idaho (Church), Illinois (Douglas), Indiana, Iowa (Miller), Kentucky (Cooper), Maine (Muskie), Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, New Hampshire (McIntyre), New Jersey, New York, North Dakota (Burdick), Ohio (Young), Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Dakota (McGovern), Utah (Moss), Washington, West Virginia (Randolph), Wisconsin, Wyoming (McGee). (Total: 50 votes)

Senators strongly opposed (total: 19 votes)

Alabama - Lister Hill, John J. Sparkman
Arkansas - J. William Fulbright, John L. McClellan
Florida - George A. Smathers, Spessard L. Holland
Georgia - Herman E. Talmadge, Richard B. Russell
Louisiana - Russell B. Long, Allen J. Ellender
Mississippi - James O. Eastland, John Stennis
North Carolina - Samuel J. Ervin, Jr., B. Everett Jordan
South Carolina - Olin D. Johnston, J. Strom Thurmond
Texas - John G. Tower
Virginia - A. Willis Robertson, Harry Flood Byrd

Senators not strongly committed (total: 31 votes)

Alaska - E. L. (Bob) Bartlett
Arizona - Carl Hayden, Barry M. Goldwater
Delaware - John J. Williams
Idaho - Len B. Jordan
Illinois - Everett M. Dirksen
Iowa - Bourke B. Hickenlooper
Kansas - Frank Carlson, James B. Pearson
Kentucky - Thurston B. Morton
Maine - Margaret Chase Smith
Nebraska - Carl T. Curtis, Roman L. Hruska
Nevada - Alan Bible, Howard W. Cannon
New Hampshire - Norris Cotton
New Mexico - Clinton P. Anderson, Edwin L. Mechem
North Dakota - Milton R. Young
Ohio - Frank J. Lausche
Oklahoma - A. S. Mike Monroney, J. Howard Edmondson
South Dakota - Karl E. Mundt
Tennessee - Herbert S. Walters, Albert Gore
Texas - Ralph W. Yarborough
Utah - Wallace F. Bennett
Vermont - George D. Aiken, Winston L. Prouty
West Virginia - Robert C. Byrd
Wyoming - Milward L. Simpson

Senators favorable: (total: 50 votes)

Alaska - Ernest Gruening
California-Thomas H. Kuchel, Clair Engle
Colorado- Peter H. Dominick, Gordon Allott
Connecticut - Abraham A. Ribicoff, Thomas J. Dodd
Delaware - J. Caleb Boggs
Hawaii - Daniel K. Inouye, Hiram L. Fong
Idaho - Frank Church
Illinois - Paul H. Douglas
Indiana - Birch E. Bayh, Vance Hartke
Iowa - Jack R. Miller
Kentucky - John Sherman Cooper
Maine - Edmund S. Muskie
Maryland - Daniel B. Brewster, J. Glenn Beall
Massachusetts - Leverett Saltonstall, Edward M. Kennedy
Michigan - Patrick V. McNamara, Philip A. Hart
Minnesota - Hubert H. Humphrey, Eugene J. McCarthy
Missouri - Edward V. Long, Stuart Symington
Montana - Lee Metcalf, Mike Mansfield

Senators favorable - cont'd. - pg. 2

New Hampshire - Thomas J. McIntyre
New Jersey - Clifford P. Case, H. A. Williams, Jr.
New York - Jacob K. Javits, Kenneth B. Keating
North Dakota - Quentin N. Burdick
Ohio - Stephn M. Young
Oregon - Wayne Morse, Maurine B. Neuberger
Pennsylvania - Joseph S. Clark, Hugh Scott
Rhode Island - Claiborne Pell, John O. Pastore
South Dakota - George S. McGovern
Utah - Frank E. Moss
Washington - Warren G. Magnuson, Henry M. Jackson
West Virginia - Jennings Randolph
Wisconsin - Gaylord A. Nelson, William Proxmire
Wyoming - Gale W. McGee

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
February 27, 1959

CIVIL RIGHTS - DESEGREGATION STATUS: FLORIDA

I. EDUCATION: Public Schools, Elementary and Secondary Level, Desegregated:

None

II. EDUCATION: Desegregated* Institutions of Higher Education (as of January 1959)

Total: One state supported university, graduate level
One private college

Institutions	Legal Control
Barry College, Miami, Florida	Roman Catholic
University of Florida Law School, Gainesville, Fla.	State

III. MEDICAL FACILITIES: Desegregated Hospitals (as of January, 1959):

All Veterans Administration hospitals

IV. RECREATIONAL FACILITIES: Actions taken from Press Clippings, 1954-58:

1. Desegregated

Pensacola's municipal golf course is open to both Negroes and whites, although separate club houses are provided. (Opened May, 1956)

Miami - Municipal Miami Springs Golf Course was desegregated April, 1958, after U. S. Circuit Court affirmation of a district court's desegregation order. The course clubhouse was leased to an individual who planned segregated operation. Outcome?

West Palm Beach - April, 1958. City-owned golf course desegregated in compliance with federal court ruling.

2. Evasive Action

St. Petersburg's municipally owned Spa Beach, under court order to desegregate, was closed twice in 1958 when Negroes attempted to use beach facilities. (June and September). In January of 1959 the city council voted to reopen the beach, but authorized the City Manager to close it should "any emergency arise."

* Although some listed colleges may not have students of both races actually in attendance, it is their stated policy to accept all students, regardless of race. Because of admissions and information policies a comprehensive count of the extent of desegregation is no longer possible.

IV. RECREATIONAL FACILITIES: continued,

2. Evasive Action, continued,

The Boynton Beach Casino swimming area was closed twice (June 1958) after it was used by Negro swimmers. Mayor L. S. Chadwell warned that violence might result from any future desegregation attempt.

3. Action to avoid desegregation

Ft. Lauderdale's municipal golf course was sold (July 1957) to the Fort Lauderdale Men's Golf Association (at half its appraised value) to run privately, after a Federal Court order to open the course to Negroes. The Florida Supreme Court upheld the legality of the sale.

4. Pending Legal Action

Jacksonville - Suit filed in federal court asking desegregation of municipal golf course, July 1958. Present status?

V. SUFFRAGE

Negro Registration 1958: 144,810 (official)

Negro Percentage of Total Registration, 1958: 9.1

VI. NEGROES HOLDING PUBLIC OFFICE:

Jacksonville: Ernest D. Jackson, Sr., the first Negro to win a nomination in Jacksonville in some 40 years, was nominated (in the Democratic primary, May 1956) as a justice of the peace. (Elected?)

Miami: Henry H. Arlington, Negro attorney, is the first Negro on the Miami Housing Authority. (Reported September 1958)

Judge Lawson E. Thomas was in 1956 serving his second term in the local judiciary. (Elective or appointive position?)

(Local check advised for more recent or additional information.)

VII. TRANSPORTATION: City Buses Desegregated Since 1954

Miami	Daytona Beach
Miami Beach	Tampa

(Results of a spot survey which may not represent a total figure. Local check of other cities advised.)

VIII. TRANSPORTATION: Segregation Policies in Bus, Train, Air Line Waiting Rooms

A Summer, 1958, spot survey included the following Florida cities:

Miami - Signs indicating separate waiting rooms are still up in bus stations. Train station has one unmarked general waiting room, while one waiting room is marked "Colored Intrastate". Air line waiting rooms are desegregated.

Jacksonville - Greyhound Bus station has separate waiting rooms, as does the Union train station. In the case of the latter, employees are not allowed to enforce segregation. Air line facilities appear to be completely desegregated.

(More recent or additional information would be in order.)

File - Lean

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
673 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia
February, 1959

CIVIL RIGHTS - DESEGREGATION STATUS: TENNESSEE

I. EDUCATION: Public Schools, Elementary and Secondary Level, Desegregated since 1954:

Total: 84-94 Negro students attending previously white schools in three school districts.

District	Total Enrollment White	Total Enrollment Negro	No. of Negroes in Formerly White Schools, 1958-59	Level
Anderson County	8,500	144	10	High School
Anderson County-Oak Ridge	7,600	200	Estimated 40-50	High School
Nashville	16,729	9,964	34	1st and 2nd grades

(Parochial schools of Nashville desegregated; local check of other parishes advised.)

II. EDUCATION: Desegregated* Institutions of Higher Education (as of January 1959).

Total: 5 state, 10 private institutions (some on graduate level only - see attached list).

III. MEDICAL FACILITIES: Desegregated Hospitals (as of January, 1959).

All Veterans Administration hospitals

Knoxville's Mayor George Dempster announced there would be no segregation in a new hospital under construction in the city, July 1955. Outcome?

IV. RECREATIONAL FACILITIES: Actions taken from Press Clippings, 1954-58:

Nashville - golf courses desegregated, February 1956 following court order.

Knoxville - Three city parks desegregated, 1955.

V. SUFFRAGE:

Negro Registration, 1958: 185,000 (estimated by an experienced capitol news correspondent).

Negro percentage of total registration, 1958: 13.2

*Although some listed colleges may not have students of both races in attendance, it is their stated policy to accept all students, regardless of race. Because of admissions and information policies, a comprehensive count of the extent of desegregation is no longer possible.

VI. NEGROES HOLDING ELECTIVE OR APPOINTIVE PUBLIC OFFICE:

SRC records indicate that the following men are currently in office. Local check advised to determine their present tenure and to add names of other Negro office-holders if there be any.

Knoxville - City Planning Commission: A Negro was elected (by the City Council) to this body in August, 1955.

Nashville - City Council: Two Negroes are currently serving on the City Council (an elective office): Z. Alexander Looby and Robert E. Lillard. Mr. Looby was first elected in 1951, re-elected in 1955.

Nashville - School Board (SRC newsclips do not indicate whether School Board members are elected or appointed); Coyness Ennix is the only Negro member.

VII. TRANSPORTATION: City Buses Desegregated since 1954 - Knoxville, Nashville, and Chattanooga.
(Local check of other cities advised.)

VIII. TRANSPORTATION: Segregation Policies on Bus, Train, Air Lines Waiting Rooms

A summer, 1958 spot survey included the following Tennessee cities:

Knoxville:
Memphis
Chattanooga
Nashville

Bus station provide separate waiting room facilities; however, Nashville's Greyhound station allows Negroes to sit in the main waiting room and to use unsegregated restrooms. Nashville's train terminal has removed the "Colored" sign from the formerly segregated Negro waiting room, while in the other cities these signs have been replaced with Colored Intra-State Passenger signs. When they exist, eating facilities are segregated. Air Lines terminals are desegregated in all four of these cities; Air Lines restaurants, however, are segregated in Memphis (desegregated in Knoxville, Chattanooga and Nashville).

(More recent or additional information would be in order.)

DESEGREGATING INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION

TENNESSEE

	Institutions	Legal Control
1.	American Baptist Theological Seminary Nashville, Tennessee (Formerly all Negro)	Baptist
2.	American University of Memphis, Memphis, Tennessee	Private
3.	Austin Peay State College, Clarksville, Tennessee	State
4.	East Tennessee State College, Johnson City, Tennessee	State
5.	Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee (Formerly all Negro)	Private
6.	LeMoyne College, Memphis, Tennessee (Formerly all Negro)	American Missionary Asso'n, Congregational
7.	Maryville College, Maryville, Tennessee	Presbyterian
8.	Meharry Medical College, Nashville, Tennessee (Formerly all Negro)	Private
9.	Middle Tennessee State College, Murfreesboro, Tennessee	State
10.	Peabody College, Nashville, Tennessee Note: Summer of 1954 admitted 14 Negro principals to special program. Later developments?	Private
11.	Scarritt College for Christian Workers Nashville, Tennessee	Methodist
12.	Tennessee Polytechnic Institute, Cookeville, Tennessee	State
13.	University of the South School of Theology Sewanee, Tennessee	Protestant Episcopal
14.	University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tennessee	State
15.	Vanderbilt School of Law, Nashville, Tennessee	Private
16.	Vanderbilt School of Religion, Nashville, Tennessee	Private

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
February, 1959

CIVIL RIGHTS - DESEGREGATION STATUS: TEXAS

I. EDUCATION: Public Schools, Elementary and Secondary Level, Desegregated:

Total: 124 districts (out of 722 having Negro schools) have begun desegregation. Approximate number of children in desegregated classes: Negro - 3,750
White - 325,000 (See attached list.)

(Parochial schools in San Antonio have been desegregated. Desegregation in Parochial schools in Texas is thought to be extensive, since complete desegregation by 1956 had been anticipated by Parochial school officials. Local check of other parishes advised.)

II. EDUCATION: Desegregated* Institutions of Higher Education (as of Jan., 1959):
Total: At least 36 public (state, municipal, county) supported colleges are desegregated in policy or practice. (See attached list.)

III. MEDICAL FACILITIES: Desegregated Hospitals (as of Jan., 1959):

All Veterans Administration Hospitals

IV. RECREATIONAL FACILITIES: Actions taken from Press Clippings, 1954-58:

1. Desegregated

TEXAS - Houston - golf courses, June, 1954, after federal court order.

Dallas - golf courses, June, 1954.

Ft. Worth - golf course, 1955.

San Antonio - golf courses, 1956. Swimming Pools, tennis courts, 1956.

Beaumont - 2 city parks, including golf course, September, 1955.

Corpus Christi - Municipal swimming pool, 1956.

Austin - all public recreation facilities, March, 1956.

2. Action to avoid desegregation

Marshall - Voters authorized sale ofswimming pool and city park after a Negro filed suit asking the pool to admit Negroes, 1956. (Outcome?)

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*Although some listed colleges may not have students of both races in attendance, it is their stated policy to accept all students, regardless of race. Because of admissions and information policies a comprehensive count of the extent of desegregation is no longer possible.

3. Pending Legal Action

Houston - Suit filed in U. S. District Court, June, 1958, asking desegregation of Sylvan Beach Park.

V. SUFFRAGE

Negro Registration, 1958: 150,000 (estimated)
Negro Percentage of Total Registration, 1958: 6.8

VI. NEGROES HOLDING ELECTIVE OR APPOINTIVE PUBLIC OFFICE

Houston - Mrs. Charles E. White was elected to the Houston School Board in November, 1958.

Port Arthur - A Negro councilman was elected, Fall, 1955.

(Local check advised for additional or more recent information.)

VII? TRANSPORTATION: City Buses Desegregated Since 1954:

1. San Antonio
2. Corpus Christi
3. Dallas
4. El Paso

(Results of a spot survey. It is safe to assume that other Texas cities - particularly in the West Texas area - have desegregated seating on their city buses. Local check advised.)

VIII. TRANSPORTATION: Segregation Policies in Bus, Train, Airline Waiting Rooms

A Summer, 1958, spot survey included the following Texas cities:

1. San Antonio has desegregated waiting room, restaurant, and restaurant facilities in its bus, train, and airline terminals.

2. Houston's bus stations are segregated. One train station has separate waiting rooms while the other has only one general waiting room. A recently constructed airport does not have segregated waiting room facilities but does have separate dining areas in its restaurant.

(More recent or additional information would be in order.)

DESEGREGATING INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION

TEXAS

Institutions	Legal Control
1. Amarillo (Junior) College, Amarillo, Texas	Municipal
2. Austin College, Sherman, Texas	Private
3. Austin Presbyterian Theological Seminary Austin, Texas	Presbyterian
4. Big Spring (Junior) College, Big Spring, Texas	✓
5. Bishop College, Marshall, Texas (Formerly all-Negro)	Baptist
6. Borger (Junior) College, Borger, Texas	✓
7. Brite College of the Bible, Fort Worth, Texas	Disciples of Christ
8. Brownsville (Junior) College, Brownsville, Texas	✓
9. Cisco Junior College, Cisco, Texas	Public
10. Corpus Christi (Junior) College, Corpus Christi, Texas	✓
11. Dallas Theological Seminary, Dallas, Texas	Private
12. Del Mar (Junior) College, Corpus Christi, Texas	Municipal
13. DeMazenod Scholasticate, San Antonio, Texas	Roman Catholic
14. Edinburg (Junior) College, Edinburg, Texas	✓
15. Episcopal Theological Seminary of the Southwest Austin, Texas	Episcopal
16. Frank Phillips (Junior) College, Borger, Texas	District
17. Gainesville Junior College, Gainesville, Texas	Public
18. Hardin County Junior College, Wichita Falls, Texas	County
19. Howard County Junior College, Big Spring, Texas	County
20. Incarnate Word College, San Antonio, Texas	Roman Catholic
21. Kilgore Junior College, Kilgore, Texas	District
22. Lamar State College of Technology, Beaumont, Texas	Public
23. Laredo Junior College, Laredo, Texas	Municipal

DESEGREGATING INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION

TEXAS

Institutions	Legal Control
24. Lutheran Concordia College, Austin, Texas	Lutheran
25. Mary Allen College, Crockett, Texas (Formerly all-Negro)	Baptist
26. Midwestern University, Wichita Falls, Texas	Private
27. McMurry College, Abilene, Texas	Methodist
28. North Texas State College, Denton, Texas	State
29. Odessa (Junior) College, Odessa, Texas	District
30. Our Lady of the Lake College, San Antonio, Texas	Roman Catholic
31. Pan American College, Edinburg, Texas	County
32. Paris Junior College, Paris, Texas	Municipal
33. St. Anthony's Junior Seminary, San Antonio, Texas	Roman Catholic
34. St. Edwards University, Austin, Texas	Roman Catholic
35. St. Mary's University of San Antonio, Texas	Roman Catholic
36. St. Phillip's College, San Antonio, Texas	Public
37. San Angelo (Junior) College, San Angelo, Texas	Municipal
38. San Antonio College, San Antonio, Texas	Municipal
39. Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas (School of Theology and Evening Law School)	Methodist
40. Southwestern Baptist Seminary, Fort Worth, Texas	Baptist
41. Southwestern Medical School of University of Texas Dallas, Texas	Public
42. Temple Junior College, Temple, Texas	Municipal
43. Texarkana College, Texarkana, Texas	Municipal
44. Texas Christian University (Graduate School) Fort Worth, Texas	Disciples of Christ
45. Texas College of Arts and Industries, Kingsville, Texas	State
46. Texas Lutheran College, Seguin, Texas	Lutheran
47. Texas Southern University, Houston, Texas (Previously all-Negro)	State

DESEGREGATING INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION

TEXAS

	Institutions	Legal Control
48.	Texas Southmost College, Brownsville, Texas	Municipal
49.	Texas Western, El Paso, Texas	State
50.	Trinity University, San Antonio, Texas	Presbyterian
51.	University of Dallas, Dallas, Texas	Roman Catholic
52.	University of St. Thomas, Houston, Texas	Roman Catholic
53.	University of Texas, Austin, Texas	State
54.	University of Texas Dental Branch, Houston, Texas	Public
55.	University of Texas Medical Branch, Galveston, Texas	Public
56.	Uvalde (Junior) College, Uvalde, Texas	≠
57.	Victoria (Junior) College, Victoria, Texas	Municipal
58.	Wayland Baptist College, Plainview, Texas	Southern Baptist
59.	Wharton County Junior College, Wharton, Texas	County
60.	Wichita Falls Junior College, Wichita Falls, Texas	State

≠ = Tax supported, whether State or District, unknown

Negro ..... 8,910 Negro .....

124 school districts desegregated or with desegregation policies are listed below with date process begun, where available:

ARANSAS COUNTY — Rockport (55).
ATASCOSA COUNTY — Pleasanton (57).
BAYLOR COUNTY—Seymour.
BEE COUNTY—Beeville, Pettus.
BELL COUNTY—Killeen.
BEXAR COUNTY—Alamo Heights East Central, Edgewood, Ft. Sam Houston, Harlandale, Lackland, Northeast, San Antonio (55), S. San Antonio, Bexar Rural High (56), S.W. Rural High (56).
BREWSTER COUNTY — Alpine (55).
BROWN COUNTY — Brownwood (55).
BURNET COUNTY—Burnet.
CALHOUN COUNTY—Co. Indep. (Pt. Lavaca), (55).
CAMERON COUNTY — Brownsville (55), Harlingen (55), LaFeria (55), San Benito (56).
CASTRO COUNTY—Dimmit (56), Hart (56).
CULBERSON COUNTY — Van Horn (56).
DALLAM COUNTY—Dalhart (56).
DeWITT COUNTY—Nordheim.
DIMMIT COUNTY — Carizzo Springs (55).
ECTOR COUNTY—Odessa.
EL PASO COUNTY—El Paso (55), Socorro (56), Ysleta, El Paso Rural High.
ERATH COUNTY—Dublin (56).
FRIO COUNTY—Pearsall.
GALVESTON COUNTY — Moody State Home.
GUADALUPE COUNTY—Marion, Navarro, Schertz-Cibolo, Seguin.
HALE COUNTY—Cotton Center.
HAYS COUNTY — San Marcos (55).
HIDALGO COUNTY—Donna (56), Edinburg (55), McAllen, Mercedes (55), Mission, Pharr-San Juan (56), Weslaco.
HOCKLEY COUNTY—Pep.
HOWARD COUNTY—Big Spring (55).
HUTCHINSON COUNTY—Borger.
JIM WELLS COUNTY—Alice.
KARNES COUNTY — Falls City (56), Kenedy (55), Karnes City (55), Runge.
KINNEY COUNTY—Brackett or Brackettsville (56).
KLEBERG COUNTY — Kingsville (55).
LAMB COUNTY — Littlefield, Spade.
LLANO COUNTY—Llano (55).
LUBBOCK COUNTY — Lubbock (55).
LIMESTONE COUNTY—Echols.
LYNN COUNTY — Tahoka (55), Wilson.
MASON COUNTY—Mason (55).
MEDINA COUNTY—Devine (55), Hondo, Natalia (56).
MENARD COUNTY—Menard.
MIDLAND COUNTY—Midland.
NUECES COUNTY—Aqua Dulce, Bishop (55), Corpus Christi (55), Robstown (55), Sundeen, Tuloso-Midway, West Oso.
PARMER COUNTY—Bovina, Friona (54), Farwell (56), Lazbuddie (56).
PECOS COUNTY—Fort Stockton (55).
POTTER COUNTY—Amarillo.
REEVES COUNTY—Pecos (55).
REFUGIO COUNTY — Austwell-Tivoli, Refugio, Woodsboro.
SAN PATRICIO COUNTY—Aransas Pass ,Ingleside, Mathis (55), Sinton.
SAN SABA COUNTY—San Saba (55).
SWISHER COUNTY—Kress, Happy (56), Tulia (56).
TAYLOR COUNTY — Abilene County School.
TERRELL COUNTY — Sanderson (56).
TERRY COUNTY—Wellman.
TOM GREEN COUNTY—San Angelo (55).
TRAVIS COUNTY—Austin (55).
UVALDE COUNTY—Uvalde.
VAL VERDE COUNTY—Del Rio (55), San Felipe (55).
VICTORIA COUNTY — Victoria, Bloomington (58).
WARD COUNTY — Monahans-Wickett.
WEBB COUNTY—Laredo.
WICHITA COUNTY — Wichita Falls (55).
WILLACY COUNTY—Raymondsville.
WILSON COUNTY — Floresville, LaVernia (55), Poth (55), Stockdale.
WINKLER COUNTY — Kermit, Wink.
YOAKUM COUNTY—Plains.
ZAVALA COUNTY—Crystal City (55).

Colleges—Of the 47 formerly all-white public colleges and universities, seven senior and 18 junior colleges now accept Negroes, in practice or principle. Estimated Negro enrollment in the senior colleges is about 200 (173 of them at the University of Texas) as compared to about 230 last year. In the junior colleges enrollment of Negroes again is expected to be about 100 as it was during 1956-57. Several private and church-affiliated-institutions also accept Negroes, including Wayland Baptist College at Plainview, Midwestern University at Wichita Falls and Presbyterian and Episcopal seminaries in Austin.

Teachers—Some 35 teaching positions have been eliminated because of school desegregation, but only about 20 teachers have been displaced. All have found new jobs in Texas schools. Negro teachers have been utilized in Hondo, Uvalde and possibly Refugio, probably in non-teaching capacities.

Official State Attitude

Divided but generally pro-segregation.

Public Reaction

Three pro-segregation amendments on the July 1956 Democratic primary ballot were approved

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
February, 1959

CIVIL RIGHTS - DESEGREGATION STATUS: VIRGINIA

I. EDUCATION: Public Schools, Elementary and Secondary Level, Desegregated:

Total: A total of 53 Negro students now attend previously white schools in four school districts.

District	Number of Negroes in Formerly White Schools 1958-59
Alexandria	9
Arlington	4
Norfolk	17
Warren County	23 *

* Number is expected to rise to a possible 100.

(Parochial schools of Alexandria, Arlington County, Charlottesville, Fairfax County, Hampton, Newport News, Norfolk, Richmond, Roanoke, Williamsburg and Warwich are desegregated. Local check of other parishes advised.)

II. EDUCATION: Desegregated* Institutions of Higher Education (as of January 1959)

Total: 5 state supported, 6 private institutions

Institutions	Legal Control
Bridgewater College, Bridgewater, Va.	Brethren
College of William & Mary, Williamsburg and Norfolk Divisions, Virginia	State
Hampton Institute, Hampton, Va. (Formerly All Negro)	Private
Medical College of Virginia, Richmond, Va.	State
Protestant Episcopal Theological Seminary in Virginia Alexandria, Virginia	Protestant Episcopal
Richmond Professional Institute of the College of William & Mary, Richmond, Va.	State
St. Paul's Polytechnic Institute, Lawrenceville, Va. (Formerly All Negro)	Protestant Episcopal
Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, Va.	Presbyterian
University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va.	State
Virginia Polytechnic Institute, Blacksburg, Va.	State

II. EDUCATION: Desegregated Institutions of Higher Education, continued:

Virginia Union University, Richmond, Virginia — Baptist
(Formerly All Negro)

* Although some listed colleges may not have students of both races actually in attendance, it is their stated policy to accept all students regardless of race. Because of admissions and information policies, a comprehensive count of the extent of desegregation is no longer possible.

III. MEDICAL FACILITIES

All Veterans Administration hospitals

IV. RECREATIONAL FACILITIES: Action 1954-58

Seashore State Park was ordered desegregated in 1955. An attempt to lease it to private persons for segregated operation was blocked by federal court in 1956. Present status?

(Local check advised for more recent or additional information.)

V. SUFFRAGE

Negro Registration 1958: 131,626 (official)

Negro Percentage of Total Registration: 14.1

VI. NEGROES HOLDING PUBLIC OFFICE

New Kent County: Samuel Crump was elected to the County Board of Supervisors, October 1955.

Portsmouth: Talmadge Johnson was appointed to the Portsmouth Board of Equalization of Real Estate Assessments for six months in 1955.

Virginia Beach: Mrs. Alice B. Petty was sworn in as personal property tax assessor for Princess Anne County in January 1957.

(Local check advised for more recent or additional information.)

VII. TRANSPORTATION: City Buses Desegregated since 1954

1. Richmond
2. Norfolk
3. Portsmouth
4. Newport News
5. Petersburg
6. Charlottesville
7. Fredericksburg
8. Lynchburg
9. Roanoke
10. Fairfield

(Results of a spot survey which may not represent a total figure. Local check of other cities advised.)

VIII. TRANSPORTATION: Segregation Policies in Bus, Train, Air Line Waiting Rooms

A Summer 1958 spot survey included the following Virginia cities:

Charlottesville - Norfolk Roanoke	Although there are still two waiting rooms in the bus and train stations in these three Virginia cities, signs requiring segregation have been removed (with the exception of Trailways Bus Station in Norfolk where signs remain but segregation is not enforced.). There are, however, separate restaurants or lunch counters when such accommodations are provided. Air line waiting rooms are desegregated, including restaurant facilities in Charlottesville and Norfolk.

(More recent or additional information would be in order.)

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
February, 1959

CIVIL RIGHTS - DESEGREGATION STATUS: KENTUCKY

I. EDUCATION: Public Schools, Elementary and Secondary Level, Desegregated since 1954:

Total: 117 districts out of 171 districts having Negroes have desegregation policies.

263 schools in 97 districts have racially desegregated classes.

(See attached list.)

(It is the policy of the Diocese of Covington to admit Negro children who may apply to white Catholic schools. Outcome? Local check of other parishes advised.)

II. EDUCATION: Desegregated* Institutions of Higher Education (as of Jan., 1959):

Total: At least 26 public and private colleges, including all 6 state colleges. (See attached list.)

III. MEDICAL FACILITIES: Desegregated Hospitals (as of Jan., 1959):

1. The United Mine Workers of America completed seven hospitals in 1956, to be operated on an integrated basis.

2. The Louisville Marine Hospital admits Negro patients.

3. All Veterans Administration hospitals.

IV. RECREATIONAL FACILITIES: Actions taken from Press Clippings, 1954-58:

Desegregated

KENTUCKY - Louisville - City's 5 golf courses desegregated, 1955.

Paducah - City golf course desegregated, Winter, 1956.

The Kentucky Court of Appeals banned segregation in all public recreational facilities in the state. December, 1955.

V. NEGROES HOLDING PUBLIC OFFICE

Felix S. Anderson is the fourth Negro to serve in the Kentucky General Assembly, and is Head of the Committee on Suffrage, Elections, and Appointments in the Kentucky House of Representatives.

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*Although some listed colleges may not have students of both races actually in attendance, it is their stated policy to accept all students, regardless of race. Because of admissions and information policies a comprehensive count of the extent of deseggregation is no longer possible.

State Administration:

A Negro aide was appointed by the governor (between May, 1954-May, 1956).

Louisville:

Woodford R. Porter was elected to the School Board in November of 1958.

Alderman William W. Beckett was selected by the Board of Aldermen to be Acting Mayor during a several day absence of the elected official in November, 1955.

Mrs. Frances Parrish is the first Negro to serve as executive supervisor for the city Division of Recreation.

(Local check advised for more recent or additional information.)

VI. TRANSPORTATION: Segregation Policies in Bus, Train, Airline Waiting Rooms:

A Summer, 1958 spot survey included Louisville, only. In that city although signs indicating segregated waiting rooms are still up, in usage the facilities of both train and bus terminals are desegregated. Adult Negroes are refused service at lunch counter in white bus terminal. Airline waiting rooms are not segregated.

(More recent or additional information would be in order.)

NOTE: Kentucky was not included in SRC's recent voting studies; figures as to Negro voting or registration are not, therefore, included in this summary and should be added if obtainable. Information regarding desegregation of municipal transit systems should also be added.

DESEGREGATING INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION

KENTUCKY

Institutions	Legal Control
1. Asbury College, Wilmore, Kentucky	Private
2. Ashland Junior College, Ashland, Kentucky	Municipal
3. Bellarmine College, Louisville, Kentucky	Roman Catholic
4. Bethel College, Hopkinsville, Kentucky	Baptist
5. Brescia College, Owensboro, Kentucky	Roman Catholic
6. Berea College, Berea, Kentucky	Private
7. Centre College of Kentucky, ~~Danville~~ Danville, Kentucky	Presbyterian
8. College of the Bible, Lexington, Kentucky	Disciples of Christ
9. Eastern Kentucky State College, Richmond, Kentucky	State
10. Georgetown College, Georgetown, Kentucky	Southern Baptist
11. Kentucky State College, Frankfort, Kentucky (Formerly all Negro)	State
12. Lees Junior College, Jackson, Kentucky	Presbyterian
13. Louisville Presbyterian Theological Seminary Louisville, Kentucky	Presbyterian
14. Midway Junior College, Midway, Kentucky	Private
15. Morehead State College, Morehead, Kentucky	State
16. Murray State College, Murray, Kentucky	State
17. Nazareth College, Louisville, Kentucky	Roman Catholic
18. Paducah Junior College, Paducah, Kentucky	Municipal
19. Pikesville Junior College, Pikesville, Kentucky	Presbyterian
20. Southern Baptist Theological Seminary Louisville, Kentucky	S. Baptist
21. Ursuline College, Louisville, Kentucky	Roman Catholic
22. University of Louisville, Louisville, Kentucky	Municipal
23. University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky	State
24. Union College, Barbourville, Kentucky	Methodist

Institutions	Legal Control
25. Villa Madonna College, Covington, Kentucky	Roman Catholic
26. West Kentucky State College, Bowling Green, Kentucky	State

KENTUCKY

Enrollment in Public Schools (estimated)	600,000
White	560,000
Negro	40,000
Percentage Negro	6.6%
Number of School Districts	215
Districts Having Negroes	171
Number of Teachers	24,500
White (estimated)	22,700
Negro (estimated)	1,300

Teacher Pay Scale (average salary)
$3,125 for all teachers, no breakdown by race

Status of Desegregation

Note enrollments are for 1956-57 school year while mixed class totals are for 1957-58 year, accounting for instances where more children are listed in mixed classes than reflected in total enrollments.

District	Date Deseg'd. or Status	1956-57 Enrollment White	1956-57 Enrollment Negro	In Mixed Classes White	In Mixed Classes Negro
Adair Co.	1956	4,064	219	1,445	108
Allen Co.	Segre	1,898	15	—	—
Scottsville	Plan	686	36	—	—
Anderson Co.	Plan	1,809	116	—	—
Ballard Co.	Segre	1,838	109	—	—
Barren Co.	Plan	3,673	224	—	—
Caverna	1957	761	128	785	101
Glasgow	Plan	1,774	186	—	—
Bath Co.	Segre	2,297	130	—	—
Bell Co.	1956	6,848	16	407	14
Middlesboro	Segre	3,080	312	—	—
Pineville	1956	756	56	634	41
Boone Co.	1955	3,725	16	1,846	13
Walton-Verona	1956	592	12	402	19
Bourbon Co.	Segre	2,348	307	—	—
Paris	Segre	1,135	300	—	—
Boyd Co.	1956	3,089	0	0	0
Ashland	1955	6,487	154	2,327	8
Catlettsburg	Segre	1,063	3	—	—
Boyle Co.	Plan	2,102	122	—	—
Danville	1956	1,652	359	*	*
Bracken Co.	1956	1,297	11	443	6
Augusta	1956	322	7	304	8
Breathitt Co.	1956	5,265	2	1,021	5
Jackson	1956	576	17	478	8
Breckenridge Co.	1956	3,203	157	494	35
Cloverport	Segre	405	9	—	—
Bullitt Co.	1956	3,591	62	2,922	58
Butler Co.	Segre	2,744	18	—	—
Caldwell Co.	Segre	2,800	158	—	—
Calloway Co.	1956	2,623	30	*	*
Murray	1956	1,014	123	458	1
Campbell Co.	1956	3,113	0	0	0
Newport	1955	5,843	183	2,211	159
Carlisle Co.	Segre	1,219	20	—	—
Carroll Co.	Plan	1,144	29	—	—
Carrollton	Segre	835	16	—	—
Carter Co.	1955	6,302	3	*	*
Casey Co.	Segre	3,990	16	—	—
Liberty	Segre	482	2	—	—
Christian Co.	Segre	3,552	1,154	—	—
Hopkinsville	1956	2,012	889	—	3
Pembroke	Segre	158	168	—	—
Clarke Co.	1956	2,504	57	1,944	39
Winchester	1956	1,486	394	511	134
Clay Co.	Segre	6,658	127	—	—
Clinton Co.	1955	2,113	9	61	8
Crittenden Co.	1956	1,679	0	0	0
Marion	1955	592	17	*	*
Cumberland Co.	Segre	1,892	121	—	—
Daviess Co.	1956	7,419	89	371	10
Owensboro	1955	7,455	523	931	39
Edmondson Co.	Plan	2,593	41	—	—
Elliott Co.	—	2,456	0	—	—
Estill Co.	1956	2,640	0	0	0
Irvine	1956	658	7	690	6
Fayette Co.	1955	10,737	643	8,561	252
Lexington	1956	5,705	2,750	1,855	20
Fleming Co.	1956	2,564	78	462	17
Floyd Co.	1955	14,842	147	797	9
Franklin Co.	1956	3,472	76	2,315	26
Frankfort	1956	1,472	229	336	48
Fulton Co.	Segre	1,660	233	—	—
Fulton	1958	602	136	225	6
Gallatin Co.	1957	993	38	269	2
Garrard Co.	Plan	1,740	124	—	—
Lancaster	Segre	477	103	—	—
Grant Co.	Segre	1,785	12	—	—
Williamstown	1956	390	3	397	1
Graves Co.	Segre	4,493	117	—	—
Mayfield	1956	1,838	235	534	14
Grayson Co.	1956	3,573	0	0	0
Leitchfield	1955	663	19	688	18
Green Co.	1956	2,252	174	1,259	3
Greenup Co.	Segre	4,427	2	—	—
Greenup	1955	487	38	149	15
Hancock Co.	1956	1,247	44	427	19
Hardin Co.	1956	5,687	65	2,101	50
Elizabethtown	1956	1,617	217	*	*
West Point	1956	245	26	178	27
Harlan Co.	Segre	15,625	650	—	—
Harlan	Segre	1,511	317	—	—
Lynch	Segre	897	486	—	—
Hart Co.	1957	2,680	299	1,433	33
Harrison Co.	1956	1,992	18	1,392	11
Cynthiana	1956	1,783	100	*	*
Henderson Co.	1956	3,742	267	874	6
Henderson	1956	3,116	503	787	50
Henry Co.	1957	1,899	101	268	4
Eminence	1956	393	127	*	*
Hickman Co.	Segre	1,297	247	—	—
Hopkins Co.	1957	7,200	345	194	4
Dawson Sprgs.	1955	582	1	*	*
Earlington	Plan	438	246	—	—
Jackson Co.	—	3,541	0	—	—
Jefferson Co.	1956	46,267	1,422	17,986	388
Louisville	1956	54,821	12,720	32,803	13,832
Jessamine Co.	Segre	2,201	297	—	—
Johnson Co.	—	4,753	0	—	—
Kenton Co.	1955	7,237	10	1,539	8
Covington	1956	11,377	698	3,613	37
Erlanger	1955	2,001	82	832	44
Knott Co.	1955	6,094	47	780	15
Knox Co.	Segre	6,792	82	—	—
Barbourville	1955	675	8	579	11
Larue Co.	1956	2,207	140	1,897	28
Laurel Co.	Segre	6,099	38	—	—
E. Bernstadt	Plan	358	11	—	—
London	1955	907	33	890	33
Lawrence Co.	1955	3,702	4	1,247	3
Lee Co.	Segre	2,569	23	—	—
Leslie Co.	—	5,445	0	—	—
Letcher Co.	Segre	8,589	38	—	—
Jenkins	Segre	1,640	197	—	—
Lewis Co.	—	3,537	0	—	—
Lincoln Co.	Segre	4,385	168	—	—
Stanford	Segre	457	49	—	—
Livingston Co.	Segre	1,620	14	—	—
Logan Co.	1956	3,276	411	660	71
Russellville	1956	962	179	342	34
Lyon Co.	Segre	1,169	58	—	—
Madison Co.	1956	4,582	173	720	30
Berea	1956	529	6	538	9
Richmond	1955	1,615	365	189	41
Magoffin Co.	—	3,722	0	—	—
Marion Co.	1957	3,452	203	596	4
Lebanon	1957	895	212	329	2
Marshall Co.	—	2,652	0	—	—
Martin Co.	—	3,640	0	—	—
Mason Co.	1956	2,141	230	1,347	54
Maysville	1956	1,494	202	228	34
McCracken Co.	1957	5,300	216	*	*
Paducah	1956	5,740	1,116	2,213	40
McCreary Co.	—	4,342	0	—	—
McLean Co.	1956	2,387	23	1,644	24
Meade Co.	1956	2,642	105	424	10
Menifee Co.	—	1,544	0	—	—
Mercer Co.	1956	1,641	81	947	27
Burgin	1956	298	26	308	7
Harrodsburg	1956	1,035	122	258	31
Metcalfe Co.	Segre	2,434	144	—	—
Monroe Co.	Segre	3,340	75	—	—
Montgomery Co.	Segre	1,973	124	—	—
Mt. Sterling	Segre	834	191	—	—
Morgan Co.	—	4,300	0	—	—
Muhlenberg Co.	Segre	5,534	174	—	—
Central City	Segre	948	84	—	—
Greenville	Segre	771	124	—	—

District	Date Deseg'd. or Status	1956-57 Enrollment White	1956-57 Enrollment Negro	In Mixed Classes White	In Mixed Classes Negro
Nelson Co.	1956	3,850	216	*	*
Bardstown	1958	1,283	212	225	6
Nicholas Co.	Segre	1,095	6	—	—
Carlisle	1955	385	38	342	20
Ohio Co.	Segre	4,546	65	—	—
Oldham Co.	1956	2,395	176	673	4
Owen Co.	1958	1,752	87	370	8
Owsley Co.	1955	2,014	8	*	*
Pendleton Co.	1955	1,604	2	316	2
Falmouth	1955	530	8	507	17
Perry Co.	1955	10,547	224	1,558	70
Hazard	1956	1,760	224	724	46
Pike Co.	1956	22,014	106	2,304	20
Pikeville	1956	1,532	85	317	5
Powell Co.	1956	1,905	39	246	14
Pulaski Co.	1956	6,365	46	385	7
Ferguson	Segre	280	13	—	—
Somerset	1956	2,256	154	531	34
Robertson Co.	1956	529	5	443	2
Rockcastle Co.	—	3,464	0	—	—
Rowan Co.	—	3,259	0	—	—
Russell Co.	1955	3,262	46	627	10
Scott Co.	1956	1,783	212	1,725	197
Georgetown	1956	790	129	808	46
Shelby Co.	Plan	2,439	330	—	—
Shelbyville	1956	1,138	321	707	8
Simpson Co.	Segre	2,011	395	—	—
Spencer Co.	1957	1,414	63	789	4
Taylor Co.	Segre	2,260	144	—	—
Campbellsville	Segre	1,219	143	—	—
Todd Co.	Segre	2,121	398	—	—
Trenton	Segre	191	126	—	—
Trigg Co.	Segre	1,799	371	—	—
Trimble Co.	—	1,281	0	—	—
Union Co.	1957	2,775	339	230	18
Uniontown	Segre	497	21	—	—
Warren Co.	Plan	5,123	408	—	—
Bowling Grn.	Segre	2,954	536	—	—
Washington Co.	Segre	2,138	163	—	—
Springfield	Segre	630	241	—	—
Wayne Co.	1955	3,645	81	751	20
Monticello	1955	780	64	789	17
Webster Co.	1957	2,061	60	*	*
Providence	Segre	716	182	—	—
Whitley Co.	1956	5,407	0	0	0
Williamsburg	1955	823	35	806	15
Wolfe Co.	1955	2,092	3	*	*
Woodford Co.	1956	1,942	274	520	5
Midway	1956	330	72	290	64

*Number enrolled in mixed classes unknown or unreported.

Other white independent school districts and their enrollments follow:

Lone Jack, 368; Fairview, 1,273; Bellevue, 1,679; Cold Springs, 964; Dayton 2,047; Fort Thomas, 2,354; Silver Grove, 281; Southgate, 363; Albany, 517; Ravenna, 224; Raceland, 693; Russell, 1,667; South Portsmouth, 302; Anchorage, 307; Paintsville, 1,228; Van Lear, 335; Beechwood, 892; Ludlow, 1,102; Vanceburg, 507; Benton, 698; Stearns, 429; Science Hill 283; Mt. Vernon, 542; Corbin, 1,488.

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
February, 1959

CIVIL RIGHTS - DESEGREGATION STATUS: ARKANSAS

I. EDUCATION: Public Schools, Elementary and Secondary Level, Desegregated Since 1954

Total: Schools in 8 districts

District	Level Desegregated	Pupils attending Mixed Schools White	Negro
Bentonville	All levels	1,500	2
Charleston*		500	11
Fayetteville	7th to 12th	1,200	33
Fort Smith	1st grade	N.A.	1
Hot Springs	Auto and Nursing	45	7
Hoxie	All levels	900	11
Ozark	High School	0	0
Van Buren	High School	550	11
Total		4,695	76

* Situation as of 1954, school officials will give no information

(From: Southern School News Summary, October 1958)

(St. Scholastica's Academy in Fort Smith and parochial school of Paris are desegregated. Local check of other parishes advised.)

II. EDUCATION: Desegregated* Institutions of Higher Education (as of January 1959)

Total: 9 state, at least one private institution

Institutions	Legal Control
1. Agricultural, Mechanical and Normal College Pine Bluff, Arkansas	State
2. Arkansas A. and M. College, College Heights, Ark.	State
3. Arkansas Polytechnic College, Russelville, Ark.	State
4. Arkansas State College, State College, Ark.	State
5. Arkansas State Teachers College, Conway, Ark.	State
6. Henderson State Teachers College, Arkadelphia, Ark.	State
7. Philander Smith College, Little Rock, Ark. (Formerly All Negro)	Methodist
8. Southern State College, Magnolia, Ark.	State

II. EDUCATION: Desegregated* Institutions of Higher Education, continued:

Institutions	Legal Control
9. University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, Ark.	State
10. University of Arkansas Graduate Center Little Rock, Ark.	State

* Although some listed colleges may not have students of both races actually in attendance, it is their stated policy to accept all students regardless of race. Because of admissions and information policies, a comprehensive count of the extent of desegregation is no longer possible.

III. MEDICAL FACILITIES: Desegregated Hospitals (as of January 1959)

All Veterans Administration hospitals

IV. RECREATIONAL FACILITIES:

None.

V. SUFFRAGE

Negro Registration 1958: 64,023 (official)

Negro Percentage of Total Registration 1958: 11.4

VI. NEGROES HOLDING PUBLIC OFFICE

Three Negroes were appointed to the State Democratic Committee in the Fall of 1954; three others were named in June 1955. Present status?

Hot Springs: City Council - Fred W. Martin was elected to this body in November 1954.

Alexander: City Council - A Negro was elected to the city council in November 1955.

(Local check for more recent or additional information advised.)

VII. TRANSPORTATION: CITY BUSES DESEGREGATED SINCE 1954

Little Rock	Fort Smith
Pine Bluff	Hot Springs

(Results of a spot survey which may not represent a total figure. Local check of other cities advised.)

VIII. TRANSPORTATION: SEGREGATION POLICIES in Bus, Train, Air Line Waiting Rooms

Spot Survey in Summer of 1958 included the following Arkansas Cities:

Pine Bluff - Both the bus station and the two train stations maintain facilities which are to some degree segregated. Although the bus station has abandoned its old colored waiting room, a brick partition approximately 4½ feet in height encloses a small area in which Negroes are now expected to sit. One train station has a small partition separating Negroes from whites; the second station has two separate waiting rooms. There has been no effort to make a distinction between interstate and intrastate passengers. The airline waiting room is desegregated.

Little Rock - Bus stations maintain, but do not enforce use of, segregated waiting rooms. Train and air line terminals offer desegregated facilities.

(More recent or additional information would be in order.)

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
February, 1959

CIVIL RIGHTS - DESEGREGATION STATUS - LOUISIANA

I. EDUCATION: PUBLIC SCHOOLS, ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY LEVEL, DESEGREGATED:

None.

II. EDUCATION: DESEGREGATED* INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION (as of January 1959)

Total: 5 state supported (one graduate level only), 5 private institutions

Institutions	Legal Control
1. College of the Sacred Heart, Grand Coteau, La.	Roman Catholic
2. John McNeese State College, Lake Charles, La.	State
3. Louisiana State University Graduate School, Baton Rouge, La.	State
4. Louisiana State University at New Orleans, New Orleans, La.	State
5. Loyola University, New Orleans, La.	Roman Catholic
6. New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary, New Orleans, La.	Southern Baptist
7. Notre Dame Seminary, New Orleans, La.	Roman Catholic
8. Southeastern Louisiana Institute, Hammond, La.	State
9. Southwestern Louisiana Institute, Lafayette, La.	State
10. Xavier University, New Orleans, La. (Formerly all Negro)	Roman Catholic

III. MEDICAL FACILITIES: DESEGREGATED HOSPITALS (as of January 1959)

All Veterans Administration hospitals

* Although some listed colleges may not have students of both races actually in attendance, it is their stated policy to accept all students regardless of race. Because of admissions and information policies, a comprehensive count of the extent of desegregation is no longer possible.

IV. RECREATIONAL FACILITIES: ACTIONS TAKEN FROM PRESS CLIPPINGS, 1954-58:

1. Desegregated

New Orleans - City Park. All facilities, following court order, December 18, 1958.

V. SUFFRAGE:

Negro Registration 1958: 130,000 (official)

Negro Percentage of Total Registration, 1958: 13.7

Negro Registration 1956: 161,410 (estimated)
(Decline, 1956-58, due chiefly to widespread purges in several parishes.)

VI. NEGROES HOLDING PUBLIC OFFICE

New Orleans - Alexander Lamauville was appointed in October, 1954, to the position of Special Assistant in the New Orleans Veterans Administration Office.

Frank Walker, the first Negro in the South to serve as Administrative Aide in Postal Transportation, was appointed by the United States Postmaster General in 1954.

A Negro was appointed by the city District Attorney to serve on his special investigative staff in May 1954.

Mrs. V. B. Hill, a Negro, was elected to the New Orleans Teachers Retirement Fund in January 1955.

(Local check advised for more recent or additional information.)

VII. TRANSPORTATION: CITY BUSES DESEGREGATED SINCE 1954

1. New Orleans

(Results of a spot survey which may not represent a total figure. Local check of other cities advised.)

VIII. TRANSPORTATION: SEGREGATION POLICIES IN BUS, TRAIN, AIR LINE WAITING ROOMS

A Summer 1958 spot survey included Shreveport and indicated that in that city neither bus nor train stations have desegregated their facilities. It is reported that (law enforcement?) "officers were posted to direct Negro passengers to Negro waiting room" in the train terminal. The Air Line waiting room is desegregated, although separate rest room and restaurant facilities are provided.

(More recent or additional information would be in order.)

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

CIVIL RIGHTS - DESEGREGATION STATUS: GEORGIA

I. EDUCATION: Public School, Elementary and Secondary Level, Desegregated:

None

II. EDUCATION: Desegregated* Institutions of Higher Education (as of January 1959):

Total: 4 private colleges

Institutions	Legal Control
Clark College, Atlanta (Formerly All Negro)	Methodist
Columbia Theological Seminary, Decatur	Presbyterian
Morehouse College, Atlanta (Formerly All Negro)	Private
Spelman College, Atlanta (Formerly All Negro)	Private

III. MEDICAL FACILITIES: Desegregated Hospitals (as of January 1959):

All Veterans Administration hospitals

IV. RECREATIONAL FACILITIES: Actions taken from press clippings, 1954-58:

1. Desegregated

Atlanta - golf course, court order, December 1955

V. SUFFRAGE:

Negro Registration 1958: 158,051 (official)

Negro Percentage of Total Registration, 1958: 12.4

Negro Registration 1956: 163,389 (Official)

* Although some listed colleges may not have students of both races actually in attendance, it is their stated policy to accept all students, regardless of race. Because of admissions and information policies a comprehensive count of the extent of desegregation is no longer possible.

VI. NEGROES HOLDING PUBLIC OFFICE:

Atlanta - School Board. Dr. Rufus E. Clement, first elected to the Atlanta School Board in 1953, was re-elected in 1957.

Fulton County - (Atlanta): Two Negroes, Dr. C. A. Bacote and Mr. J. C. Daugherty, were elected to the Fulton County Executive Committee of the Democratic Party in September, 1958.

(Local check advised for more recent or additional information.)

VII. TRANSPORTATION: City Buses Desegregated Since 1954:

Atlanta, January 1959

VIII. TRANSPORTATION: Segregation Policies in Bus, Train, Air Line Waiting Rooms:

A 1958 spot survey included the following Georgia cities:

Atlanta - Buses have separate waiting rooms, although signs are down. Railway stations provide two waiting rooms, one general and unmarked, another marked "colored intra-state". Air Terminal offers desegregated waiting room facilities, and encourages but does not usually require segregation in the restaurant. (Court suit pending by Birmingham man who states he was refused desegregated service.)

Macon - Waiting room facilities are segregated in the city's two bus stations, and train terminal. Air line waiting room is not segregated; however, its restrooms and restaurant are.

(More recent or additional information would be in order.)

North Carolina

Segregation - Desegregation: Current

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NORTH CAROLINA

I. BASIC STATISTICAL DATA

A. Population

1958*	Total	White	Non-white	Non-white as % of Total
Population	4,466,435	3,325,900	1,140,535	25.5

1950**	Total	White	Non-white	Non-white as % of Total
Population	4,061,929	2,983,121	1,078,808	26.6
Urban Population**	1,368,101	1,005,744	362,357	26.5
Rural Population non-farm**	1,317,268	1,042,381	274,887	20.9
Rural Population farm**	1,376,560	934,996	441,564	32.1
Urban as % of Total	33.6	33.7	33.6	

* Source - North Carolina Public Health Statistics Section, 1/7/58

** Source - U. S. Census, 1950

B. Median Income, 1949, persons over 14, U. S. Census

	Total	White	Negro
North Carolina	$1,293.	$1,567.	$714.
United States	1,917.	2,053.	952.

C. Median School Years Completed by Persons Over 25, U. S. Census, 1950

	White	Non-white
North Carolina	8.6	5.9
United States	9.7	6.9

II. REACTIONS AND ACTIONS OF STATE POLICY-MAKERS

A. Statements of Public Office Holders

1. Governor Luther H. Hodges: In 1955, proposed voluntary segregation as best means of insuring a continuation of North Carolina public schools. Told Negro listeners the N.A.A.C.P. "would destroy your identity as a race." "If your answer (to problem of securing best education for children) is integration by force of law with the attendant risks, nobody knows how much education the children of either race will get.... The white citizens of the state will resist integration strenuously, resourcefully, and with growing bitterness." Hodges made no statement of opinion when three cities desegregated schools in 1957, but emphasized that violence would not be tolerated.

2. State Education Board Member Oscar L. Richardson: "North Carolina is not going to secede again, but we will protect and defend the rights of our people in the matter." (1955)

3. Former Governor William B. Umstead (Governor in 1954): Was "terribly disappointed" by 1954 Supreme Court Ruling.

4. Atty. General Malcolm Seawell: Shortly after his appointment urged citizens to recognize the Supreme Court's rulings as law of the land. "When moderation is required on the part of white citizens, it is required equally from Negro citizens..." (April, 1959).

5. North Carolina U. S. Representatives were generally moderate in their reaction to 1954 school decision, a "...far reaching decision which will vitally affect the school systems in our state and in the nation" (Representative Hugh Alexander, Kannapolis). "They made the decision. There's not much we can say about it" (Representative Carl Durham, Chapel Hill). "This decision presents grave problems for the states and the people of the South, but I believe they have enough character and intelligence to solve them" (Representative Charles Raper Jonas, Lincolton).

6. State General Assembly approved in 1955 a resolution stating, "Mixing of the races in the public schools throughout the state cannot be accomplished."

7. Southern Manifesto was signed by both U. S. Senators and all but three Congressmen from the state. Two of the non-signers, Thurmond Chatham and C. B. Deane, were defeated in 1956 elections; the third, Rep. Harold Cooley was elected after surviving what the Charlotte News termed "a determined attempt to tag him as a 'race mixer.'"

B. Official Action

1. Pearsall Committee

Established in 1954 (with three Negroes among a total of 19 members) to study problems presented by Supreme Court decision. Reported and was abolished in 1955. A new seven-member all-white group was then created.

2. School Legislation

a. Local option plan permits segregated or integrated schools, with the decision made on the community level. (Constitutional Amendment, 1956)

b. Pupil assignment law confers complete enrollment and assignment authority on local city and county school boards.

c. Tuition grants provide means for students to attend private schools if public facilities are closed or if parent objects to attendance at a desegregated school.

3. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

a. Secretary of State required N.A.A.C.P. to register in accordance with two state laws calling for: (1) registration of groups seeking to influence public opinion in the state, and (2) registration of foreign corporations doing business in the state.

b. Bills to open N.A.A.C.P. financial records and to make barratry a crime were defeated in the 1957 legislature.

4. Dynamite Laws

No new legislation. Reports in writing are kept by dealers on purchase of explosives, use planned, date sold. It is a felony to use explosives to injure another person or a building. Maximum sentence: 5 to 30 years.

III. FORCES OPPOSING DESEGREGATION

A. Organized Resistance Groups

1. The Patriots of North Carolina, Inc.
Chartered in 1955. "All in all few North Carolina corporations can boast a more impressive list of charter members"(Winston-Salem Journal and Sentinel). Among Patriot activities reported in press: (a) Mecklenburg chapter launched direct mail campaign to parents of Central High School (Charlotte) students urging transfer of children to all-white schools; (b) Raleigh School Board and Negro parent Joseph Holt received letters containing veiled threats signed "Executive Committee Wake County Patriots of North Carolina" while Holt's son's application for admittance to white school was being considered by board.

2. The Defenders of States' Rights, Inc.
Have taken Patriots' place as leader of the pro-segregation movement, according to Winston-Salem Journal and Sentinel, January 1959. Patriots are said to have become almost entirely inactive, with large portion of former membership now enrolled in Defenders. The Rev. James Parker Dees (Trinity Episcopal Church, Statesville) heads latter group. He is also president of the Statesville Area Ministerial Association. (That group voted, 16 to 2, to censure the Rev. Dees for his alternate role with the Defenders, Feb., 1959.)

3. White Citizens Councils
Attempts at W.C.C. organization have had little success. Eight Negroes attended and heckled an organizational meeting held in Mecklenburg County in 1957. W.C.C. organizer John Kasper visited Charlotte, Greensboro and Winston-Salem during late summer, 1957, in an unsuccessful effort to organize strong W.C.C.'s in desegregated communities. His first public appearance in North Carolina was in Winston-Salem, where a racially mixed group reportedly "booed him down."

4. Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

F.B.I. state crackdown and mass arrests effectively broke up North Carolina's Klan in 1952. "Anti-Klan" law was enacted by 1953 Legislature. Cities with anti-mask, anti-crossburning ordinances include:

Winston-Salem, anti-mask, anti-crossburning
Charlotte, anti-mask
Raleigh, "
Tarboro, "
Whiteville, "
Greensboro, "
Wilmington, " and anti-crossburning
Reidsville, "
Hickory, "
Fayetteville, "
Hendersonville, "

Revival of Klan activity was reported in 1956-57 in thickly populated central portion of state as well as southeasternmost area. Rival organizations became active, but most successful group was U. S. Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, with leadership in Georgia (Eldon Edwards, Wizard). State officials and law enforcement officers warned they would tolerate no revival of violence; citizens groups, religious leaders, newspapers denounced Klan activities. "Cells" were broken up in Charlotte and arrests made (for distribution of "hate" literature, 1956; for conspiring to bomb a school, 1958) and other cities. A 1958 report termed the North Carolina Klan "in its death throes, brought on by its excesses of violence" (Anti-Defamation League.)

B. Influential Bodies

North Carolina Democratic Convention adopted platform asserting belief in "the right of separation of the races" in schools and other areas of society, 1956.

IV. FORCES SUPPORTING DESEGREGATION

A. Educators and School Administrators

1. North Carolina Congress of Parents and Teachers, Inc.: "(The solution to school segregation) does not lie in closing our public schools or even in making such a thing possible," (July 1956).

2. Greensboro was first city in South to take official action toward desegregation when its school board voted 6 - 1 to study ways and means of implementing the school decision, May 18, 1954. Asheville City School Board adopted a formal policy of making an "honest effort" to comply with desegregation (1955). Study of local problems was undertaken in Raleigh, Charlotte, Burlington, Elkin, 1954-56.

3. School boards in Greensboro, Charlotte, and Winston-Salem voted in 1957 to transfer a limited number of Negro students to previously all-white schools.

B. Religious Bodies

1. The Western North Carolina Conference of the Methodist Church by an overwhelming vote of approval adopted a statement condemning racial segregation in public schools and racial discrimination in America. (September 1954)

2. The North Carolina Council of Churches sent a representative to General Assembly in 1956 to ask the state to make a transition to an "all-inclusive system" of public schools.

3. Public support of school desegregation in North Carolina has been announced by the North Carolina Association of Rabbis.

C. Newspapers supporting desegregation of schools in Charlotte, Winston-Salem, Greensboro included:

1. Greensboro Daily News,
2. Greensboro Record,
3. Charlotte Observer,
4. Charlotte News,
5. Winston-Salem Journal,
6. Winston-Salem Sentinel.

D. Intergroup Organizations include:

1. North Carolina Council on Human Relations, Charlotte;

2. American Friends Service Committee Southeastern Office, High Point;

3. N.A.A.C.P. (Kelly M. Alexander of Charlotte heads the state body);

4. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Council on Human Relations;

5. A municipal commission on human relations has been appointed in Durham.

IV. SEGREGATION-DESEGREGATION PRACTICES

A. Education

1. Private and Parochial Secondary-Elementary Schools Desegregated:

Asheville: A previously all Negro day-boarding school, Methodist supported

Belmont: Sacred Heart Academy

Charlotte: Assumption School
O'Donoghue School
Charlotte Catholic High

Greensboro: Notre Dame High School

Rocky Mount: A previously white Catholic elementary school.

Winston-Salem: At least one Catholic school, name unknown

Raleigh: Cathedral Latin School
(Segregation was ordered ended in the parochial schools of the Raleigh diocese before 1954.)

(An accurate count of the number of students in integrated situations is not available.)

2. Public Schools, Elementary and Secondary Level, Desegregated:

a. Total: 13 Negro students attending previously white public schools (1959)

District	Total Enrollment White	Total Enrollment Negro	No. Negroes Accepted 1958-59	No. Negroes Accepted 1957-58	Date of Desegre.
Charlotte	18,945	9,885	4	4	Fall, 1957
Greensboro	13,317	5,306	5	6	"
Winston-Salem	12,091	8,596	4	1	"

b. Goldsboro's federally financed Meadow Lane School, used only for education of children of personnel at Seymour Johnson Air Force Base, has at least one Negro student (enrolled March 1959).

3. Institutions of Higher Education

a. It is the stated policy of the following six state colleges and nine private colleges to admit all students, regardless of race. Because of admissions and information policies, a comprehensive count of actual desegregation in these schools is not available.

	Institutions	Legal Control
(1.)	Agricultural and Technical College, Greensboro, N.C.	State
(2)	Belmont Abbey College, Belmont, N. C.	Roman Catholic
(3)	Bennett College, Greensboro, N.C. (Previously all Negro)	Methodist
(4)	Black Mountain College, Black Mountain, N.C.	Private
(5)	Gaston Technical Institute, Gastonia, N.C.	State
(6)	Johnson C. Smith University, Charlotte, N.C. (Previously all Negro)	Presbyterian
(7)	Livingstone College, Salisbury, N.C. (Previously all Negro)	Methodist
(8)	North Carolina State College, Raleigh, N.C.	State
(9)	Pfeiffer College, Misenheimer, N.C.	Methodist
(10)	Sacred Heart Junior College, Belmont, N.C.	Roman Catholic
(11)	Shaw University, Raleigh, N.C. (Previously all Negro)	Baptist
(12)	University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N.C.	State
(13)	University of N.C. Woman's College, Greensboro, N.C.	State
(14)	Warren Wilson Junior College, Swannanoa, N.C.	Presbyterian
(15)	Western Carolina College, Cullowhee, N.C.	State

b. Board of Trustees of Duke University declined to act on a petition, signed by 185 of the divinity school's 225 students, calling for racial integration in that school. (March 1959)

4. Community Action

Negro leaders asked the Durham city school board to voluntarily "make a prompt and reasonable and good faith start next September (1959) in desegregation." (April 1959)

B. Elections and appointments

1. Negroes serving in public office since 1950

a. State: Dr. Harold L. Trigg was reappointed to State Board of Education, April, 1957.

Three Negroes were appointed to North Carolina Citizens Committee for Better Schools, March, 1957.

Dr. Harold L. Trigg, already on the State Board of Education, was appointed Coordinator of Negro Activities in State Prison System.

Dr. Murray B. Davis is a member of State Prisons Commission (appointive office).

b. City Councilmen, Aldermen:

Chapel Hill: Hubert Robinson reelected to Board of Aldermen, 1957.

Greensboro: In 1955 it was reported that Dr. William M. Hampton, having served two terms on the City Council, did not seek reelection.

Fayetteville: The second Negro to serve as a city council member in recent years, Harry Groves, was elected in 1955. The first served from 1949 to 1953.

Southern Pines: T. T. Morse in 1955 became first Negro to be elected to City Council, reelected in 1957.

Wilson: Dr. G. K. Butterfield reelected to City Council in 1955.

Winston-Salem: The Rev. William Crawford reelected to Board of Aldermen in 1955.

c. School Board Members:

Durham: R. N. Harris elected in 1958.

Greensboro: City Council reappointed Dr. William M. Hampton in March 1958. Dr. David D. Jones was, in 1955, a member of School Board.

Rocky Mount: Dr. Joseph W. Parker elected unanimously by city Board of Alderman, January 1957.

d. Other office holders:

Gastonia: Nathaniel Barker, first elected city treasurer in 1953, reelected in 1955 and again in 1957.

Mecklenburg County: At least 4 Negro voting registrars serve in Mecklenburg County, in predominantly Negro precincts.

Lumberton: A Negro was appointed registrar of a voting ward and two Negro elections' managers for same ward were named by city council in 1959. (Registrar: Rev. Eugene B. Turner; Elections' Managers: Mrs. Bessie Powell, James Graves.)

Wilson: A Negro contractor was named chairman of Wilson Housing Authority Board in February 1955.

Winston-Salem: Leander Hill was appointed a member of the Forsyth County Draft Board in 1955.

Frinceville, an all-Negro town, has, of course, only Negro public office holders.

2. Negroes running for public office, 1957-58:

Chadburn: The Rev. I. B. Horton was one of six candidates for the five positions of the town board of commissioners in early 1959. During his campaign he received at least two telephone calls, made by someone who identified himself as a member of the Ku Klux Klan, threatening death to Horton's wife and children if he stayed in the race. (April 1959)

Durham: Two Negroes sought 4-year terms on the City Council in 1957.

Elizabeth City: Raymond E. Stephens was candidate for City Council post in Spring, 1959. Dr. Clifford Jones ran for election in spring of 1957.

Greensboro: Waldo C. Falkner ran for City Council, Spring, 1959.

Lumberton: Reverend Eugene Burns Turner ran for City School Board, the first Negro to file for public office in Lumberton, winning 494 out of 2,455 votes in the May, 1958, election.

Raleigh: L. T. Lightner and Dr. Catherine G. Middleton were candidates for the 7-man city council in April 1957. Dr. Nelson H. Harris campaigned for election to State House of Representatives from Wake County during spring 1958. Harris filed for election to Raleigh city council in 1959, later withdrew.

Statesville: (Iredell County) Reverend A. M. Gibson announced his candidacy for nomination to County Board of Education in April, 1958.

Weldon: Dr. SalterJ. Cochran was only Negro among ten candidates seeking election to the Halifax County Board of Education in 1958. Cochran also ran in 1956.

Wilson: There was a Negro candidate for municipal office, evidently city council, in 1957.

C. Employment

1. Private

a. According to 1957 N.A.A.C.P. report, among the 400,000 textile workers in Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, there is apparently not a single Negro employed as a weaver, spinner or loom fixer.

b. Winston-Salem's Food Fair stores have recently begun hiring Negro women as cashiers. (See I. N. & S., ~~copy from~~ pg. 74-75)

2. Federal

a. The income tax division of the Internal Revenue Service for the first time hired a Negro as a field tax collector in July 1954.

b. A 1958 Survey of employment in Federal Agencies in Greensboro indicated: Of the approximately 20 Federal agencies, only 2 employ Negroes in jobs other than janitorial or labor services.

(1) The Post Office Department has approximately 25 Negro clerks and carriers. The Postal Transportation Service has roughly 100 as mail handlers. There are two in supervisory capacities.

(2) The Internal Revenue Service has six Negro employees, out of approximately 400: three clerks, three tax agents.

3. Municipal

a. In 1955 Negro policemen were reported to be employed in at least 43 North Carolina cities. A 1954 Survey indicated that among the N. C. cities and counties employing Negro policemen were:

Ahoskie
Asheville
Burlington
Carrboro
Chapel Hill
Charlotte
Clinton
Durham
Fayetteville
Gastonia
Goldsboro
Greensboro
Greenville
Guilford County
High Point
Kinston
Lenoir
Morganton
Raleigh
Reidsville
Rockingham
Rocky Mount
Salisbury
Wilson
Winston-Salem

b. Two Negro applicants for police examinations were barred from taking rural police civil service tests by Mecklenburg Civil Service Board in February 1956. County officials said 1935 legislation confined police force membership and civil service examinations to whites only.

c. A Negro lieutenant was made commanding officer of an all-Negro fire station in Winston-Salem, N. C., in 1955. Durham, Princeton and Warrington are among other N. C. cities employing Negro firemen, (according to a 1952 survey).

D. Health and Medical Care

1. All Veterans Administration Hospitals and their public facilities are used on a desegregated basis. Nine of North Carolina's 12 members of the U. S. House of Representatives signed a southern sponsored petition requesting the V. A. to end this policy. (March 1957)

2. Disabled Negro and white children live together in the same wards and are taught in the same classes in the Charlotte Rehabilitation and Spastics Hospitals. Nurses of both races serve on the staff. (September 1957)

3. Greensboro Cerebral Palsy School, supported by community contributions and public school funds, is not segregated, nor is the Central Carolina Convalescent Hospital, which serves victims of polio and whose school accommodations are financed by city school funds.

4. Mercy Hospital (Catholic, in Charlotte) began admitting Negro patients in 1954, and permits Negro surgeons and doctors to attend their patients.

5. The University of North Carolina Hospital employed both white and Negro nurses to attend patients of either race in 1955. A North Carolina hospital hired a Negro histological technician for the first time in July 1954.

6. The Carolina Times, the North Carolina A. & T. Register, and the Afro-American reported the following incident in December 1950 and January 1951: (from "The Untouchables - The Meaning of Segregation in Hospitals," 1952)
"On December 6, 1950, Matthew Avery, a 24-year-old World War II veteran attending North Carolina A. & T. College, was critically injured in an automobile accident near Mebane, North Carolina. He was brought to Alamance General Hospital, where it was learned he had sustained fractures of the skull, cheekbone, jaw, leg, and arm.
"But every one of Alamance's five Negro beds was full so he was shunted on to Duke Hospital at Durham. Here, according to the account of the superintendent, 'our regular facilities were filled' (i.e., the Negro ward was filled) and the question whether Avery would stand the best chance 'from treatment in our emergency room or by transfer to Lincoln Hospital' (a Negro institution) was debated.

"The latter course of action was decided upon and Avery was sent to Linsoln where he died an hour after admission. Despite Duke's apparent solicitude, the driver's request that someone phone ahead to Lincoln went unheeded. Attaches there reported no such call had been received and they had been unable to make any preparations for the patient's arrival."

7. Thres Negro doctors brought suit against James Walker Memorial Hospital in Wilmington in an effort to open its doors to practice by Negro physicians. Fourth U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals ruled that private hospital was not subject to constitutional rulings on desegregation. On appeal, U. S. Supreme Court refused to review. (1959)

E. Housing

1. A Negro couple, Mr. and Mrs. Martin L. White, moved into their newly purchased home in Kenwood, a previously all-white Southern Pines, N. C. subdivision, in September 1955. No indidents were reported, although several threatening telephone calls and a community statement of protest followed purchase of the home. A news report some months after the White's move indicated there had been no further protest or intimidation by the white community.

F. Law Enforcement

1. North Carolina Negro Law Enforcement Officers Association in 1955 called for more careful consideration of cases involving Negroes being tried in the state's courts. Also, the Association pointed out that Morrison Training School is only corrective institution in state for Negroes and that facilities are not adequate.

2. Mecklenburg County police foiled the dynamiting of a Charlotte elementary school for Negroes in February 1958, when they arrested two men who drove up to the school with dynamite, ready for blasting, in their possession. Evidence presented by a police undercover agent implicated three other men and the five admitted Ku Klux Klansmen were charged with conspiring to bomb the school and for violating a Reconstruction-era Secret Societies law. Three of the K.K.K. members were sentenced and two acquitted as a result.

C. Membership on Professional, Fraternal, Religious Bodies

1. The Charlotte-Mecklenburg Ministerial Association voted to join with its Negro counterpart in January 1956. Similar groups in Asheville merged later in 1956. Negro and white ministerial associations in Moore County, Salisbury, and Greensboro voted for merger in 1955.

2. Four Jacksonville, N. C. Negroes are members of Knights of Columbus.

3. Interracial school principals' meetings have been held in Charlotte "for a dozen years," according to 1956 report. Harnett County held its first non-segregated teachers' meeting in September 1954.

4. The North Carolina Medical Society ratified a constitutional amendment providing for scientific, or limited, membership for Negro physicians (May 1957). An all Negro group, the Old North State Medical Society, condemned the proffered restricted membership shortly afterward as "second class."

5. A spokesman for the all Negro Old North State Dental Society said his organization would go to the courts, if necessary, to gain full membership in North Carolina Dental Society, an all white group which refuses to admit Negro dentists. (June 1958)

6. A 1956 bid from an all Negro Legionnaire group for an end to racial segregation in the North Carolina American Legion was not voted on when presented to 1956 convention of that group. Similar bid received no action in June 1958.

7. Leagues of Women Voters admitted Negroes to three North Carolina chapters for the first time, 1954-56.

8. International Chemical Workers Union of America has held several integrated, week-long summer institutes for representatives from Southern states at Junaluska, N. C.

9. A Catholic Boy Scout troop in Havelock withdrew from scouting activity after being informed that the one Negro boy in the otherwise white group would not be welcome at a regional outing. (April 1959)

10. Since 1938, the Brookford Baptist Church, about a mile from Hickory, has had a mixed congregation. Although attendance is predominately white, Negroes attend Sunday School and Church and take part in other church activities.

H. Public Accommodations and Facilities

1. Asheville: the Board of Trustees of the Public Library in October 1957 informed a Negro petitioner that "its hands are tied" in the matter of desegregating the city owned facility, due to stipulations of the deed for the building.

2. Charlotte's Memorial Stadium, Coliseum and David Owens Auditorium are leased by the city to whatever group or attraction is using them. The lessee fixes policies regarding segregation for each event. (November 1955)

3. Durham: Seven Negroes received $10 fines for "trespassing" on the "white side" of an ice-cream parlor in Durham in 1957. (The State Supreme Court upheld the fines in an opinion delivered in January 1958). In April of that year some 150 Negroes were refused admission to desegregated seats in the City Stadium for a Carolina League baseball game. Petitions were addressed to the city council requesting an end to segregation in the Durham Public Library and the Carolina Theatre (a city-owned facility leased to a private company), also in 1957.

4. Greensboro: Public libraries opened to both races in July 1957.

5. Forest City: December 1957 meeting of the Rutherford County Library Board of Trustees voted to desegregate all facilities, including branches.

6. Raleigh: About 50 requests by Negroes for service in a cafeteria housed in a state-owned building were reportedly made during the five years the privately owned establishment was in operation. In 1957 cafeteria was closed and the space it had occupied turned over to State Highway Department. State officials indicated that a behind-the-scenes factor was question of whether Negroes might not have to be served.

7. <u>Winston-Salem</u>: The following places of public accommodations have been desegregated without court cases, petitions, or incidents of any importance:

a. New coliseum opened on desegregated basis.

b. Baseball park and stadium

c. "White" and "colored" water fountain and other Jim Crow signs removed from all public buildings.

d. Sears-Roebuck removed water fountain signs.

I. Recreation

1. Negro member of Carolina Cosmopolitan Club, composed mostly of foreign students, was denied use of white Umstead State Park. Club transferred picnic it was holding elsewhere. (April 1957)

2. Group of 375 Southern white college students, attending annual conference, pledged themselves not to swim in Lake Junaluska swimming accommodations "until those in authority remove the restrictions" which prevent Negro delegates to the Methodist Summer Assembly from using the facilities. (June 1955)

3. Announced by tournament officials that there would be no segregation for players or audiences during 1958 National Collegiate Athletic Association regional basketball tournament, to be held in Charlotte. All players were to be allowed to stay in same motel, eat in same restaurant, and participate together in prearranged entertainment, a Charlotte Chamber of Commerce official announced.

4. Golf Courses

   a. City golf courses desegregated in following North Carolina cities: Charlotte (January 1957); Asheville (January 1956); Asheboro; High Point (February 1956); Winston-Salem (1956); Thomasville (1956); Gastonia (1954); (Court orders preceded desegregation of golfing facilities in Charlotte and Asheville.)

   b. Greensboro's Gillespie Park Golf Course was leased to avoid desegregation, then closed when U.S. District Court ruled that city could not legally avoid integration by leasing public lands to a private enterprise.

5. Swimming Pools

   a. An Asheville swimming pool, which was closed after Supreme Court's ruling against segregation in publicly-owned recreation areas, was sold for $8,500. The original cost had been $106,700. (October 1957)

   b. In Greensboro, two of the city's swimming pools, one white and one Negro, were offered for sale after request for desegregation. The white pool was sold for $85,000 to the Greensboro Pool Corporation. (Summer 1958)

J. Suffrage

1. Negro Registration Figures

a. Negro registration in 1958: 150,000 (estimated)

b. Negro percentage of total registration, 1958: 7.5

c. Negro registration in 1956: 135,000 (estimated)

2. Discriminatory Tactics

a. The Winston-Salem Journal and Sentinel (6-30-57) reported the following examples of subtle discrimination against would-be Negro registrants, all from cases taken into court in North Carolina:

> "The registrar who disqualified the principal of Ashe County's Negro schools on the ground he could not spell 'penitentiary' or 'sour-Kraut' to the registrar's satisfaction.
>
> "The registrar in Littleton, N. C. last year gave an eight question examination to a Negro seeking to register. Among the questions were, "On what date each year does Congress convene?" and "What would be the total vote of two-thirds of the House and Senate?"
>
> "In May, 1956 a North Carolina registrar turned down a Negro because he could not recite a section of the state Constitution from memory.
>
> "Then there was the registrar who disqualified a Negro because he could not take down in writing a section of the Constitution as fast as the registrar dictated."

b. U. S. Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the state's literacy test for voter registrants in 1959. It had been challenged on the ground that registrars could give more difficult tests to Negroes than to whites since "no standards whatsoever" were provided.

K. Transportation

1. Intra-city Conveyances: The following city bus lines have instituted desegregated seating policy since 1954: Charlotte, Durham, Greensboro, Raleigh, Winston-Salem. All taxi-cabs are allowed to carry both Negro and white passengers in Raleigh; air line limousines also carry Negroes without segregation in that city and in Greensboro. Charlotte, and Greensboro, and Winston-Salem taxi-cabs carry all passengers, regardless of race.

2. Inter-state and Intra-state Conveyance Waiting Rooms:

a. Charlotte:

Buses maintain separate waiting room; trains have one general waiting room, one marked "Colored Waiting Room, Intra-State Passengers." When they are provided, eating facilities are separate.

Air line waiting rooms are not segregated, nor is restaurant connected with air line terminal.

b. Raleigh:

Bus and train stations provide separate waiting rooms: Negro inter-state passengers are allowed to sit in white waiting room in the train station. Toilets are segregated, as are eating facilities. Air line terminal, on the other hand, is completely desegregated in all its facilities.

c. Greensboro:

Although separate waiting rooms are provided in bus and train stations, both interstate and intra-state Negro passengers are allowed to use the "white" waiting rooms. Toilets are not segregated, and although separate eating facilities are provided for members of both races in bus stations, eating facilities are not segregated in train stations. All air line facilities are non-segregated.

L. Violence and Intimidation

1. Overt Violence

Seven bombings or attempted bombings occurred in North Carolina during 1957-58: homes in Greensboro, Charlotte, and Durham were destroyed or damaged; the marquee of a Charlotte drive-in theatre which admits white and Negro patrons was bombed. Attempted bombings included Jewish temples in Charlotte and Gastonia, and a Negro school in Charlotte (~~sell~~ see Law Enforcement).

Other forms of violence have been directed against individuals: a five-pound rock was thrown through the window of Greensboro's Superintendent of Schools after the desegregation of schools in that city; a man who had attempted to enroll five Negro children in an elementary school in Old Fort was knocked into the city fountain by a white railroad employee; the first and only Negro student to enroll in Charlotte's white Harding High School was spat upon, taunted and made target for shoves and objects thrown by white students (until her eventual withdrawal from the school); eggs were thrown at the only Negro student in Greensboro High School, who was also the victim of taunts and obscene remarks.

2. Threats, Economic Reprisal

The furniture business of a Greensboro couple signing a petition advocating compliance with the Supreme Court school ruling was boycotted (1955). One of 34 Guilford County petitioners for school desegregation lost his job as a result of inclusion of his name on the petition; another signer resigned because of protests received by his employer (1955).

An elderly Negro woman was ejected from a Franklin County white Baptist church during a Sunday worship service and told that she would "get hurt" if she ever returned (1955). One of the plaintiffs in a suit against the Montgomery County Board of Education received a threat against the lives of her children; she subsequently withdrew from the suit (1955).

3. Other

Two Negro boys, one eight and one nine years old, were committed for indefinite terms to reform schools after being accused of "forcing" a white girl to kiss one of them while they were playing. The boys were detained from November 1958 to February 1959, then released and returned to their families.

Agency Conference
7 BR

7 BR

SUMMARY CONCLUSIONS
CONFERENCE OF AGENCIES WORKING IN THE SOUTH
Atlanta, Georgia

January 23-24, 1957

The group convened in the Board Room of Atlanta University at 2:00 p.m., with Harold Fleming of the Southern Regional Council in the chair. Participants (see attached list) introduced themselves and identified the agencies they represented. It was pointed out that staff persons present were officially designated representatives of their respective agencies.

The agenda was discussed and adopted with changes. It was agreed that full minutes would not be taken, but that the principal agreements reached would be recorded in summary form. The background and dual purpose of the conference were briefly explained, as follows:

1. On October 24-25 representatives of some of these agencies met at Tuskegee Institute to exchange ideas and plans for field activity in the South. Several specific cooperative efforts were agreed upon and the participants asked the Southern Regional Council to be responsible for reconvening them within about three months time. The present meeting is intended to meet this request.

2. The Consultative Conference on Desegregation (CCD) is a newly formed association of national agencies which have a concern with desegregation. At the formative meeting of the CCD, held in New York last October, the Southern Regional Council was asked to convene the participating agencies' field representatives working in the South. This meeting was also designed to fulfill this commitment.

Report on Concerted Community Action

It was recalled that at the Tuskegee meeting representatives agreed to intensify and coordinate their respective efforts in four selected Southern communities. Subsequent efforts in those communities were reported.

1. Miami, Florida, Seymour Samet of the American Jewish Committee, who had agreed to play the coordinating role in this community, could not be present. In his absence, a letter from him was summarized. He reported that agencies in the Miami area were cooperating in a new effort to advance school desegregation there. Details of the new effort were still being worked out, but there was a possibility that the Dade County Council on Community Relations would be used as the central vehicle. The main object would be to formulate a plan for desegregation of the schools based on extensive fact-finding,and to give this plan wide distribution and interpretation to school officials and the community at large. There was considerable discussion of what the agencies represented might do to

involve more community elements, particularly organized labor and the churches, in this local activity.

2. Nashville, Tennessee. John Hope II and A. C. Miller of Nashville reported on recent activities of the Nashville Conference on Community Relations. This interracial organization has made a great deal of progress in interpreting to the community and to public officials the desirability of good faith compliance with the Supreme Court's school decision. It was pointed out that Nashville is now under a court order requiring a beginning on desegregation by September, 1957. However, it was also reported that the recent disorders in Clinton had led to some deterioration of public opinion and that continued efforts by positive forces in the state and in Nashville were imperative. Recent positive statements by the Tennessee Council of Churches were cited as one evidence of such activity.

3. Greensboro, North Carolina. Tartt Bell of the American Friends Service Committee reported that Greensboro had been selected as an appropriate Piedmont community in which to focus agency efforts. Under the leadership of the AFSC, staff persons from agencies active in that area had been convened, and discussions had been held with influential local leadership. Further concerted action was planned.

4. Charlottesville, Virginia. Fred Routh of SRC reported that three public discussion groups had met here since the Tuskegee meeting, discussing (a) legal aspects of the Supreme Court decision; (b) religious bases for the decision; and (c) facts about intelligence differences. It was noted that Charlottesville is now under order of the federal courts to desegregate its schools beginning in September, 1957, and that organized segregationists are seeking to prevent positive community planning to this end. The Charlottesville Council on Human Relations is carrying on effective activity, but could be greatly strengthened by the efforts of more agencies to activate their own local constituents.

Attacks on Civil Liberties

"What can we do to combat private and official attacks on basic rights of groups and individuals favoring desegregation?"

This question was discussed at some length. A number of Southern states have passed legislation or taken administrative action aimed in the first instance at the NAACP. Some of these measures have had the effect of halting or curtailing the NAACP's activities. Clearly the primary objective is to cut off access to the courts by Negro citizens and to prevent organized efforts that would give voice and action to pro-integration views. Several participants stressed the fact that the measures used against the NAACP can be used against any individuals or groups that incur the displeasure of the pro-segregation forces. Thus the fundamental issue is not merely the survival or well-being of the NAACP, but the right of every organization to espouse unpopular but legitimate points of view.

The following suggestions for counter-action were made:

1. That all participants and their agencies familiarize themselves factually and in detail with the repressive methods being used.

2. That we interpret the dangers of these methods to influential organizations and individuals so that they may be encouraged to oppose restrictions on free speech, freedom of association, and freedom to petition.

3. That the letters-to-the-editor columns of Southern newspapers be used more effectively as a forum for positive views. All agencies should put systematic effort into stimulating the writing of such letters by constituents.

4. That all agencies work actively to get positive aspects of desegregation featured in the Southern press and in national media.

5. That we arm ourselves with the facts about the NAACP and other organizations about which misinformation is being circulated; and that other organizations speak out in support of the misrepresented groups.

6. That we recognize the importance of the use of the ballot as a defense against demagogic attacks upon Negroes and organizations favoring equal rights.

Activation of Prestige Figures

There was lengthy discussion of the need to invoke the prestige of nationally prominent persons -- most particularly President Eisenhower.

Among the alternative possibilities mentioned were: (a) a speech by the President in the South before an audience of churchmen; (b) a televised or otherwise nationally publicized statement on compliance with desegregation, law and order, etc.; (c) appropriate remarks before some group that the President might address in Washington.

It was reported that several independent approaches to the President along these lines are already in process. It was agreed that this was probably desirable and that no effort should be made to coordinate all approaches into one, although it was recognized that the CCD might pursue this question in greater depth. Several participants also expressed the opinion that the more "natural" the occasion for which the President would be asked to speak, the better. That is, normal, regular channels would probably be more acceptable than contrived events or settings.

Some participants felt that the prestige of Vice-President Nixon's position might also be helpfully invoked. A specific suggestion was that Mr. Nixon and the Committee on Government Contracts might stage a series of hearings in Southern cities, in connection with the work of the Committee.

This, it was thought, would provide a publicized forum for consideration of racial problems and their effect on the national interest. The CCD and/or the American Jewish Committee were mentioned as possible groups to further this proposal.

The point was made that women's groups -- national as well as Southern and local -- have a tremendous unrealized potential. The CCD might address itself to further involvement of the leading women's organizations.

Lengthy consideration was also given to the potential influence of the economic "power structure" through national as well as Southern channels. In fact, some participants felt that access to this leverage is mainly to be found outside rather than inside the South, at least in the initial stages. It was recognized that several agencies (some of them in CCD) have been considering possibilities in this field. It was strongly felt that these efforts should be continued and increased.

Concerted Community Action

It was agreed that the agencies represented, through their Southern field staff, might carry a step further the idea developed at the Tuskegee meeting. The procedure for doing this was finally resolved as follows: the Southern Regional Council, in informal consultation with other participants headquartered in Atlanta, will serve as a central observer of developments in Southern communities. When a community is judged to offer promise of desegregation or to threaten an acute emergency in race relations, the Council is to communicate with the other agencies about the possibility of a joint meeting of their Southern field staff representatives in the affected community. Agencies with local constituents would undertake to have a staff representative in the selected community on a pre-agreed date. These staff members would then meet "on the ground" and decide how each of them might contribute to the activation of positive elements in the community. It was felt that this kind of concerted planning and action in the field would greatly strengthen the effectiveness of inter-agency cooperation. The following points were also agreed upon:

1. That such concerted action would have to have the approval of top agency leadership, so that questions of priority and conflict with routine staff duties could be resolved.

2. That any joint meeting in the field would have to be preceded by careful examination of a community situation and assurance from knowledgeable local people that such multi-agency activity would be timely and effective. SRC, with the cooperation of other appropriate agencies, would carry this responsibility.

3. That a determination would have to be made in each case as to which agencies might best be involved. This could be handled in large part by telephone calls or other communication with the cooperating groups, but SRC would be greatly aided by background on resources, constituents, and details of operation from the agencies themselves.

4. That this arrangement be considered for the time being as an exploratory effort. Any such plan involves complexities and problems that can only be worked out in pilot experiences. Charlottesville, Virginia, was mentioned as a likely possibility for an initial test.

5. That if this cooperative approach works well and grows, the expense -- notably the cost of long-distance calls -- will become more than any one agency can easily absorb in its general budget. This will be taken up again, depending upon the success of the first few efforts.

Recommendations to CCD

One of the purposes of this meeting was to give to CCD any advice which the Southern staff members of participating agencies might have to offer. Including items mentioned in the preceding summary, the following were suggested:

1. That CCD further the idea that national agencies consult with and involve Southern staff in the planning and execution of major strategies designed to influence developments in the South. It was felt that one of the most fruitful results of the CCD might be cross-fertilization between professionals engaged in program activity in the South and those dealing with national media, opinion makers, etc.

2. That CCD consider whether there should be regional or local meetings similar to this one in other areas of the country. It was fully recognized, however, that the South at this time is, and should be, the main focus of activity pertaining to desegregation.

3. That the CCD urge appropriate participating agencies to give their Southern staff instructions and latitude necessary to partipate in the plan of concerted community activity.

4. That the CCD and its participating agencies give every emphasis to the activation of prestige figures, including the President, other high government officials, business and industrial leaders, and others.

5. That the CCD and its participating agencies use their information resources to alert the public to the civil liberties threats posed by intolerant pro-segregation activity in the South.

Next Steps

The Southern Regional Council was requested, and agreed, to continue to serve as convener and communications center for the agencies represented at this meeting and such other agencies as might later be involved. Accordingly, the SRC was asked to:

1. Issue a memorandum listing names and addresses of Southern regional offices and field representatives of participating agencies.

2. Explore the possibility of having present at a future session a sympathetic newspaper editor who might serve as a resource person on more effective work with the Southern press.

3. Reconvene the group in May or June, so that there may be joint discussion and planning well in advance of new school developments in September.

2/14/57
Encl.

PARTICIPANTS
CONFERENCE OF AGENCIES WORKING IN THE SOUTH
ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
January 23-24, 1957

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
Richard Royce

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
Tartt Bell

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
Sam Lubin*

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS
Morris B. Hoffman
Don J. Hager

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
Oscar Cohen
Arthur J. Levin

BOARD OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION
PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN U.S.A.
H. B. Sissel
Mrs. Jean Russell

CATHOLIC COMMITTEE OF THE SOUTH
Morton Elder

CHRISTIAN LIFE COMMISSION
SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION
A. C. Miller

FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC
Frank Loescher
Benjamin Segal

JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE
Emanuel Muravchik

NAACP
Roy Wilkins
Mrs. Ruby Hurley

NCCJ
Gordon W. Lovejoy
Miss Marjorie McLachlan

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES
William Campbell

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE PROTESTANT
EPISCOPAL CHURCH
Cornelius C. Tarplee

NATIONAL LABOR SERVICE
Sam Lubin*

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE
Harry Alston
M. T. Puryear

RACE RELATIONS DEPARTMENT, AMA,
CONGREGATIONAL CHRISTIAN CHURCHES
Miss Dorothy Hampton

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
Harold Fleming
Fred Routh
Mrs. M. E. Tilly
John Hope
Emory Via
G. S. Alexander

UNITARIAN SERVICE COMMITTEE
Hylan Lewis

UNITED CHRISTIAN MISSIONARY SOCIETY
Lewis Deer

THE WORKMEN'S CIRCLE
Harold Bauman

YMCA, SOUTHERN AREA STUDENT COUNCIL
Alfred C. Payne
Paul Rilling

YWCA
Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton
Miss Mary Jane Willett

*representing two agencies

CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE ON DESEGREGATION

SOUTHERN INTERAGENCY MEETING

ATLANTA, GOERGIA. NOVEMBER 5-6, 1957.

Arthur J. Levin, Chairman Mrs. H. Ben Russell, Secretary

The Chairman reminded all present that while the Southern Regional Council had been requested to act as the "secretariat" for the Southern agencies with the function of coordination, responsibility for meetings and exchange of information was vested equally in all the agencies. Beginning with this meeting, the chairmanship will be rotated among all the agencies operating in the South. Another chairman will be selected at the end of each meeting to function for the next meeting.

I. SECURITY

This item was placed on the agenda for the purpose of alerting all to the problems which some human relations agencies in the South are now facing, and which others may face in the future. There was discussion of the Highlander Folk School incident, the disruption of a non-segregated meeting in Birmingham of the Alabama Council on Human Relations, and the request for state funds by the Georgia Education Commission for wire tapping, "bugging", and telephoto camera equipment.

On the question of how the press may be handled in regard to meetings, the following suggestions were made:

1. The occasion determines the relationship with the press. A policy decision should be made for each meeting as to whether it is a public meeting or a closed executive session, and such decision should be made known to all participants. The press is usually admitted to public meetings, but not to executive sessions.

2. If the press is admitted, it is usually with the understanding that they may report the proceedings in toto and take photographs. Occasionally there may be "off the record" remarks by one or another participant, but this must not be abused if it is to be respected at all.

3. Prepared press releases may be handed out after closed meetings.

4. In reaching a policy decision, it is well to keep in mind that barring the press may carry with it the suggestion of clandestine activity.

The problem of the "communist-smear" technique was fully discussed. It was generally agreed that it is easier to control attendance at meetings than to try to limit the activities of persons who attend. Northern offices of Southern-staffed agencies can furnish information about current communist activities and techniques for purposes of alerting and counteraction. All reasonable precautions must be taken by each agency to make all agencies least susceptible to the "communist-smear" techniques utilized by segregationist groups.

II. JOINT FACT-FINDING PROJECT

It was pointed out that there is need for a current body of facts to be used in dealing with the Civil Rights Commission, as well as in other instances. Representatives of the NAACP, the ADL, the AFSC, and the SRC stated that they were equipped to gather facts in certain areas of voting discrimination statistics, individual cases of voting discrimination, violations of civil liberties, and the individuals and organizations in the resistance movement. Subcommittees were appointed to discuss specifics of the fact-finding project, and inter-religious cooperation.

Southern Interagency Meeting continued:

1. Report of the sub-committee on fact-finding project:

   a) Legal Aid Service - a letter is to be sent to the Executive Committee of CCD as a follow-up to the plan for legal aid suggested in Washington, D.C. A copy of the letter drafted by Tartt Bell and approved by the meeting is attached.

   b) Violence, Intimidation, and Reprisal - it was suggested that a report be prepared of cases of violence, intimidation, and reprisal growing out of the Supreme Court decision of 1954, with the objective of demonstrating that a punitive climate exists in the South. A primary source for fact gathering would be the newspaper and other files of the Southern Education Reporting Service. The NAACP, ADL, SRC, and AFSC would serve as a steering committee and one person would be employed to carry out the project. A prospectus is to be drawn up by the steering committee and circulated to agencies operating in the South extending an invitation to join in pro-rata financing of the project. Participating agencies will have the opportunity to co-sponsor public release of the prepared report if they so desire. The cost of the project was estimated to be between $3,000 and $4,000.

   c) Registration and Voting Discrimination - the NAACP plans a more intensive approach to this problem through its voter registration program, for which it may hire additional staff. There is need for drawing together documentation of official intent to circumscribe civil rights laws (declarations by officials, etc.), supported by individual cases of disenfranchisement. It was suggested that the "Fellowship of the Concerned" might be useful in local communities as spotters and witnesses.

   d) Employment Discrimination - the general pattern of discrimination, as well as specific cases, needs to be documented for representation to the President's Committee on Government Contracts. Agencies which have such information (NAACP, Urban League, ADL, SRC, AFSC) are requested to send this material to Tartt Bell, and the AFSC will serve as the repository of such information until further decision as to its compilation and usage is made. It was suggested that an interagency representation might be made directly to the President's Committee on Government Contracts in Washington when the information has been assembled. Agencies were also reminded that the President's Committee on Government Employment Policy has stated that segregation is a violation of federal employment policy, and facts concerning violations should be called to the Committee's attention.

2. Report of the sub-committee on Inter-Religious Cooperation:

   A civic meeting of religiously-motivated persons was proposed to discuss "What can religious forces do in the civic field toward desegregation?" It was decided that an exploratory meeting of the Religious Life Committee of CCD (including southern staff) would be held in the South in the near future to discuss the calling of such a conference, and also the possibility of a similar conference for young people. The sub-committee was thinking in terms of inter-faith delegations from ten or twelve southern cities. The matter of handling expenses was discussed, with no decision being reached. It was announced that the Mass Media Committee of CCD was concerning itself with the publication of some appropriate material for the use of young people's groups in the area of race relations.

COPY

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

Southeastern Regional Office
1818 S. Main Street
High Point
North Carolina

November 25, 1957

Executive Committee
Consultative Conference on Desegregation
9 East 38th Street
New York 16, New York

Gentlemen:

The developing patterns in the South indicate there is now an urgent need among human relations agencies for additional, supplementary legal counsel and services. The variety and scope of problems with important legal facets being encountered by individuals, groups and agencies on the desegregation front are far beyond the legal resources now available.

The southern field staff of C.C.D. agencies, in session in Atlanta, November 5-6, feel this need can effectively be met by an inter-agency directed legal aid staff. The organization of this service should be established on essentially the following lines:

I. Staff -

(a) To consist of one or two experienced and able attorneys with adequate secretarial help.
(b) To be based in Atlanta.
(c) For purposes of staff supervision, office space, etc., to be attached to Atlanta office of one of the agencies.

II. Committee direction -

(a) A five-man policy committee consisting of representatives of Atlanta agencies.
(b) This committee to establish policies, priorities for staff time and energies.

III. Regional coverage -

(a) This should be a regional service.
(b) Available to all agencies on basis of need and relative importance of the legal and other issues involved.

IV. Inter-agency coordination -

Staff to work in collaboration with existing legal resources of all the agencies but will be clearly independent of them.

V. Term of appointment -

The operation of this project should be not less than two years.

VI. Costs -

As seen now, this would be approximately $30-35,000 annual operation.

VII. Types of services -

(a) Interpret and analyze legislation and proposals.
(b) Act in advisory capacity; assist in securing local legal counsel
(c) Function as consultant for agencies; e.g., how an agency office should handle seizure of records.
(d) Help formulate legal strategy; e.g., the implications of the Birmingham situation.

Warm regards.

Sincerely,

(Signed) B. Tartt Bell

B. Tartt Bell
Executive Secretary

BTB/h

ROSTER

INTERAGENCY MEETING
November 5-6, 1957

1. Y.M.C.A.
Atlanta, Georgia

Paul Rilling

2. American Friends Service Committee
High Point, North Carolina

Tartt Bell
Mrs. Charles Herbin

American Friends Service Committee
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Miss Jean Fairfax

3. Presbyterian Church - U.S.A.
Greenville, Tennessee

Mrs. Ben Russell

4. American Jewish Committee
Atlanta, Georgia

Samuel Lubin

5. Anti-Defamation League
Atlanta, Georgia

Arthur J. Levin

6. Unitarian Service Committee
Knoxville, Tennessee

Galen Martin

7. National Council of Churches
Nashville, Tennessee

Will D. Campbell

8. Atlanta Urban League
Atlanta, Georgia

Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton

9. Congregational Christian Church
Raleigh, North Carolina

Miss Dorothy Hampton

10. Women's Society of Christian Service, Maryville, Tennessee

Mrs. Robert Wilcox

11. National Conference of Christians and Jews, New York, N.Y.

Roy McCorkle

12. Y.W.C.A.
Atlanta, Georgia

Miss Florence Harris

13. Consultative Conference on Desegregation, New York, N.Y.

Arnold Aronson

14. Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Harold C. Fleming
John Hope, II

15. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People - Southeastern Region
Atlanta, Georgia

Mrs. Ruby Hurley

16. Southern Area Council - Y.W.C.A.
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. Thomas B. Hargrave

17. Presbyterian Church - U.S.A.
Atlanta, Georgia

Malcolm Calhoun

18. Georgia Council of Churches
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. Edward Driscoll

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

HAROLD C. FLEMING
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

May 15, 1957

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

MEMORANDUM

TO: COOPERATING AGENCIES WORKING IN THE SOUTH

FROM: HAROLD C. FLEMING

SUBJECT: NOTICE OF MEETING, MAY 28-29, 1957

: :

You will recall that at the last inter-agency meeting it was agreed that another meeting of Southern field representatives should be convened in May or June, looking toward the opening of schools in September. The Southern Regional Council was asked to serve again as convener.

Within the past few days, we have been urged by several of the agencies to schedule the meeting for the last week in May. Hence, this rather short notice. We have scheduled the meeting to begin at 1:00 p.m. on Tuesday, May 28th, and to conclude at noon on Wednesday, May 29th.

I do hope it will be possible for your agency to be represented. We will be considering what we can do, separately or in concert, to facilitate the adjustment to be made by various Southern states and communities between now and September.

We are making the same arrangements as last time. The sessions will be held in the Board Room, Administration Building, Atlanta University. Out-of-town participants may be housed in the Atlanta University dormitories, 50 Chestnut Street, S. W., and meals will be served in the dormitory dining hall.

As before, each agency is asked to limit its attendance to two Southern field representatives. Unlike the last meeting, it will be necessary this time for each agency to bear its representatives' expenses, not only travel but also accommodations and meals. The rates at Atlanta University are quite modest.

Please let us know, at your very earliest convenience, who will represent your agency and whether or not you wish us to make reservations at Atlanta University.

HCF/mf

: :

CORE SCHOLARSHIP, EDUCATION AND DEFENSE FUND, INC.
150 Nassau Street, Room 1312
New York, N. Y. 10038

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAM

GENERAL INFORMATION

CORE Scholarship, Education and Defense Fund, Inc. established its Eleanor Roosevelt scholarship program in 1962 to aid deserving students without financial means to obtain a college education.

Students of all races and from all parts of the country are eligible to apply. Preference is given to students who have been actively involved in efforts to eliminate racial prejudice and discrimination and to secure legal rights for persons of all races. Special consideration is given to those who have made significant contributions and sacrifices in their work for human rights.

PURPOSE AND AMOUNT OF GRANTS

1. Scholarships awarded to students who have been admitted to a college accredited by a regional accrediting body.

2. Grants are made to cover tuition and/or living expenses.

3. Depending on need, scholarships are granted in any amount up to $1,500 for one academic year. In exceptional cases, a supplementary grant of up to $500 may be made.

4. Scholarships may be renewed for subsequent years upon application. CORE SEDF will endeavor to continue support of students selected for grants, but cannot guarantee to do so.

CRITERIA FOR SELECTION

1. Evidence of financial need.

2. Record of activity in efforts to eliminate racial prejudice and segregation and to obtain legal rights for all citizens.

3. Evidence of good character and leadership potential.

4. Evidence of academic ability sufficient to benefit from higher education.

APPLICATION PROCEDURE

1. To apply, students must submit:

   a- Completed application form (obtainable from CORE SEDF).

   b- References from at least two persons of known leadership or staff position in the civil rights field.

   c- Copy of high school or college transcript.

2. Deadlines

   a- Applications for FALL semester must be filed by May 1st.

   b- Applications for SPRING semester must be filed by November 1st.

Georgia

Pulp and paper production, the state's fifth largest manufacturing industry, employs 16,000 persons drawing $111,000,000 annually.

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

For 91 Years the South's Standard Newspaper

Warm

Warm, cloudy Monday. Warm, possible showers Tuesday. Predicted extremes Monday, 66-80; Tuesday, 66-78. Sunday's extremes in Atlanta were 65 and 82.

VOL. XCI, No. 131 TEL. JA. 2-5050—P. O. Box 4689 ATLANTA (2), GA., MONDAY MORNING, NOVEMBER 17, 1958 26 PAGES ★★★★★ Price Five Cents

RALPH

McGILL

The Courts Of Georgia

In Arkansas the state's private school laws have been declared unconstitutional.

In Virginia Gov. Almond has said that he expects the laws which he and his legislature enacted to enable the state to carry out a program of massive resistance to be declared unconstitutional. He suggests Virginia may, with great reluctance, move toward a local option plan.

In Washington, D. C., Sen. Herman Talmadge of Georgia is quoted as saying that the private school plans have had "road blocks" thrown in their path by the Supreme Court.

This brings into focus the position of the various state Supreme Courts.

Members of such courts in Southern states where the school issue is so heated that neither reason nor reasonableness of argument is possible, are in a very real political dilemma.

A surprising number of people in the states most concerned actually believe, from having heard too much political oratory about "sovereign states," that their state laws take precedence.

This, of course, is not true when those laws are in conflict with federal law or with U.S. Supreme Court interpretations of invoked constitutional clauses.

Actual Case

For educational purposes let us take an actual case from such a state. Georgia provides a perfect example. The State Supreme Court of Georgia is highly respected. It includes a number of really superior justices.

Staff Photo—Hugh Stovall

OCCUPANTS WALKED AWAY UNHURT — This single-engine plane crash-landed in a field south of College Park Sunday afternoon, but the pilot, James L. Leverenz, 29, and a passenger, Frank A. Leverenz, both of Dallas, Tex., climbed from the wreckage without injury. The plane was forced down when trouble developed in the gas line. It struck a utility pole guide wire, spun in the air towards a pine tree, glanced from the tree to a terrace in the field.

Mercury Surges To 82 In Atlanta as Record Readings Warm State

'Heat Wave' Will Stay On Today

By WARREN BOSWORTH

Cold-hearted November tossed her chilly cloak aside Sunday and acted like August, basking Atlanta in the record warmth of 82.1 degrees.

Throughout Georgia it was the same story as thermometers climbed upward to "abnormally high" readings for this time of the year.

Augusta recorded a hot 88 degrees to claim title to the state's warmest spot Sunday.

Savannah had a high of 85. Macon's high reading for the day was 84. Columbus' high was 82 and Rome had a top mark of 80.

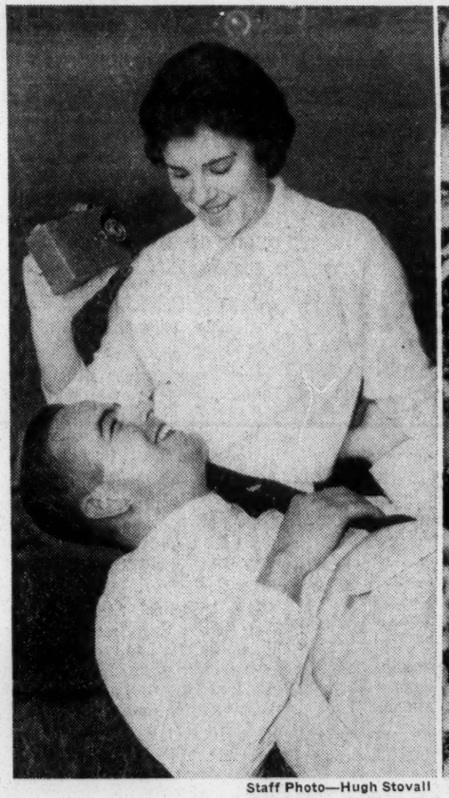
A NEW HIGH

Sunday's record in Atlanta set a new high for the month of November. The record before Sunday was the 81.9 recorded Nov. 5, 1949.

The lowest Nov. 16 in Atlanta's history was set in 1940 when the temperature nose-dived to 19.3 degrees.

Atlanta's high a year ago was 77.4 degrees, but that was considered to be more or less abnormal. The average temperature for this time of year is 52 degrees.

COOL WEATHER SOON



Staff Photo—Hugh Stovall

Associated Press Wirephoto

RECORD WARMTH SOOTHES ATLANTA AS SNOW STRIKES IN FAR WEST

Lenora Johnson, Lamar Bloodworth Bask in Hurt Park; Wintry Scene in Salt Lake City

East Asks Ministers Save Talks

By DREW MIDDLETON

(Copyright 1958, The New York Times Co.)

GENEVA—Suggestions that foreign ministers of Great Britain, the Soviet Union and the United States be summoned to break deadlocks in two East-West conferences here were made by Communist sources Sunday.

The meetings on cessation of nuclear tests and on methods of preventing surprise attack will resume Monday. The western delegations saw no immediate hope of breaking deadlocks in either.

FINAL NOTE

Qualified western sources saw no salvation in the Communist suggestion. The western positions, they said, reflect the essential

Rise in Building Of 7 Pct. Is Seen

WASHINGTON (AP)—Spending on new construction will rise 7 per cent next year to a record $52,300,000,000 on a wave of home and highway building, the government estimated Sunday.

Outlays this year will be about $48,800,000,000. That also is a high mark, but was achieved with the help of price increases. In physical volume, 1958 building did not match the 1955 level.

The Commerce and Labor departments said that in crossing the 50-billion-dollar mark for the first time next year, the nation's builders will set records not only for construction value but physical volume of work done.

HOUSING BOOM SEEN

A boom year in housing was foreseen. About 1,200,000 new homes will be started, the departments predicted, compared with about 1,170,000 in 1958. But resi-

Strike End At Chrysler Agreed On

DETROIT (AP)—Chrysler Corp. and the United Auto Workers Sunday night came to terms on the last of their companywide contracts, ending a paralyzing strike that started five days ago.

Storm Hits West,

Motor Toll

the Supreme Court.

This brings into focus the position of the various state Supreme Courts.

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This, of course, is not true when those laws are in conflict with federal law or with U.S. Supreme Court interpretations of invoked constitutional clauses.

Actual Case

For educational purposes let us take an actual case from such a state. Georgia provides a perfect example. The State Supreme Court of Georgia is highly respected. It includes a number of really superior justices.

In 1949 this State Supreme Court handed down a unanimous decision. It was one based on an interpretation of the 14th Amendment by the U.S. Supreme Court. The particular clause of this amendment before the court was the one guaranteeing equal protection of the laws. This was precisely the clause on which the 1954 school decision was based. The Georgia case was one involving failure of the county in which the case originated to call qualified Negro citizens for trial and grand jury service. The case was Crumb vs. The State. It is in the 205 Georgia Reports.

In the final two paragraphs of the decision, involving the same interpretation of the same clause at issue in the school ruling, the Georgia Supreme Court said:

"A construction of a clause of the U.S. Constitution having been invoked, the interpretation given thereto by the U. S. Supreme Court becomes binding authority upon this court.

"And whatever may be the individual opinion of the members of this court as to the correctness, soundness, or wisdom of these decisions, it becomes our duty to yield thereto, just as the other courts of this State must accept and be controlled by the decisions and mandates of this court. This being a government by law and not by men, the jury commissioners in their official conduct are bound by the foregoing rulings of the Supreme Court of the United States, notwithstanding any personal opinion, hereditary instinct, natural impulse, or geographical tradition to the contrary.—All the Justices concur."

Major Points

The major points, by Georgia's court, which are those all other State Supreme Courts would also make, are these:

1. Once a clause of the U. S. Constitution has been invoked the interpretation of it by the U.S. Supreme Court becomes "binding authority" upon all state courts.

2. The individual opinions of the members of the state courts as to the correctness or wisdom of these decisions do not permit the state courts to yield their duty to the U.S. court.

3. The government of the United States is a government by law and not by men. Therefore, the state officials in their official conduct are bound by the rulings of the Supreme Court of the United States.

4. They are so bound "notwithstanding any personal opinion, hereditary instinct, natural impulse or GEOGRAPHICAL TRADITION TO THE CONTRARY."

This has been true since the Republic was founded. And it is the sole explanation of why the state laws at issue are of no value.

East Asks Ministers Save Talks

By DREW MIDDLETON

(Copyright 1958, The New York Times Co.)

GENEVA—Suggestions that foreign ministers of Great Britain, the Soviet Union and the United States be summoned to break deadlocks in two East-West conferences here were made by Communist sources Sunday.

The meetings on cessation of nuclear tests and on methods of preventing surprise attack will resume Monday. The western delegations saw no immediate hope of breaking deadlocks in either.

FINAL NOTE

Qualified western sources saw no salvation in the Communist suggestion. The western positions, they said, reflect the essential policies of the governments concerned and they have little hope that the presence of Andrei Gromyko, Soviet foreign minister, would lead to concessions by the Russians.

The statement from Washington Saturday rejecting the Soviet draft treaty for cessation of nuclear tests added a final note to the deadlock in that conference. The Soviet delegation is expected Monday to reject the four-point program submitted by the United States and supported by Britain for cessation of nuclear tests under effective control.

The positions advanced by East and West at the outset have not been modified in any important respect in either conference. Neither discussion has reached the negotiation stage in the sense that concessions of substance have appeared.

WANTED DULLES

Western sources thought the proposals by the eastern delegations for the presence of foreign ministers reflected a well-defined trend in the Communist approach

Continued on Page 12, Column 1

Guns Peaceful; Quemoy Rests

TAIPEI, Formosa (AP)—The air of crisis over the offshore islands has just about evaporated.

Not a gun was fired by either side Sunday. It was the eighth even-numbered day in succession that the Chinese Reds have held their fire. On Saturday, an odd-numbered day, they dropped 434 shells on the Quemoys.

Rise in Building Of 7 Pct. Is Seen

WASHINGTON (AP)—Spending on new construction will rise 7 per cent next year to a record $52,300,000,000 on a wave of home and highway building, the government estimated Sunday.

Outlays this year will be about $48,800,000,000. That also is a high mark, but was achieved with the help of price increases. In physical volume, 1958 building did not match the 1955 level.

The Commerce and Labor departments said that in crossing the 50-billion-dollar mark for the first time next year, the nation's builders will set records not only for construction value but physical volume of work done.

HOUSING BOOM SEEN

A boom year in housing was foreseen. About 1,200,000 new homes will be started, the departments predicted, compared with about 1,170,000 in 1958. But residential building activity may taper off in the second half of next year.

The annual official construction forecast has a high accuracy rating. This year's estimated activity is just a shade higher—less than ½ of 1 per cent—than the Commerce-Labor forecast made in November a year ago.

The departments said their estimate of a 3½ billion dollar increase in 1959 assumes that a rise in national production will continue, with credit adequate for construction generally but growing tighter for residential building.

ROADS, HOUSING GAIN

Nevertheless housing and road building will account for about four-fifths of the 1959 gain in construction. Factory building, on the other hand, will be down 15 per cent, contributing to a 3 per cent decline in private nonresidential construction.

The forecast said this anticipated downturn reflects the postponement and cancelation of new plant projects by many companies during the recession of the past year. Some upturn in new factory projects is expected in 1959, but not enough to offset the downward trend of total plant construction outlays.

Spending on commercial-type buildings will increase to match the 1956 record of $3,600,000,000, although outlays for office buildings and warehouses will dip 5 per ce Spending on new stores and shopping centers, restaurants and garages will rise 10 per cent.

Well over half an estimated $2,100,000,000 advance in public construction outlays will be financed by the federal government, and one third of the increase will be for highways.

Strike End At Chrysler Agreed On

DETROIT (AP)—Chrysler Corp. and the United Auto Workers Sunday night came to terms on the last of their companywide contracts, ending a paralyzing strike that started five days ago.

The company said it hoped to resume full-scale production of 1959 model cars Monday.

The settlement — covering salaried clerical workers and employes in Chrysler's engineering departments—marked the end of the UAW's 1958 contract negotiations with the Big Three car makers.

Coming out of the negotiating room, UAW President Walter Reuther said the new agreement represents "very substantial progress particularly in the area of the job security of this group of Chrysler workers."

He said seniority provisions were broadened, job transfer times were improved and that the union made gains in protecting office workers against displacement through mechanization.

Chrysler Vice President John Leary said the agreement will provide an increase in base salaries of about $2.53 a week, will transfer some cost of living benefits into base pay and will institute a new plan for severance pay.

Italy's La Scala Dismisses Callas

MILAN, Italy (UPI)—The La Scala Opera House, mecca of opera lovers, ended a turbulent 10-year relationship with fiery soprano Maria Meneghini Callas Sunday.

The La Scala dismissal came as the result of a feud with the opera's superintendent Antonio Ghiringhelli. During a quarrel with him earlier this year, she declared, "I will not sing at La Scala if Ghiringhelli remains in charge."

Sicily Kidnapers Free U.S. Citizen

CAMPOBELLO DI MAZARA, Sicily (AP)—An elderly American citizen, kidnaped a week ago, walked to freedom Sunday. He had been held in a remote cave after being seized while visiting his Sicilian birthplace.

The captors of Alberto Castello, 72, apparently decided to abandon him after giving up hope of collecting ransom. But the retired Brooklyn bricklayer said he was still worried.

"I'm not going anywhere without the carabinieri," he told reporters.

Italian police agreed to give him protection until he leaves this island for the United States, probably Tuesday.

Castello and his wife, naturalized American citizens who now live at Ceptague, Long Island, N.Y., were on a three-month visit to Sicily. They had passage booked back to America for Tuesday before he was kidnaped.

Castello was jubilant at his newfound freedom. He embraced a policeman and said:

"Before in the cave I felt like a captive soldier. Now I feel like a king.

"I thank the Lord who let me see the sky again, the sky He created, the sky I had not seen for almost a week."

Castello looked pale and had a

Continued on Page 12, Column 4

Adlai Again Brings Report on Russia

Adlai Stevenson's absorbing report on Russia, in which he found hope for the future in expressions of friendship shown him by common people, resumes Tuesday in The Atlanta Constitution.

The articles continue his account of the lengthy trip he made throughout Russia in which he saw at first hand the amazing growth of Soviet industry and virtually every other aspect of life in that country.

Stevenson also noted that despite the heavy propaganda against the United States, the average Russian likes Americans and showed deep interest and curiosity about our education and living conditions.

acted like August, basking Atlanta in the record warmth of 82.1 degrees.

Throughout Georgia it was the same story as thermometers climbed upward to "abnormally high" readings for this time of the year.

Augusta recorded a hot 88 degrees to claim title to the state's warmest spot Sunday.

Savannah had a high of 85. Macon's high reading for the day was 84. Columbus' high was 82 and Rome had a top mark of 80.

A NEW HIGH

Sunday's record in Atlanta set a new high for the month of November. The record before Sunday was the 81.9 recorded Nov. 5, 1949.

The lowest Nov. 16 in Atlanta's history was set in 1940 when the temperature nose-dived to 19.3 degrees.

Atlanta's high a year ago was 77.4 degrees, but that was considered to be more or less abnormal. The average temperature for this time of year is 52 degrees.

COOL WEATHER SOON

The weekend "heat" wave which moved into Georgia is expected to last through Tuesday night before being chased out by cooler weather moving in from the Midwest.

Cloudy skies and more warm temperatures are forecast for Atlanta and north Georgia Monday. Cloudy skies and possible scattered showers are on Tuesday's forecast.

FORECAST SEES

Extremes of 66 and 80 are predicted for Monday. Tuesday's forecast calls for extremes of 66 and 78.

Sunday was a warm day

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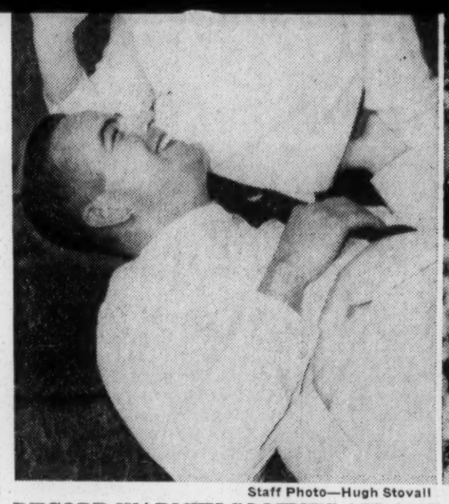
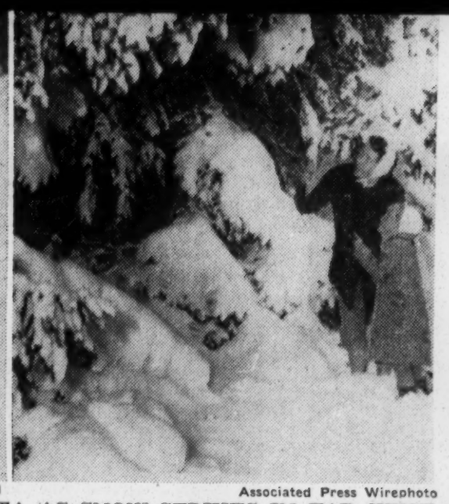


Staff Photo—Hugh Stovall



Associated Press Wirephoto

RECORD WARMTH SOOTHES ATLANTA AS SNOW STRIKES IN FAR WEST

Lenora Johnson, Lamar Bloodworth Bask in Hurt Park; Wintry Scene in Salt Lake City

Storm Hits West, Roars Eastward

DENVER (AP)—The season's first general blizzard covered the Rocky Mountains Sunday with a blanket of snow ranging from 20 inches deep at Lander, Wyo., to several feet in the mountains.

Strong winds reaching 45 m.p.h. swept the region. The swirling show created hazardous road conditions, leaving a rash of accidents.

The storm was expected to reach its height as it moves eastward during the next 24 to 36 hours.

Falling temperatures brought a narrow band of freezing drizzle to the central Dakotas. Snow and strong winds continued in western Nebraska and northwestern North Dakota, and in Montana the highest afternoon temperatures were in the 20s.

Havre, Mont., reported more than a foot of snow with lesser amounts concentrated mainly in the eastern half. Southwestern Wyoming bore the brunt of its storm, although snowfall was general.

In Colorado, all but the extreme southeastern corner of the state was blanketed. Between two and four inches of snow fell from Pueblo northward to Wyoming.

Evanston, Wyo., was buried under 17 inches of snow. Local flurries were reported in northern New Mexico.

Wilkes Radio Man, Wife, Child Die in Plane Crash

Constitution State News Service

WASHINGTON, Ga.—A Sunday afternoon plane ride turned into violent death for a Wilkes County radio engineer, his wife and small son when a yellow- single-engine Piper Cub went into a nose dive and crashed into a plowed oat field near a private airport.

The victims were identified as Clem Rhodes, 31; his wife, Evelyn, 27, and their 18-month-old son, Jeff. Rhodes was chief engineer at radio station WKLE in Washington. He was also employed by the Almar Manufacturing Co.

Sheriff George H. Lunceford said witnesses told him the pilot was circling to come back across the airfield and lost speed. "He never regained his speed and just nose-dived into the ground," Lunceford said.

The sheriff added the plane had taken off only a few minutes before.

The plane crashed into a field near the house of Cicero Lucas Sr., father of the University of Georgia football player. Lucas said his daughter, Linda, 14, ran into the house and reported a yellow plane had crashed into the plowed field nearby.

"It crashed about 200 yards

Continued on Page 12, Column 3

Cash Smuggling Ring Cracked by Israel

JERUSALEM (AP)—Police said Sunday they have smashed a currency smuggling ring operating between Israel and France. Two men and a woman were arrested in Tel Aviv and charged with illegal currency deals, police said.

The band transferred the equivalent of $500,000 before police stepped in, authorities said.

Motor Toll In Georgia Is 6 Lives

Six persons were killed in weekend traffic in Georgia, the State Patrol reported.

One of the victims, a little girl, was crushed to death by the undercarriage of a bus parked on private property.

The State Patrol said Charlie L. Rickerson, 63, of Rte. 1, Pearson, burned to death early Sunday when his auto was struck from the rear, turned over and caught fire on Georgia 441 north of Pearson.

Nan H. Williamson, 29, of Rte. 3, Soperton, died Saturday when the car she was driving was involved in a head-on collision south of Wrightsville on Georgia 78.

Another Saturday victim was Peggy Rich, 18, of Rte. 1, Jasper. The patrol said she was killed in a smashup north of Ball Ground on Georgia 5 after apparently being blinded by lights from another vehicle.

Police reported two persons died in Atlanta traffic incidents Saturday. Robert Leroy Hendricks, 23, fell out of a convertible and hit the side of a parked truck. Marshall Brown Jr., 26, was hit by a car while he was walking across a street.

Two-year-old Eunistine Warthen

Continued on Page 12, Column 3

Rights Stand, Polls Coup Likely To Return Butler

By ALLEN DRURY

(Copyright 1958, The New York Times Co.)

WASHINGTON — The national party chairmen who directed the congressional campaign of 1958 appeared likely Sunday to continue to guide their parties toward the presidential campaign of 1960.

Both Republican Meade Alcorn and Democrat Paul Butler face national committee meetings in the near future. But Alcorn, who presided over the Republican debacle at the polls of Nov. 4, has the support of President Eisenhower to remain in his job.

And Butler, in addition to heading the party that made landslide gains in Congress and state governments, has entrenched himself solidly behind the issue of civil rights.

Thus it seems likely that neither will be ousted. Butler's test will come first, when the Democratic National Committee meets here on Dec. 6. The Republicans will follow suit in mid-January.

Butler, according to party sources, is sitting pretty both as a result of the Democrats' overwhelming election triumph and as a result of his angry brush with the South over the question of civil rights.

The first would make it almost impossible to remove a national chairman who could point to election victories reaching from Maine to California.

The latter would make it equally impossible to remove a chairman who had identified himself closely with a position held by the dominant Northern and Western wings of the party.

Butler stirred up a storm of Southern protest a month ago when he predicted that the Democrats would adopt a strong civil rights plank in their 1960 platform and suggested that if Southerners didn't like it they might have to join the Republicans or form a third party.

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India Signs Red Pact

LONDON (AP) — A five-year trade agreement between the Soviet Union and India was signed in Moscow Sunday.

halt this destructive force.

Nov 20 58

Constitution

* * *

If There's a Solution, It's Time To Find It

The Atlanta Board of Education has issued a calming if necessarily non-committal statement concerning the future of the city's school system in face of a pending court ruling on segregation.

The board did make one thing clear. It has no plans to operate a private school system "for the very obvious reason that such a system would not be private if under domination and control of the Atlanta Board of Education." And if the system is closed down, the board said, it would not be the agency which did it. It holds no titles to property, thus cannot sell or lease the building.

Meanwhile, parents of some 100,000 students in Atlanta schools and their teachers have every reason to be concerned about the future. In fact, the future of this city and that of Georgia depends upon education of all the children—not just a few of them. The state's economy and progress in all other fields rests with its schools.

It is not a matter of merely "throwing in the towel" or "surrender." It is a matter of preserving the public schools. How can it be done within the framework of the status quo? Nobody as yet has come up with an answer.

Sen. Talmadge said a few days ago that Georgia would be facing a school crisis by next September in spite of the laws which have been set up as defenses. He could offer no ideas on how to prevent it, saying, in effect, it is a problem for the new state administration. This added greatly to the concern now showing itself, especially since the senator himself is responsible for many of these laws.

Will we find relief in a Congress which is expected to be more liberal than any in recent years? Its members are talking about civil rights instead of states' rights legislation.

What, then, do our political leaders propose to do to prevent the tragedy of Little Rock from coming to Georgia? What can they do? Now is the time for honest thinking and honest speaking. Platitudes and palliatives from politicians which only mislead and confuse the people no longer are enough.

* * *

Thrasher Has Grounds To Question Port Deal

THE NEGRO AND THE BALLOT

IN THE SOUTH

BY MARGARET PRICE

THE NEGRO AND THE BALLOT IN THE SOUTH

By

MARGARET PRICE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
1959

FOREWORD

SINCE THE WHITE PRIMARY was outlawed in 1944, the Southern Regional Council has studied and reported on the growth of Negro suffrage in the region. In the wake of the Supreme Court's school decisions, this continuing analysis became a matter of practical urgency. Resistance to desegregation, and the tensions resulting from this resistance, have focused national concern on access to the ballot by Negro Southerners. It was generally, and correctly, concluded that the future rate of progress in civil rights will depend heavily on Negroes achieving their proportionate influence at the polling places.

So it was that in 1956, the Southern Regional Council undertook the most ambitious survey of Negro registration and voting yet attempted. The results were published the following year under the title *The Negro Voter in the South*. The publication was remarkably timely, coming at a time when the debate over national legislation to advance voting rights—ultimately enacted—had created a tremendous demand for information in this field. The findings of the Council's 1956 survey filled an important gap in public understanding of the problems and progress involved in enfranchisement of Negroes in the South.

One result of the Civil Rights Act of 1957 was the creation of a federal Commission on Civil Rights, charged especially to investigate and assess alleged discriminations against would-be voters. This welcome development seemed to the Council no reason for private organizations to abandon their interest in the field. On the contrary, it suggested the desirability of supplementing the official and carefully delimited work of the Commission with more broad-gauged study by voluntary agencies.

Hence, this further report on the status of Negro suffrage in the South. The fact-finding efforts on which it is based were made possible by a grant from the Field Foundation, for which the Council is most grateful. Appreciation is also due to the public officials and private individuals who cooperated in the gathering of registration figures and other data—most particularly to the three consultants whose work is reflected in the case studies published at the end of this report.

Finally, the Council owes a debt of thanks to Mrs. Margaret Price for her skill and application in the exacting role of author of this report.

HAROLD C. FLEMING, *Executive Director*
Southern Regional Council

August 1959

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An American Right

UNDER THE AMERICAN SYSTEM of government, the vote is the basic tool for all citizens who would "promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty," set forth in the preamble to the Constitution.

In recent years, with increasing attention directed to the American ideal of equality for all, the access of Negro citizens to the ballot has assumed new importance.

The ballot is one of the keys to the solution of the myriad problems of segregation. Through his vote, the Negro citizen can be heard and given equal consideration along with other groups representing business and labor, veterans, and farmers.

Due in large part to the power of the Negro vote, both major political parties have included in their platforms stronger resolutions aimed at improving the lot of the Negro citizen.

This is not to imply that only practical considerations will focus attention on the plight of the nation's 18 million non-white citizens. A kind of national soul-searching began with World War II. While fighting a war against forces proclaiming a doctrine of racial superiority, it became increasingly difficult to justify racial discrimination at home. Since then, the difficulty has mounted as questions about discrimination have been raised with each new court case, whether involving school desegregation or other efforts to obtain civic justice, with each publicized case of violence against Negro citizens.

At the same time, there has been a new awareness of the threat to all citizens in the denial of individual liberties to some.

During the same period, as the United States became the leader of the free world, racial injustice at home has been an ever-growing source of embarrassment. In emerging areas of Africa and Asia it is one of our greatest liabilities.

No one has understood this better than the Negro citizens of the United States. World opinion, as well as individual rights, has been stressed repeatedly in their demands for political equality.

As one Negro leader, A. T. Walden, Atlanta lawyer, told a Senate subcommittee during the Civil Rights hearing in 1957:

"The ultimate object of the proposed civil rights bills is the implementation of our democratic ideals and making our constitutional concept of equal justice under law a living reality in our Nation's struggle to deserve to win the minds and hearts of men the world over who are striving to gain or retain freedom for themselves and their children.

"Our Nation is the most favored nation of all history. Providence has

smiled upon it as the leader of the free world. However, that leadership is not fully accepted among large segments of mankind because of deficiencies in its implementation and practices of its professed and proclaimed democratic ideals, inclusive of all its citizenry."

Since 1944, when the white primary was held unconstitutional, the Southern Regional Council has reported on the importance and growth of Negro suffrage in the South. In 1956, the SRC undertook the most ambitious survey of the question up to that time. The pace of desegregation—and resistance—has quickened since then. How has this affected the Negro voter?

Opposing Forces

Negroes of voting age in the South today are being influenced by two distinct forces.

On one side is the nation as a whole. Congress has passed the first Civil Rights legislation since Reconstruction. Federal courts have spoken with increasing frequency and clarity on the right of every American to legal equality and justice.

On the other side, stand local custom and resistance to change. In this camp there is a vocal, sometimes violent and threatening element. There are also many political candidates who use racism as a steppingstone to public office. What these elements lack in national support is offset, at least temporarily, by the fact that they are on the scene. The threat of Main Street often can be more real than the hope of Washington.

Negro Southerners are caught in the middle by other factors. If more of them voted, they undoubtedly would benefit by improved educational, economic, and political opportunities. But, on the other hand, only when their educational and economic levels are raised can many be persuaded to vote. By the same token, politicians who could aid in their struggle for first class citizenship cannot be expected to seek their vote until enough are registered to make it worthwhile to run the risk of condemnation by many white voters. However, to many Negroes it is not worthwhile to run the risk of registering—and it still is a risk in many places—until candidates seek their votes and they can expect the same rewards as white voters.

Currently, it cannot be said that either the proponents or opponents of equal suffrage are winning. In the states where the most reliable figures are available, the number of Negro registrants dropped slightly between 1956 and 1958. However, in this off-year election period, registration dropped over the nation. Even the fact that there was no sharp decrease in Negro registrants might be considered something of an achievement in light of the South's tensions, sporadic violence, tightening of voter registration laws, and the purging of voting rolls in the intervening two years.

The influence of basic national forces indicates that the long range prospect is for a steady, if slow, growth in Negro suffrage in the South. As Negroes improve their educational and economic standing, their interest in voting can be expected to grow. Along with this growth should come an expanded, experienced leadership. If the trend toward urbanization continues, more Negroes can be expected to vote in cities, which are generally more permissive. The existing new federal agencies also may be expected in the long run to encourage more Negroes to exercise their basic civil rights.

However, there seems to be no reason to expect a sudden, dramatic rise in the number of Negro voters in the South, for the obstacles which have restricted Negro voting in the recent past are still strong.

This report will review the developments since 1956 which have brought both new problems and new hope for the political future of Negro Southerners.

In addition, studies of three Southern counties are included to spotlight forces influencing specific areas. These deal with a northern Louisiana parish which experienced a wholesale removal of Negroes from voting lists, a South Carolina coastal county, and a Deep South Black Belt county.

Current Negro Registration

IN MID-1956, an estimated 1,238,038 Negroes were registered in the eleven Southern states. At the close of 1958, there were an estimated 1,303,827 registered, a gain of 65,789.

This apparent gain is somewhat misleading, however, largely because the 1956 estimate of Negro registrants in Tennessee proved low in light of later available information.

On the other hand, the 1956 total for South Carolina probably was inflated, since the available figures there were based on out-of-date registration rolls which undoubtedly carried the names of some who had died or moved. Since then, the state has had a complete re-registration as required every 10 years. Both white and Negro totals dropped sharply.

In the eight states where the Southern Regional Council was able to obtain reliable figures, the number of Negroes registered in 1958 totaled 1,028,827, as compared to 1,074,672 in 1956, a drop of 45,845.

These eight included Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, South Carolina, and Virginia, where registration figures all came from official sources. In North Carolina, a statewide estimate was made by the executive secretary of the State Election Board. In Texas, SRC sponsored a county-by-county check, the first of its kind in recent memory.

Of the remaining three states, Tennessee presented a special problem in obtaining data. There is no central source for registration figures and any estimates are of necessity always speculative. At election time, even the number of precincts in the state is in dispute. Judging by the number of votes cast in Tennessee in the presidential race of 1956, the previous estimate of all eligible voters available to SRC was low. If the overall strength was underestimated in 1956, it seems likely that the Negro portion of that total also was low. The 1958 estimate was obtained from a veteran capitol reporter.

In Mississippi, for lack of an official source, observers in the state interested in Negro suffrage were relied upon. These generally estimated the number of qualified Negro voters in the state at 20,000, the same figure used since 1952. They felt there had been no increase because of the state's stringent racial restrictions and because the number of Negroes has declined in Mississippi.[1]

As for Alabama, scene of some of the South's strongest resistance to racial change, there also was no central, official source for registration

[1]However, Kenneth Toler, head of the Mississippi bureau of *The Commercial Appeal*, in an article in the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, December 14, 1958, said Negro voting strength in Mississippi was estimated at 35,000. He said this "is probably a record high and results from reported FBI checking on county registrars or threats of agents moving in."

figures. An estimate of 70,000 Negro voters there was made by MacDonald Gallion, Attorney General of Alabama, in testimony before a Congressional committee in Washington in April, 1959.

Virginia figures were revised after SRC issued an interim report on voting in the fall of 1958. In October, the secretary of the State Board of Elections gave the number of Negroes registered in the counties (cities are listed separately in Virginia) as 82,423, based on estimates submitted to him by the various counties. In January, 1959, after the board had met, Negro registration in the counties was listed at 40,455, a drop of nearly 42,000. (At the same time, the white registration figures for the counties went up nearly 45,000 from the October total.)[2]

The foregoing suggests the difficulty of obtaining reliable, current registration figures. Even states which have a central source for registration data usually can rely only on figures submitted by the various localities and except in some of the larger cities, there is generally no sustained procedure for keeping the rolls up to date. The names of persons who have died or who have moved often are not struck. When a state has had a periodic re-registration, as South Carolina had in 1958, the new figures will be reasonably accurate for several years. On the other hand, a researcher is confronted by such discrepancies as are obvious in the Georgia estimates, where about 50 counties report more white voters than there were white residents over 18 (voting age in Georgia) in the 1950 census. These are rural counties, most of which have been losing population since 1950.

The following table shows the changes in Negro registration over the past 11 years:

NEGRO REGISTRATION[3]

	1947	*1952*	*1956*	*1958*
Alabama	6,000	25,224	53,366	70,000
Arkansas	47,000	61,413	69,677	64,023
Florida	49,000	120,900	148,703	144,810
Georgia	125,000	144,835	163,389	161,958
Louisiana	10,000	120,000	161,410	131,068
Mississippi	5,000	20,000	20,000	20,000
North Carolina	75,000	100,000	135,000	150,000
South Carolina	50,000	80,000	99,890	57,978
Tennessee	80,000	85,000	90,000	185,000
Texas	100,000	181,916	214,000	226,818
Virginia	48,000	69,326	82,603	92,172
TOTALS	595,000	1,008,614	1,238,038	1,303,827

[2]In April, 1959, the State Board of Elections announced that estimates provided by local clerks and registrars showed a new total of 94,311 Negro voters in Virginia at that time.
[3]See appendix for detailed sources for figures.

Negro registration figures probably are more reliable than those for whites. As stated in the 1956 study, Negro registration is supervised more carefully by officials and also is made up largely of names which have been on the books not more than 12 or 13 years; thus, it is less likely to be inflated by the names of persons who have moved or have died.

In Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, and South Carolina, where official figures showed a decline in Negro registration, the number of qualified white voters also dropped.

An estimated 25 per cent of the eligible Negroes were registered in the South in 1956, as compared to 60 per cent of the white citizens of voting age. The 1958 total represents about the same percentage, a little over 25 per cent of the Negroes of voting age at the time of the 1950 census. (Interim population figures do not have an age breakdown.)

The number of registrants who actually vote lowers the score of the region's political participation even more. For example, of some 20,000 Negroes registered in Mississippi, officials there estimated that only 8,000 had paid the poll tax and only about 7,000 voted in 1956.

The South continues to lag generally behind the rest of the country in the percentage of eligible citizens who vote. The one party system and the thousands of Negroes who do not or cannot vote are contributing factors. In the 1956 presidential election the percentage of adults of voting age who cast their ballot ranged from the top of 77.3 per cent in Idaho and 76.6 in Connecticut to the lowest percentages in the 11 Southern states. They ranked 38-48 in this order:

	Per Cent Voting
Florida	48.4
North Carolina	47.6
Tennessee	46.0
Arkansas	39.9
Louisiana	39.3
Texas	38.0
Virginia	34.2
Georgia	30.4
Alabama	28.4
South Carolina	24.5
Mississippi	22.1

Black Belt

While only 25 per cent of the Negro voting age population is registered in the South as a whole, many areas have a long way to go to reach even this proportion. Discrimination against Negroes traditionally has tended to be strongest in those areas where the ratio of Negroes to whites is highest. It is there Negroes often experience the greatest difficulty in registering.

Mississippi, the state with the highest proportion of Negroes, has the fewest Negro voters in the South, both in total numbers and in percentage. Thirty Mississippi counties are over 50 per cent Negro. According to the best reports available, not more than 2,200 Negroes are registered in 28 of these counties; in the other two, about 2,500 are registered, or a total of 4,700 in all 30 counties. Half of all Mississippi's 82 counties had, in 1955 (and the situation is not believed to have improved), less than one per cent of the Negroes over 21 registered.

Twelve Alabama counties have populations over 50 per cent Negro. Yet the median percentage of voters in these counties who are Negroes is only four per cent.

In North Carolina, nine counties (excluding Robeson with its large Indian population) are over 50 per cent non-white. Registration figures for 1958 were unavailable for these counties and were not obtainable for one of them in 1956. The other eight had in 1956 a total of 5,835 registered Negro voters, which represented nine per cent of the Negro population over 21 in those counties.

Sixteen counties in Virginia have populations over 50 per cent Negro. In these, the median percentage of registered voters who are Negro is 22.7.

Twenty-one of the 46 counties in South Carolina have populations over 50 per cent Negro. The median percentage of registered Negro voters in these counties is 10.7.

Forty Georgia counties have populations 50 per cent or more Negro. Their median percentage of registered Negro voters is 11.3.

Two Florida counties are over 50 per cent Negro. In one, Negroes comprise less than one per cent of the registered voters, in the other 12.4.

Most of these counties are in a rough arc extending from southside Virginia to east Texas—the old plantation country, or Black Belt. Here is to be found still the highest ratio of Negroes, though their numbers are diminishing through migration to the cities of the South, North, and West. This historic agricultural region has lost much of its economic importance, but not its political dominance. The old Black Belt, which, through inequitable legislative apportionment dominates the politics of several states and heavily influences the politics of others, is the area of highest Negro concentration of population, and of discrimination.[4]

In South Carolina, for example, both the current president pro-tem of the state Senate and the Speaker of the House are from a county 60 per cent Negro in population and 10 per cent Negro in registration. Eighteen

[4]Rural dominated legislatures are not, of course, confined to the South. *The Associated Press,* July 20, 1959, found that in at least 20 states groups of legislators—usually rural—represent a minority of their state's population yet hold a majority of the legislative seats.

of 34 chairmen of standing committees in the Senate are from the 21 counties with over 50 per cent Negro population.

In Georgia, the county unit system gives even greater weight to the political influence of Black Belt counties. Under the system, the state's eight largest counties each have three state representatives and six unit votes in state primaries. The next 30 largest have two seats in the House and four unit votes each. The remaining 121 counties have one seat and two unit votes each. The 40 counties of over 50 per cent Negro population include only three four-vote counties; the rest have two unit votes. They have, therefore, 43 seats in Georgia's lower house and 86 unit votes. Their total population is an estimated 410,000. Fulton County, which includes most of Atlanta, has a population of 571,600, substantially more than the entire 40; yet it has but three seats and six unit votes. The political domination of rural counties of high Negro population is even more marked when it is remembered that the above classification does not include neighboring counties which often have Negro population percentages in the forties.

In Florida, the apportionment of seats in the state legislature gives control to those sections of the state which are most adamant in curtailing Negro voting. Hugh D. Price has written:[5]

> In both houses (of the Florida legislature) a majority of the members are elected by counties containing less than one-fifth of the state's population. In the lower house the bias in favor of the smaller counties is written into the constitutional formula for apportionment. In the senate, which can draw its own districts provided only that no county shall be divided, the bias is also in favor of the smaller counties and particularly of the North Florida rural counties. Five of the 11 smallest districts are located entirely within the race-conscious Suwannee-Apalachiocola River region. Although many of the counties in this area have relatively high proportions of Negro population, they are the counties where Negro registration is least and white supremacy sentiment greatest.[6]

As an additional illustration, it can be seen in the following figures that nearly all of the counties in the South where there is complete disfranchisement of Negroes are counties of heavy Negro population:[7]

[5]Hugh D. Price, *The Negro and Southern Politics: A Chapter of Florida History*, N. Y., 1957, p. 103.

[6]The 1959 session of the Florida legislature enacted a re-apportionment plan which, in the form of a constitutional amendment, will be submitted to the voters in November, 1959.

[7]This listing is based on the best available information. There are other counties with only a few, or even one or two, Negro voters. These counties are scarcely superior to the ones listed but nevertheless there is a difference: where there are no voters at all, there is an indication of either uncompromising discrimination, extreme apathy, or both. The counties in which there are either no Negroes or only very few, have not been listed. Although there are no reliable figures available for Haywood County, Tenn., it is listed on the basis of long standing reports from political observers in that state.

County	State	Population % Negro	Number of Negro Voters
Botetourt	Virginia	9	0
McCormick	South Carolina	64	0
Baker	Georgia	64	0
Webster	"	66	0
Lafayette	Florida	7	0
Liberty	"	21	0
Union	"	33	0
Lowndes	Alabama	82	0
Wilcox	"	79	0
Haywood	Tennessee	62	0
Carroll	Mississippi	62	0
Chickasaw	"	43	0
Clarke	"	42	0
George	"	12	0
Humphreys	"	72	0
Issaquena	"	60	0
Jefferson	"	75	0
Lamar	"	15	0
Montgomery	"	46	0
Noxubee	"	72	0
Pearl River	"	24	0
Tallahatchie	"	65	0
Tate	"	60	0
Walthall	"	45	0
Wayne	"	37	0
East Carroll	Louisiana	61	0
Madison	"	67	0
Tensas	"	65	0
West Feliciana	"	73	0

The observation that discrimination against Negro voters goes hand in hand with a high Negro-to-white population ratio requires several qualifications:

1. Marked discrimination also occurs in some localities where the Negro-to-white population is low. The above list, for example, shows counties with as low as seven to nine per cent Negro populations maintaining all-white registration lists.

2. Negro registration is high in several localities of large Negro population because of factional politics; there Negroes are registered and encouraged to vote in support of one faction.

3. Of greater importance, there are cultural differences even within the Black Belt which are reflected in more permissive racial attitudes by the white population. For example, voter registration by Negroes tends to be higher in coastal areas. This can be seen along the Georgia coast's five

counties (excluding metropolitan Chatham County) where Negroes register in substantial numbers:

Georgia Coastal Counties	*Population % Negro*	*Registration % Negro*
Bryan	40	29
Liberty	59	54
McIntosh	62	47
Glynn	31	22
Camden	47	35

Another cultural difference is worth noting, although it affects only one state. Louisiana consultants demonstrated in the 1956 voting study that French Catholic parishes of Louisiana are generally more tolerant toward their Negro citizens than are the other parishes.

The Cities

The discussion so far has centered on the rural South. Increasingly, however, Negroes are moving to the cities. In Virginia, over half of the Negro registrants reside in the state's 32 independent cities, although considerably less than half of the Negro population is in those cities. Only about three-eighths of Virginia's white voters are in the cities.

Duval County (Jacksonville) and Dade County (Miami) have about one-third of Florida's Negro voters, about one-fourth of the state's Negro population. Over one-third of Georgia's Negro citizens and voters live in the eight largest counties of the state. Shreveport, Baton Rouge, and New Orleans have about one-third of the Negro voters of Louisiana.

Even where discrimination is highest, what Negro vote there is tends to be urban. In Alabama, about one-half of the total Negro vote is in the cities. In Mississippi, perhaps one-third of the Negro voters are in the three counties in which are located Jackson, Meridian, Biloxi, and Gulfport.

However, Negroes have not found it uniformly easy to register in all Southern cities, for there are variations in the urban areas just as there are within the Black Belt. But, since the natural tendency of an urban environment is toward a more tolerant racial atmosphere, it seems plausible to regard such cities as Atlanta and Jacksonville as more indicative of a future trend than, say, Birmingham. The first two have relatively high Negro voting participation, but in the latter the political status of Negroes is scarcely superior to that of their country cousins.

Discrimination

FOR NEGROES in some sections of the South, an attempt to exercise their right of franchise as Americans seemed a greater risk in 1958 than at any time since the outlawing of the white primary in 1944.

After the 1954-55 school desegregation rulings of the Supreme Court the white South's resistance to change intensified. A report on the increased tensions of the area, 1955-58, found 530 cases of violence, reprisal, and intimidation in the aftermath of the Court's decisions.[1]

"In the past four years, the South experienced a widespread erosion of individual liberties," the report concluded.

The threats and illegal activities aimed at individual Negroes and whites who questioned the South's tradition of segregation undoubtedly deterred other Negroes from asserting their rights, including the right to vote. An instance of racial violence in the South is rarely an isolated event —it serves as a reminder to Negroes that what has happened can happen again.

To many Negroes the long range rewards for voting scarcely seemed worth the risk. Too often they still could make a choice only between equally vociferous racists, waving the banner of white supremacy. Too often, also, they were excluded from the inner circle of local political parties, had no hope of one of their race winning elective office nor promise of immediate, concrete benefits from their vote. It was not surprising that many were unwilling to face possible threats to their jobs and credit, their homes and even their personal safety.

To Negroes in the more depressed rural areas, the turmoil during the period of transition in the South from an old to a new order only increased their problems. With low education and economic levels and the opportunity to improve either one lagging behind that of the white community, the emphasis on bread before ballots remained.

But there were other Negroes who forged ahead in their efforts to vote. Some cleared the first hurdle of registration only to find their efforts wasted. Others were frustrated in every attempt. What methods were used to disfranchise Negro Southerners?

PURGES

One method was the purging of Negroes from registration rolls in Louisiana, largely at the prompting of the Citizens Councils. Restricting,

[1] *Intimidation, Reprisal and Violence in the South's Racial Crisis,* published by the Southeastern Office, American Friends Service Committee; Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America; and the Southern Regional Council, 1959.

or even wiping out, Negro registration has been an aim of the segregationist White Citizens Councils which have sprung up across the South since 1954. They have been particularly successful in Louisiana. It has been easy for them in a number of rural parishes (counties) to "find mistakes" in practically all Negro registrations. The account of the purge in Ouachita Parish, which is included in this report, offers an example of how the group worked.

Purges were conducted in at least 12 parishes in Louisiana. Within a period of several months in 1956-57 alone about 10 to 11,000 voters, mostly Negroes, were dropped from voting rolls. The following percentages are an illustration of their effectiveness:

PERCENTAGE CHANGE IN VOTER REGISTRATION IN 12 PURGE PARISHES, MARCH 1956 TO MARCH 1958

	Negro	*White*		*Negro*	*White*
Bienville	—95	—11	Natchitoches	—52	—36
Concordia	—71	—42	Ouachita	—87	— 9
DeSoto	—36	— 1	Red River	—99	—45
Franklin	—51	—31	Richland	—76	—40
Grant	—39	—18	Union	—77	—43
Jackson	—68	— 9	Webster	—95	—36

Of these 12, all in the northern half of the state, four have populations over 50 per cent Negro—Bienville, Concordia, DeSoto, and Red River—according to the 1958 population estimates. Three—Grant, Ouachita, and Jackson—are 16-33 per cent Negro and the others from one-third to one-half Negro.

In each case, both Negro and white registration fell, although the latter less sharply. By contrast, in 10 representative non-purge parishes, Negro registration increased in three and six had only a small drop. In the same 10, white registration increased in four, showed no change in one and fell in the other five. These 10 non-purge parishes:

PERCENTAGE CHANGE IN 10 REPRESENTATIVE NON-PURGE PARISHES, MARCH 1956 TO OCTOBER 1958

	Negro	*White*		*Negro*	*White*
Beauregard	— 7	— 9	Jefferson	+11	+13
Bossier	— 5	+16	Orleans	— 2	—10
Caddo	—19	+ 5	St. James	+ 3	0
East Baton Rouge	+ 4	+ 6	St. Martin	— 3	—16
Evangeline	— 6	— 3	Tangipahoa	— 7	— 3

Asst. Atty. Gen. Warren Olney III, in a letter (Feb. 27, 1957) to Rep. Emanuel Celler, chairman of a House Judiciary subcommittee, told of some of the findings of federal investigators in Louisiana. After outlining state laws which require that a registrant be notified if he is challenged, Olney wrote:

"In none of the 10 parishes which were the subject of FBI investigations did the registrar make it a practice to send a form of reply affidavit to the challenged registrant. On the contrary, investigations in Bienville, Caldwell, DeSoto, Jackson, LaSalle, and Ouachita Parishes disclosed that the registrar in those parishes did everything to discourage the filing of reply affidavits in the statutory form and generally refused to accept them when offered.

"In Ouachita Parish the registrar refused to accept as witnesses on behalf of a challenged voter, bona fide registered voters of the parish who were not from the same precinct as the challenged voter. She also refused to accept as witnesses bona fide registered voters who had themselves been challenged. She also refused to accept as witnesses registered voters who had already witnessed to the qualification of another challenged voter.

"In Caldwell Parish the registrar refused to accept witnesses on behalf of a challenged voter unless they were accompanied by a law enforcement officer and a member of the Citizens Council to identify them. He even refused to accept white persons as witnesses for Negro voters on the grounds that the witnesses were of a different race from the race of the challenged voter.

"In Bienville Parish, where 560 of the 595 registered Negro voters were challenged, the registrars consistently refused to accept affidavits on behalf of registered voters which were in the statutory form and, as a result, the names of every one of the challenged Negro voters were stricken from the voting rolls.

"In Jackson Parish, where 953 of the 1,122 Negro voters were challenged, the registrar also refused to accept for filing, affidavits on behalf of challenged voters . . . As a result, all of the challenged Negro voters, with the exception of two who were physically disabled and therefore unable to fill out voter application cards, were stricken from the rolls.

"In a number of parishes when challenged Negro registrants came to the registrar's office in response to the challenging citation, they were told by the registrar that they would have to see a private attorney in order to get the matter straightened out.

". . . With respect only to cases which have been investigated by the

FBI, the following numbers of Negro voters were challenged in each of the following parishes:

Bienville	560	LaSalle	345
Caldwell	330	Lincoln	325
DeSoto	383	Ouachita	3,240
Grant	758	Rapides	1,058
Jackson	953	Union	600."

Olney said a Federal grand jury in Louisiana heard evidence during December, 1956, and January and February, 1957, in connection with civil rights violations in Caldwell, DeSoto, and Grant Parishes but that no indictments were returned. On that occasion, a Justice Department attorney outlined evidence relating to cases in Bienville, Jackson, and Ouachita Parishes. The grand jury, after deliberating in private, announced there was no possibility of indictments in the three cases and went on record as not desiring to hear any testimony concerning them.

Meanwhile, indications that the purges are continuing in Louisiana came from State Sen. William M. Rainach, chairman of the Joint Legislative Committee on Segregation. Rainach, who resigned as head of the Association of Citizens Councils of Louisiana to run for governor, announced he intends to purge 100,000 of the state's approximately 130,000 Negro registrants from the rolls of qualified voters. In the summer of 1959 he moved into Opelousas, seat of St. Landry Parish, and said his purge there will be a test of what he will do elsewhere. He added that only 700 of some 7,000 Negroes registered in the parish were qualified to vote. Rainach said he had requests from 15 other parishes for similar purges.

Slowdown

Another method of reducing Negro political influence is the slowdown. Caddo Parish, site of Shreveport, largest city in northern Louisiana (Pop. 160,000), offered an outstanding example of the technique. The slowdown—raising barriers which cause Negro registration to slow to a mere trickle—began there in 1958.

The Caddo Parish Citizens Council met in August, 1956, and decided not to attempt a purge of Negro voters. It said a check showed there were not enough incorrect registrations to warrant a purge. However, in the purge parishes most determined investigators could manage to find a mistake in practically all Negro registrations. It was more likely that in an area containing a large urban center, the White Citizens Council was forced to moderate its techniques. No purge has been carried out in a parish containing a large metropolitan area.

(The Louisiana consultant for this report said Monroe, in Ouachita

Parish, was no exception to this, since Monroe has remained provincial during the past 20 years when other Louisiana cities such as Shreveport were developing an urban culture.)

In an urban area located in a plantation culture, like Shreveport, segregationists can advocate the continuance of most forms of segregation, but they are on somewhat shaky ground in advocating the more extreme disfranchisement of Negro voters. Before 1958, after their initial registration, Negroes experienced little difficulty in registering. Nevertheless, the number of Negro registrants was low, primarily because of lack of interest and leadership and the absence of any faction seeking their votes. Then, in early 1958, the United Christian Movement, a group composed mostly of ministers, organized a campaign to increase the number of Negro voters. Instruction classes were held, and eventually 2,000 more Negroes were on the voting rolls. Their difficulties began with this campaign and the appointment of a new registrar. The registrar before 1958 had imposed few difficulties for potential Negro voters.

Dr. C. D. Simpkins, Shreveport dentist who heads the United Christian Movement, said he has in his files about 200 documented cases in which Negroes were impeded in their attempts to register. Two tactics were used frequently: (1) Computing of exact age. If a registrant made a mistake in the calculation of his age in years, months and days, this was considered justification for rejection. (2) Establishment of identification.

An example of the extremes to which the second tactic can be carried came from a Negro woman:

a. On her first trip to the registrar's office she was asked to establish her identity. A doctor's receipt dated 1956, receipts from a mail carrier dated 1957 and 1958, and two hospital receipts dated 1948 and 1958 were not allowed as evidence.

b. She made a second trip the same day to present written identification from friends and neighbors. They were not accepted.

c. The following day she returned to ask what kind of identification would be admitted and was asked to bring a registered voter.

d. The same day she did bring a registered voter but was told that a Negro would not do but that a white voter might establish her identity.

e. She then returned with a white store owner and a white notary. Even this identification was deemed insufficient, although after some delay she finally was allowed to register.

The process usually is not so difficult, but applicants often are required to make an extra trip or two and go to a great deal of trouble to

secure identifying documents. Needless to say, many are discouraged after one trip and still others, hearing of the troubles they can expect to encounter, will not even try to register.

How effective was the slowdown? Despite the registration drive, the number of Negro eligible voters in Caddo Parish dropped 19 per cent between March 1956 and October 1958. In the same period the number of eligible white voters rose five per cent.

Refusal

Although registrars who were determined to deny Negroes their right to vote usually could find some technicality for refusing registration, occasionally they didn't bother to advance a reason.

The Rev. W. D. Ridgeway, pastor of the Trulight Baptist Church, Hattiesburg, Miss., told the 1957 Senate subcommittee hearing on civil rights he had been a minister for 31 years and added:

"I have lived in Forrest County, Miss., for more than 30 years, honoring and obeying the many ordinances and statutes enacted by the state, county, and city governments; paying promptly taxes—state, county, and municipal—to enjoy the privileges of a citizen of a great country and state. I have constantly taught and preached good citizenship for many years. However, even until this day, I have not been permitted to register and vote like other Americans . . .

"The glaring disgrace of Forrest County, Miss., is the uncontested fact that of the 12,958 Negroes in the county, less than 25 have been permitted to register and vote. Included in the remaining 12,933 Negroes are doctors, teachers, preachers, and laymen who are disfranchised simply because they are Negroes.

"On Oct. 16, 1956, I was flatly refused the right to register along with 17 other Negroes who were in the office of the registrar at the same time that I was. Again and again, I have gone to qualify myself so that I might be eligible, along with many other Americans, to cast a vote for federal and state officials, only to find myself and other Negroes turned down.

"It is always so confusing to me and other Negroes in my county and state to explain to our children when they ask the simple question, 'Why is it so easy for foreigners to spend only five years in America and Mississippi, then enjoy all of the freedoms and privileges that our United States Constitution calls for, but, on the other hand, native-born Negro Americans and Mississippians are denied the very basic guaranties that our Constitution provides—the right to vote and petition one's government without intimidations and economic reprisals? We cannot answer the above question . . ."

In all the Southern states which permit or require tests to determine literacy or knowledge of government functions the question must be answered "to the satisfaction of the registrar." Where the law is administered fairly, it can be merely a method of determining the qualification of all applicants but to the registrar determined to limit voting by Negroes, it can be a powerful weapon of discrimination.

However, some Negroes, particularly those in rural areas and small communities, are hesitant about trying to register and not only because of discriminatory literacy tests. Some have been threatened, like those in Lowndes County, Miss., who received anonymous letters reading: "Last warning. If you are tired of living, vote and die." At the same time (1956) 52 of a possible 9,200 Negroes there were registered.[2]

Or, prospective registrants may face economic reprisals like the Negro sharecroppers in McCormick County, S. C., who could not find white buyers for their produce, or the Negro businessmen in Humphreys County, Miss., who could not get credit. Some Negroes have lost their jobs for trying to register. Others have faced violence, as in Liberty County, Fla., where all but one of the first 10 Negroes in the county's history took their names off the voting list in 1956 after a series of cross-burnings, bomb throwings, and shots fired into their homes.[3] In 1958, no Negroes were registered in the county.

[2]*The Reporter*, June 27, 1956.

[3]*Time Magazine*, July 29, 1957.

New Laws and the Courts

In 1957 Congress enacted the first civil rights legislation since the post-Civil War years. This did not bring immediate benefit for prospective Negro voters, but rather the voice of defiance from officials in parts of the South.

Negroes themselves were slow to file well-documented complaints with the new Civil Rights Commission. This was due in part to Negro fears, general political apathy in the South and Negro concentration on school desegregation. However, by April 1959, in hearings before a House subcommittee on Appropriations, the Commission reported it had received the following voting complaints from the South:[1]

	Total	*Sworn*	*Unsworn*
Alabama	119	104	15
Arkansas	6	—	6
Florida	14	12	2
Georgia	1	—	1
Louisiana	95	88	7
Mississippi	41	40	1
North Carolina	2	1	1
South Carolina	3	—	3
Tennessee	7	1	6
Texas	1	—	1
Virginia	2	—	2
TOTALS	291	246	45

The Civil Rights Act of 1957 set up the Civil Rights Commission and gave it authority to investigate the status of civil rights anywhere in the nation. The Commission has the power to subpoena witnesses and hold hearings to obtain information, but no enforcement powers. The subpoena power is backed by the authority of federal courts to punish refusals by issuing contempt citations. The Commission is charged with reporting its findings and recommendations for additional legislation to the President and Congress.

The 1957 act also created a new Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department which can seek court orders to enforce voting rights, although it does not have subpoena powers.

Alabama—The Civil Rights Commission met its first major test in Macon County, Ala. This rural county, home of noted Tuskegee Institute for Negroes and Negro-staffed Veterans Administration Hospital, has a popu-

[1]From the nation as a whole, including the South, 310 complaints were received, 253 of them sworn.

laction 85 per cent Negro—the highest percentage of non-whites of any Southern county. However, only about 28 percent of Macon's registered voters are Negroes.

The Tuskegee Civic Association reported that 1,110 Negroes and 3,016 white persons were registered in 1958. Since the total white population was estimated at 4,671 in 1957, this meant that almost all white citizens over 21 had registered. The disproportionately low number of Negro registrants is despite the fact that Macon County ranks first in Alabama both in the number of Negro high school and college graduates.

Negroes in Macon County have fought a long battle for their right to vote. At a hearing in Montgomery, Ala., in December, 1958, witnesses told the Civil Rights Commission their efforts have been thwarted by a series of delaying and evasive tactics. They told of pitfalls for Negroes who are required to read and copy sections of the Constitution "to the satisfaction of the registrars;" of the failure of registrars to take applications from Negroes on several regular registration days, and of the Board's policy of allowing an individual Negro to vouch for only two applicants a year. (Alabama requires that a qualified voter vouch for an applicant.) The witnesses told how, when these methods lost their effectiveness, the board either would resign or meet in a place undisclosed to Negroes.

William P. Mitchell, chairman of the Voter Franchise Committee of the Tuskegee Civic Association, said that in the previous eight years 1,585 Negro applications for registration were made but only 510 granted. He added that hundreds more appeared to file applications but could not do so because only two Negroes were allowed to apply simultaneously in a small, separate room. Mitchell estimated that at the present rate of issuing certificates to Negroes, it would require 203 years to register the approximately 13,000 unregistered Negroes in Macon County then over 21. This estimate did not take into account the yearly increase of population.

The Commission had subpoenaed voting officials of Macon and five other rural, south central Alabama counties—Barbour, Bullock, Dallas, Wilcox, and Lowndes, all with a Negro population of from 53 to 82 per cent. They were ordered to bring with them voting records for the past three years. However, state and county officials refused to produce records and in several instances refused to testify.

Circuit Court Judge George Wallace, unsuccessful pro-segregationist candidate for governor, had seized the records of Barbour and Bullock a month earlier, claiming they were needed for a grand jury investigation of voting frauds. Two days before the Commission met, grand juries impounded the records of Dallas, Wilcox, and Lowndes. The Commission

received records from Macon County but they showed only the names of voters already registered and contained none of the requested information about prospective voters who were turned down.

The Commission ended its hearing with a request to the Justice Department for a court order to open voting records in the recalcitrant counties.

Two days later, U. S. District Judge Frank M. Johnson, Jr., in Montgomery, ordered the defiant counties to produce registration records and issued subpoenas to Circuit Judge Wallace and five registrars in Macon, Barbour, and Bullock counties. Shortly thereafter, the two subpoenaed Macon County registrars resigned and said they would then appear before the Commission since they were no longer registrars and had no records in their possession. In January 1959, in a compromise settlement, state authorities agreed to let the Commission look at registration books without removing them from custody of the registrars in Bullock, Barbour, and Macon counties. No mention was made of the other three counties where records were impounded by grand juries. None of the officials of these three had refused to testify at the December hearings.

Subsequently, Wallace turned the registration records of Barbour and Bullock over to grand juries before leaving office. His action resulted in a contempt of court charge, but Federal Judge Johnson acquitted him, ruling that Wallace had in fact complied with the court order, though by "devious" means. (The county grand juries had opened the records to Commission examiners.)

The Commission released a report July 31, 1959, which Director Gordon M. Tiffany said showed "a consistent pattern of denial of equal protection of the laws as regards voting in six Alabama counties" (Macon, Barbour, Bullock, Dallas, Lowndes, and Wilcox).

The report included testimony taken in executive session from four staff members who had examined voting records in the counties involved. They testified that a double standard was used by some Alabama registrars when considering Negro applicants for registration. Negroes, they said, often were disqualified for minor mistakes that did not generally disqualify white applicants. For example, they told of Negro applicants being turned down for writing the letters "M" or "S" instead of "married" or "single;" of one who gave the month and year he became a resident but was rejected because he left out the day.

They said a spot check of accepted applications showed that 16 persons were registered who had made the same type of mistakes as those rejected. Fifteen of the 16 accepted were white. Three of those registered had left blank a question on whether they would "give aid or comfort to

the enemies of the United States Government or the Government of the State of Alabama."

The Justice Department, which made its own independent investigation of Macon County complaints, filed a suit in Montgomery Feb. 6, 1959, charging that voting officials in Macon County discriminated against Negroes. Judge Johnson dismissed the suit, which would have required the Macon registrars to enroll 13 Negroes the Department contended were qualified.

Central legal problem in the case was the resignation of the registrars before the suit was filed. The Justice Department argued that under Alabama law the resignations could not be effective until successors qualified. Alternatively, in case the resignations were held legal, the state of Alabama was named co-defendant. Judge Johnson ruled that the registrars had resigned legally and that the Civil Rights Act allowed the Department to seek injunctions only against individuals, not states. He was upheld in June, 1959, by the United States Court of Appeals in New Orleans. The Justice Department announced that the decision will be appealed to the Supreme Court.

In February, 1959, the Alabama legislature, without a dissenting vote, passed an act authorizing registration boards to destroy their records. Specifically, boards could destroy questionnaires completed by applicants at the end of the 30-day limit for appealing a board ruling.

Georgia—On Sept. 4, 1958, the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice filed a suit in U. S. District Court against the Board of Registrars of Terrell County, Ga. It was the first suit filed under Section 131 of the Civil Rights Act of 1957. This section gives the Attorney General of the United States the right to institute a suit in behalf of citizens denied the right to vote.

The suit asked for an injunction prohibiting registrars from applying stricter literacy standards to Negroes and from delaying applications by Negroes. It sought registration certificates for five Negroes, four of them college graduates. The government charged they were denied the right to register by discriminatory use of a literacy test.

The Justice Department also indicated the five instances were part of a systematic exclusion of Negro voters. The complaint said there were only 48 registered Negroes of 5,036 of voting age but that 2,679 of the 3,233 eligible white citizens were enrolled. (The Secretary of State's office reported 2,810 registered white voters in Terrell in 1958.)

On Jan. 26, 1959, Federal Judge T. Hoyt Davis dismissed the suit. He ruled that the injunctive clause of the 1957 Civil Rights Act violated states'

rights and was unconstitutional. The Justice Department appealed and the Supreme Court has agreed to review the case.

The suit was filed several months after Terrell County appeared in the news because of other racial problems. On June 8, 1958, Robert Baker reported in the *Washington Post and Times Herald* charges of police brutality, as well as of unsuccessful attempts by Negroes to register. Subsequently, federal investigators proposed indictments based on the deaths of two Negroes, the pistol wounding of another, the beating of one, and the allegedly illegal detention of a fifth. However, a federal grand jury refused the government's request to indict three policemen of Dawson, the county seat of Terrell.

Louisiana—Investigation of voting discrimination complaints from 68 persons in seven northern Louisiana parishes ran into legal snags also. There, in July, 1959, U. S. District Judge Ben C. Dawkins granted a temporary restraining order preventing the Civil Rights Commission from holding a scheduled hearing. At the same time, Judge Dawkins ordered a three-judge court to rule on the constitutionality of the Commission.

The judge granted the injunction to Louisiana Atty. Gen. Jack Gremillion, who filed the suit on behalf of 17 north Louisiana registrars subpoenaed to appear at the hearing. In charging the registrars were denied their constitutional rights, Gremillion claimed they were not informed of the nature and cause of the accusations against them nor allowed to confront their accusers. The government then asked the court to require those involved in the case to post bond but the request was denied.

Two weeks earlier, the Justice Department filed suit to stop the purge of Negro voters in Washington Parish in southeastern Louisiana. Named as defendants were the White Citizens Council of Washington Parish, four of its members and the parish registrar. The government said that during the previous seven months Negro registration in the parish was reduced from 1,517 to 236, as a result of challenges by Citizens Council members. The petition said that in the same period only 10 affidavits were filed questioning the voting rights of white persons. The complaint said that almost without exception the challenging affidavits were based on minor technical deficiencies. Under Louisiana law any two bona fide voters may challenge the right of another voter.

From the outset, investigators of voting rights complaints ran into problems in Louisiana. When one staff member of the Civil Rights Commission went to Webster Parish he found the registrar, who had the state attorney general sitting in as legal adviser, refused to turn over voter records. Although Negroes make up 37.1 per cent of the total population

of Webster, they represent one per cent of the registration; of the 8,277 registered voters there in 1958, only 80 were Negro.

The same investigator met a similar refusal in Caddo Parish.

Both registrars contended the investigator failed to comply with two points of state law necessary to obtain their records: he was not a registered voter of Louisiana and he had not obtained a petition signed by 25 Louisiana voters.

Mississippi—The Civil Rights Commission had a difficult time even getting started in Mississippi, one of the first three states where it announced it would investigate registration complaints. (Alabama and Florida were the other two.) When the Commission announced advisory groups would be set up in each state to work with it on civil rights problems, the word from a Citizens Council source in Mississippi was that "anyone who would accept an appointment would be considered a traitor to the South." In Washington, the Commission conceded it was having difficulty in getting a "well balanced" committee in Mississippi.

Florida—In Florida, where the Commission announced it would look into registration procedures, Gov. LeRoy Collins said he had no objection, so long as the investigation was carried out in a sound manner.

Edward D. Davis, president of the Florida Voters League, a nonpartisan Negro organization, said he had received no complaints at the time of the 1958 primary. Before that, however, Davis said Negroes complained of registration procedures in the four north Florida counties of Liberty, Lafayette, Union, and Gadsden. As the following figures show, Negroes are almost totally disfranchised in these counties:

	1958 Pop. White	*1958 Pop. Negro*	*Reg. White Voters*	*Reg. Negro Voters*	*Population % Negro*	*% Negroes Registered*
Gadsden	21,700	28,400	6,310	7	56.7	.11
Lafayette	2,600	200	1,902	0	7.1	0
Liberty	2,200	600	1,706	0	21.4	0
Union	7,100	3,500	2,598	0	33.0	0

The States—Since the Southern Regional Council's 1956 voting survey, no Southern state has eased its registration laws. Five states retain the poll tax—Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, Texas, and Virginia. More important, literacy tests which oculd be used to limit Negro registration remain in effect in Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, South and North Carolina, Mississippi, and Virginia.

Two states tightened registration laws—Virginia and Georgia.

Georgia passed a new registration law which some of its legislative sponsors frankly admitted was intended to discourage Negro voting. In

opposing the bill, the Georgia League of Women Voters claimed the measure would make unequal application possible in several respects:

(1) Every county could have a different voter application form.

(2) Some voters could register with only one trip to the registrar's office; others would have to make a trip to the clerk's office and the registrar's office also.

(3) Registrars could choose any section of the Georgia or U. S. Constitution for applicants to read and write but the law sets no standards of correctness.

(4) Answers were not provided with a set of 30 questions to ask the registrant nor was it made clear who would decide the correctness of the answers.

Virginia put a new "blank paper" registration law into effect in July, 1958. It requires new registrants to write from memory, on a blank sheet of paper, answers to 10 questions about age, residence, occupation, etc.

In North Carolina a 1957 state law provides for court appeals from the rulings of registrars. It requires applicants denied registration to file notice of appeal with the registrar the following day; appeals then can be carried to the county boards of elections, and on to the Superior Court and the state Supreme Court.

The Louisiana legislature defeated two bills of Gov. Earl K. Long which would have prevented the removal of any voter from the registration rolls who had been registered for more than 12 months, despite errors found in the registration, and another bill which stipulated that minor errors in the filing of an application would not disqualify the registrant.

Pending before the Alabama legislature was a constitutional amendment restoring the cumulative poll tax. In 1953 the poll tax law was modified, limiting past due taxes to two years, or $3. Previously, a voter might have had to pay as much as $36 in accumulated unpaid poll taxes before registering.

The Courts—In November, 1958, a three-judge Federal court dismissed a suit brought by a Negro minister, the Rev. H. D. Darby, who in effect contended that Mississippi registration laws were designed to be administered arbitrarily and were used to discriminate against Negroes. The NAACP announced the suit would not be appealed but would instead be referred to the Civil Rights Commission.

The Supreme Court of the United States denied the appeal of a Negro woman, Mrs. Louise Lassiter, to enjoin North Carolina registrars from using literacy tests if an applicant were otherwise qualified. In an unanimous decision, the court said the tests apply regardless of race and are "one fair way of determining whether a person is literate."

The Next Million

The Climate of Opinion

The disturbed atmosphere in much of the South, created by resistance to school desegregation, clearly has retarded the normal growth of Negro suffrage. The fear and hostility generated by demagogues have dampened both Negro initiative and white acceptance of Negro political participation.

While this troubled climate has not lowered the total number of Southern Negro registrants appreciably, two adverse effects may be attributed to it. First, it has slowed the evolutionary growth in Negro registration and voting that might have been anticipated in a calmer period.

A second effect of heightened racial feeling has been the artificial deflation in importance of the Negro vote. In normal times, when political campaigns are focused on practical issues, no serious office-seeker or faction will deliberately antagonize a sizable segment of voters, actual or potential.

That this principle works in the South, as well as elsewhere, is amply attested to by many campaigns of recent years, particularly in some of the larger cities. In these cases, the appeal to all voters, Negro as well as white, has become commonplace, accepted alike by candidates and the general population. Seldom, if ever, are Negro voters given preferential treatment, as the racists are wont to charge. But, in many instances, they have come to be regarded with the same degree of respect and consideration as other voters. In such situations, a Negro vote has equal value with any other, no more and no less.

By contrast, in many parts of the region, emotionalism surrounding the segregation issue has led to a sharper division of voters along racial lines. Extremists in and out of public office have based their political appeals on racial fears and antagonisms. By accusing their opponents of "wooing the Negro vote" or "catering to the NAACP," they have sought —with considerable success—to make support by Negro citizens a liability rather than an asset, because Negro support has proved in a number of instances insufficient to compensate for the resulting loss of white votes. Wherever this process has been effective, every Negro voter has seen his ballot artificially devalued. Negro voters are a minority in every state and in most communities. So long as politicians can persuade the electorate that the issue is white against black, Negroes will be denied the normal and proportionate benefits of the ballot.

This unhappy state of affairs is not likely to be permanent. If prior experience is any guide, no Southern electorate will remain indefinitely

preoccupied with fear of change as the overriding issue in every political conflict. Whenever, soon or late, the segregation-desegregation controversy abates, other more vital issues will come to the fore, and the votes of Negro Southerners will weigh no less heavily than others in the political scales.

In the long perspective, there is every reason to expect a steady, if gradual, increase in Negro political participation—along with rising economic and social status. However, no abrupt or dramatic rise in the number of Negro registrants seems likely in the foreseeable future. It probably would be unrealistic to expect this in a time of widespread racial tension. Instead, the next big breakthrough in the field of suffrage may well be the revitalization of the existing Negro vote in the South.

Political Consciousness

Many Negro leaders have repeated one theme with growing emphasis in recent years: Our political future rests in our own hands.

In a large sense, this is true, for the discriminatory climate and tactics outlined in this report are not uniformly present in the South. There are many areas where determined Negroes could register and vote in greater number.

This determination must spring, however, from an awareness of the power of the ballot, which in turn comes generally as social and economic status improves. Although the gap is narrowing gradually, Negroes still lag behind the white community in average education and income.

For almost half a century the South was allowed to operate under a "separate-but-equal" doctrine for its Negro citizens. Not until the mid-1940's, under the pressure of federal court action, did the South give serious consideration to the "equal" meaning of the doctrine. Since then, school facilities for Negroes have improved greatly, but the neglect of years has left its mark.

At the same time, Negroes have faced an uphill fight to improve their economic status. Many jobs still are closed to them and even the more qualified and competent too often can find only menial work. Credit still rests largely in the hands of white businessmen. Nevertheless, there is a growing body of Negro professional and business men and women. Development of this group is one of the factors which should lead to increased use of the ballot by Negro citizens.

Donald Strong, professor of political science at the University of Alabama, has drawn an analogy with various immigrant groups.[1] He said it was only when these had produced their own lawyers and prosperous mer-

[1]"The Future of the Negro Voter in the South," *The Journal of Negro Education*, Summer, 1957.

chants that they were able to command a respectful hearing in politics.

"Negroes, too, must develop a corps of middle-class leaders with substantial education and economic independence of whites," he added.

Migration

This leadership is most likely to flourish in metropolitan areas. There, too, Negroes experience the least difficulty in registering and voting. These factors point to a prospect of a growing number of Negro voters, since the South has seen a vast migration of Negroes from rural to urban communities.

Dr. Irene B. Taeuber of the Office of Population Research, Princeton University, has analyzed this migration.[2] A brief summary of some of her findings:

(1) In 1950 there were 8.7 million Negroes in the South, almost two and one-half times the number in the 15 slave-holding states in 1860.

(2) However, there also were 4.8 million Negroes in the North—more than there had been in all the Confederate States at the time of the Civil War.

(3) The five Southern states of Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Virginia had a Negro population of 4.5 million in 1910 and 4.6 million in 1950.

(4) Five Northern states—Illinois, Michigan, New York, Ohio, and Pennsylvania—had a Negro population of 566,000 in 1910 and 3.2 million in 1950. In the 40-year period, these five states absorbed half the increase in the Negro population of the country. Another fifth was absorbed by California, Florida, and Texas.

(5) By 1950, only a little more than one-fourth of the non-white population of the South was classified as rural farm.

Doctor Taeuber said that "the fundamental change in the Negro population was not the movement from South to North but the concentration in industrial sections of the country, including the South."

(However, she said this great migration seemed to be nearing an end, because the number of sharecroppers, the major source of supply for new urban labor, has dwindled. By 1954 there were only 160,000 farms operated by non-white sharecroppers in the South.)

Cities

In a number of cities in the South, Negro voters already are receiving attention from politicians. Negroes are credited with helping elect mayors

[2]Irene B. Taeuber, "Migration, Mobility and The Assimilation of the Negro," *Population Bulletin,* Population Reference Bureau, Inc., November 1958.

in at least three major cities—Atlanta, New Orleans, and Houston—in the past few years.

In the July 14, 1959, Democratic primary in Virginia Negroes in several urban centers showed more interest in voting than white citizens. The *Richmond News Leader* said 8,850 Negroes in that city, or 57 per cent of the number registered, voted as compared to only 34 per cent of the registered white citizens. In Charlottesville, 705, or more than half the registered Negro voters, went to the polls, contrasted with less than one-third of the eligible white voters.[3]

More Negro candidates are seeking political office. As early as 1951, Nashville, Tenn., elected two Negroes to the city council. In recent years, Negroes have been serving on Boards of Education in Greensboro, Durham, Winston-Salem, Atlanta, Houston, Nashville, and Knoxville. Chapel Hill, N. C., has had a Negro on the Board of Aldermen. In Charles City County, Va., Negroes served on the County Board of Supervisors, County Welfare Board, and the County School Board.

Admittedly, this sampling tells only part of the story. Many more have filed for office and been defeated. The road to political office remains a stony one for Negroes. However, the mere fact that a Negro is on the ballot sometimes—but by no means always—spurs other Negroes to qualify and vote. It also may bring out a larger than normal white vote in opposition.

Leadership

The quality and vigor of Negro leadership is one of the greatest forces in encouraging voting. Regionally, the two most active groups working to extend the franchise have been the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference, spearheaded by the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., of Montgomery, Ala., was formed in 1957 by Negro leaders throughout the South in a "crusade for citizenship." Its announced aim: to aid and encourage Negroes to register and vote, to gather facts, where resistance is met, and present them to duly constituted authorities.

The NAACP long has been active in encouraging Negroes to vote. In the past few years it has been increasingly busy with a growing number of other problems. It has been in the forefront of the court battles to protect the individual rights of Negroes and to achieve legal equality. At the same time, it has been the target of restrictive legislation which has hampered its work in several Southern states.

[3]Columnist Benjamin Muse, *Washington Post* and *Times Herald*, July 26, 1959.

Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP, is among those who believe that Negroes themselves hold the key to their political future.

"Negro citizens must prepare to present themselves in numbers to be qualified, and that preparation is their responsibility," Wilkins has said.[4]

"In reaching this conclusion there is no attempt here to underestimate the forces of resistance, the ignorance, trickery, fear, threats and physical assaults that have been employed and will continue to be employed. But their eradication will not be accomplished by some miracle out of the sky, some wished-for relief from a far off place; it will be downed primarily through the intelligence, diligence, persistence and courage of the population presently disfranchised."

Dr. Elston E. Roady of the Department of Political Science, Florida State University, has agreed that, "We may well have reached that plateau in the development of greater Negro participation in politics which demands greater efforts by Negroes themselves. The successful assault on the next mountain seems to rest largely in the hands of the Negro citizen in most areas.[5]"

[4]Roy Wilkins, "The Future of the Negro Voter in the United States," *The Journal of Negro Education,* Summer, 1957.

[5]*The Negro's Role in American Society,* Florida State University, 1958.

A Louisiana Parish: Wholesale Purge

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By 1956 Negro registration in Louisiana had attained a size insuring it substantial respect in state and local politics, its 18 per cent of total registration ranking as highest in the South. The processes of accommodation and compromise practiced in Louisiana politics out of respect to the Negro vote made state politics an important area of interracial communication.

Then came the purges. In eight months Negro registration was reduced by 10,000 at the same time that white registration was increasing. According to state Senator Rainach, Citizens' Council leader and chief political spokesman for the purges, the purge of Negro voters in Louisiana was designed to eliminate 90 per cent of Negro registration in Louisiana and its ultimate purpose was to "solve our segregation problem" and "make Louisiana a shining example to the nation on how to thwart the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People."

This is a report on the purge of Negro voters in the one parish of Ouachita. This particular parish has been selected for analysis for several reasons: Ouachita was the first of the parishes to embark upon the purge and its success in eliminating 5,000 Negro voters of the 5,700 registered tended to set the pattern for the purges which followed in the surrounding parishes. Ouachita's leadership in the purge resulted not only from its success in reducing Negro registration but also from its position as the most populous of the parishes, the site of the city of Monroe with about 50,000 population. Yet with the exception of the rather high degree of urbanism resulting from the presence of the city of Monroe, Ouachita is typical, culturally speaking, of the group of 13 parishes where an effort was made to reduce Negro registration. The story of the purge in Ouachita parish is thus a story of how it began and also a narrative typical of the purges in northern Louisiana.

THE SETTING OF THE PURGE

To know one of the purge parishes, like Ouachita, is to know something about all 13. Not only are they all contiguous but they have many cultural characteristics in common as well. Located in northern Louisiana in what is called the North Louisiana Uplands, Ouachita Parish takes its character partly from the nearby delta regions where a plantation cotton economy predominates, partly from the hill country which extends up to the parish.

Its estimated population in 1957 was 86,063, of whom 56,863 were white and 29,200 non-white.

The largest crop raised in Ouachita is cotton with over 10,000 acres being planted each year. Yet the parish is by no means a plantation type area since the cotton is raised for the most part on small or medium sized individual farms and there is a low rate of tenancy in the area. Beef cattle, dairying, and forest produce industries provide important supplementary incomes as does the truck farming which goes on in the area.

Ouachita is not, however, predominantly a rural parish since about 65 per cent of the population is classified as urban. The largest city is Monroe. Unlike some of the other cities of the state such as Shreveport and Baton Rouge, Monroe has not experienced the growth and industrialization characteristic of the rapidly growing areas of the South, and its position as an urban center is somewhat in decline. Industrially, it depends upon lumber and lumber industries and textiles and has not attracted the heavy industry nor the mass production manufacturing necessary for rapid development.

The relatively slow growth of Monroe has meant that social change has not been rapid either, and Monroe has not developed the style of life and values of an urban center but remains merely a capital of the provinces. To emphasize the small town quality of Monroe, one hears in New Orleans that a shot-gun could be blasted down the main street of Monroe at nine o'clock at night without hitting a soul—a statement not much exaggerated as this writer can testify.

The people of the Ouachita area have been characterized as yeomen farmers, and a sociological authority on Louisiana culture speaks of them as "hardy, independent, individualistic, God-fearing people who tend to be somewhat conservative in their approach to new ideas or practices."

Religiously, the area is Protestant and is dominated by the Baptist Church with only 10 per cent of the population adhering to the non-Protestant faiths of Catholicism or Judaism. Fenton and Vines have demonstrated in a study of Negro registration in Louisiana,[1] the importance of Catholic culture in creating a permissive climate for Negro registration and in weakening white supremacists' ideas on segregation. But in Ouachita, it is the role of the different Protestant congregations which is of decisive importance.

A prominent Protestant minister in Monroe, not a Baptist, has characterized the Baptists generally as not "ecumenically minded," that is, not organizationally cooperative with other Protestant religions in matters of faith and work of interest to all, and as "not much concerned with the witness of faith" as this concerns social problems such as race relations.

While it would certainly be premature to attribute causal factors to the religious environment of Ouachita, it should be remembered that in a culture which can be characterized as basically a church-going one the set of attitudes and values manifested by the churches are of some importance. In this instance the Baptist churches of Ouachita have provided a setting permitting favorable attitudes toward registration purges or other discriminatory racial attitudes.

In addition, the Baptist churches do not belong to the Ministerial Alliance, the organization of Protestant ministers which generally has worked for a more tolerant attitude on race relations and which tended to oppose the purge.

In politics, the voters of Ouachita as well as the other purge parishes have tended to follow the conservative politics of the Southern cotton plantation culture rather than the more populistic politics of the hill country. Dixiecrat, States' Rights, and other White Supremacy factions have always done well in Ouachita while the parish, in common with other purge parishes, has been relatively hostile to the Long family and its factional candidates. This hostility to Longism is significant since Long faction candidates have generally relied on the Negro vote, have wooed it in campaigns, and accordingly have shown a willingness to operate politically with Negro voters and a reluctance to resort to racial demagoguery in political campaigning. With the exception of the recent Mayor Cass of Monroe, who was aligned with the Long faction and did court the Negro vote, political figures popular in the purge parishes have generally been of the anti-Long faction of Louisiana politics, have not courted the Negro voters, but on the contrary have on occasion campaigned on the basis of appeals involving racial demagoguery.

Structure of Race Relations

Considering the violence with which the purge erupted in Ouachita, it is surprising to find that within the context of a segregated Southern town, race relations were considered "good" by both white and Negro community leaders. There were no records of police brutality, no incidents of any importance which could be pointed to as evidence of racial tension of an unusual nature. As Dr. Reddix, Negro dentist and leader of Monroe, put it, "I could walk down the streets of Monroe and not feel that I had to fight every white person I met." Much of the harmony of race relations in Monroe was due to the efforts made by Mayor Cass to accommodate Negroes in a small way into the life of Monroe and to improve Negro municipal facilities.

[1]Fenton, J. H. and Vines, "Negro Registration in Louisiana," *American Political Science Review*, September, 1957.

Under the Cass administration a Negro recreation center had been built, the Negro swimming pool improved, and two Negro policemen had been appointed to the Monroe police force and were serving without incident. The usual new schools had been erected for Negroes following 1954, but there were complaints by Negroes that the equipment and curriculum did not live up to the exterior appearance.

Social segregation in Ouachita's public facilities remains unchanged and while race demarcation signs have been removed in the buses the removal is more a matter of complying with distant court decrees than an indication that any ferment is occurring relative to a change in the segregation structure. For indeed there have been no challenges to the segregation structure such as suits for school, public transportation or recreation desegregation. There are no chapters of the NAACP, no Urban Leagues in Ouachita Parish and hence no formal structure to promote Negro aspirations. No Martin Luther King or other charismatic personality has arisen to inspire the Negro people to visions of equality or to lead them in the fight for their rights. The Negro people of Ouachita see the struggle for Negro rights in their particular case as some distance off and, in a region where traditionally the Negro has had a difficult life and lacked the opportunity to expect much more, were relatively satisfied with the achievements which had been made: the comparative lack of violence in race relations, the new Negro schools, and the respect achieved as a result of the power of the Negro vote.

Indeed, the main challenge to the traditional structure of race relations in Ouachita Parish has been political in nature. It is in the campaigns for local office, the structure of political support, in the day-to-day accommodations and communications—in short, in the extension of the powers of the ballot box—that the racial separatism and lack of communication so characteristic of the traditional pattern of segregation have been modified. While the challenges to segregation in the courts had been dormant, a more vital challenge, involving the desegregation of the whole democratic process, had been making great headway in the city of Monroe under the willing sponsorship of Mayor Cass, whose structure of political support and campaign methods involved appealing to Negro voters as well as whites.

The importance of this desegregation of the political process was fully realized by the chief instigators of the purge movement, the Citizens' Councils. In a statement released just two weeks before the start of the purge in Ouachita Parish, Senator Rainach, president of the state Citizens' Councils and head of the legislative "watch-dog" committee on segregation, spelled out in detail the concern of the white supremacists with the

importance of the Negro vote in state politics. Negro registration, the statement read, is "definitely well past the danger point," and the NAACP will trade its bloc of votes "with one group of white people and then another until no political faction feels it can be elected without the Negro support." In a later comment, Rainach emphasized the great importance of the purges to the segregationists: "From the long range standpoint our only hope in the segregation fight is to clear our rolls of all illegally qualified voters."

Rainach's statement is a clear reference to the prevailing pattern in Louisiana Parish politics which includes competition for the Negro vote. In all probability it was designed as a kind of pre-purge justification of the purges since it was released to all newspapers in the state and received wide attention. Two weeks after the Rainach statement the purge in Ouachita began.

The role of the Citizens' Councils in the purges has been prominent all along but was especially important in the initial motivations of the movement. The exact numbers and the membership composition of the Citizens' Councils remain an intriguing mystery. Membership is variously estimated in Ouachita Parish at from 500 (a Council estimate) to 150. Whatever its numbers and membership, its influence in Ouachita instigated the purge.

The challenges for all 5,700 Negro voters were prepared by members of the Citizens' Councils working in relays long hours in the registrar's office. It has been suggested, and is generally believed by community leaders in Ouachita Parish, that initially the purges were a conspiracy originating in the Citizens' Councils and only later received the wider support and application that they now have in northern Louisiana.[2]

In seeking to understand the purge of Negro voters one looks to the nature, the extent and circumstances of Negro registration. As in most of the larger cities of Louisiana registration in Ouachita began in the 1948-1949 period and took place with some pressures from Negro leaders but actually with a minimum of difficulty. By 1950 Negro registration was 2,300 and remained at less than 2,500 until interest in local political contests raised the figure to its pre-purge high of 5,700.

Proportionately, Negro registration in Ouachita ranked well below that of the white. While about three out of four whites eligible are registered to vote, less than half of the eligible Negroes were registered. To put it another way, Negroes make up 33 per cent of the total population of Ouachita but constituted only 19 per cent of the voter population. In

[2]An eye-witness account of the planning of the purge for another parish in the meeting of a Citizens' Council may be had by consulting the *Colfax Chronicle* published in Grant Parish, page one of the issue of October 12, 1956.

comparison with the other parishes of Louisiana Ouachita did not rank high with respect to the percentage of eligible Negroes registered. Classifying the parishes into four groups on the basis of Negro registration of potential registration (0-29, 30-49, 50-69, 70-100), Ouachita, with 40 per cent of the Negro potential voters registered ranked in the third lowest of the four groups.

Negro registration certainly could not be classified as either hyperactive or extremely interested but could be described at best as "somewhat apathetic." Despite the fact that before the purge there were several years of no hindrances to Negro registration the proportion of Negroes registered to vote from the potential registration was well below that of the white population of Ouachita.

The key to the fear of the Negro vote lies in its potential function as a balance of power factor and the strength of this as a political lever for gaining political and social ends. Although Negroes were only 19 per cent of the voting population of Ouachita, by voting as a fairly cohesive group, they could decisively influence almost any parish election. Exactly this kind of thing had happened in the city of Monroe, and Mayor Cass in treating them with respect, in improving Negro recreational facilities, and in hiring Negro policemen had earned the respect of the Negro voters. It was known that Cass could probably not be beaten unless the Negro vote were destroyed, and many persons in Ouachita say that the purge was initially an effort to defeat Cass who was coming up for reelection in May, 1956. As a result of the purge, Cass was beaten.

The Purge

Direct preparations for the purge of Negro voters in Ouachita Parish began in March, 1956, when from six to eight members of the Citizens' Councils, working in relays every day, began preparing the necessary forms by which every one of the 5,782 Negro voters would be challenged. By mid-April around 3,000 challenges were mailed, and when the great majority of the Negroes failed to gain retractions of the challenges, they were erased from the rolls. By May, when the mayor's race began, only 595 Negro voters were on the rolls.

The procedures by which the Negro voters were successfully purged involved a system of challenging voters, which put the burden upon the voter of demonstrating his proper registration. The system originated in a series of acts passed in 1940 by the Louisiana legislature, then interested in finding ways to reform elections by removing unqualified voters from the rolls. The acts were in part a reaction against the corrupt practices frequently seen in Louisiana and practiced by the adherents of the Long

factions and received the support of the good government groups in Louisiana.

The Acts provide (Louisiana Statutes 18: 132-134) that "upon an affidavit signed and sworn to in duplicate by any two bona fide registered voters to the effect that after reasonable investigation and on information or belief certain persons are illegally registered or have lost their right to vote in precinct, ward or parish" the registrar shall then notify the voter by mail. If within ten days of notification the voter produces an affidavit signed by three other registered voters of the parish attesting to the correctness of his registration, he may stay on the rolls. Otherwise, if the voter does not produce such a document ten days from notification, his name is removed.

As originally designed, the statute was intended to provide a means of challenging voters whose place and duration of residence were in question. And while it provides a kind of citizen challenge (two registered voters) it also provides for a citizen refutation of the challenge (three registered voters). Thus as written the statute provides for a relatively easy and casual challenge, but also for an easy refutation of the challenge.

The method of challenge used by the Citizens' Council, however, did not involve questions of residence but deviations from the "proper" method of filling out the entire registration form; e.g., any mistake in the calculation of age (which had to be put in years, months, and days), or writing "M" instead of "male" and "C" instead of "colored." And if there were none of these "mistakes" the challenged voter was told that the signature on the registration card didn't appear to be his signature, that his identity was questioned, that he was not who he said he was.

A few days after the challenges were mailed pandemonium prevailed at the courthouse in Monroe. Hundreds of Negro voters jammed the registrar's office and overflowed onto the courthouse lawns with the intention of refuting the challenges. The strategy of the registrar's office then involved several procedures. First, the processing of challenges was slowed to a mere trickle by assigning only one or two persons in the office to deal with the challenges and by requiring that a single line of Negroes be formed, and by delaying the individual cases and dragging them out as much as possible. It is estimated that 1,400 or 1,500 persons tried to clear their registration during the first few days after the challenges. Secondly, the proofs required by the registrar for refuting the challenges were stiffer than those listed in the statutes. Negroes were not allowed to sign affiidavits for other Negroes because they had been challenged, so initially Negro voters had to secure signatures from white friends and employers. After the first voters were cleared, they could then sign for others chal-

lenged. Then the registrar's office required that signers to the affidavit must reside in the same precinct, a requirement definitely not to be found in the statutes. This further slowed down the process.

Some Negro voters were urged by the clerks in the registrar's office to forget about refuting the challenges and to go ahead and re-register as the simplest course of action. However, when quite a few voters, on this recommendation, attempted to re-register, they were confronted with questions concerning the interpretation of the constitution of Louisiana which in most cases they were said to fail.

By the time the ten days were up, 595 Negroes had managed to stay on the registration rolls and 5,187 or 90 per cent of all voters challenged were erased from the rolls. Although it is estimated by Negro leaders that around 1,600 went to the registrar's office in an attempt to stay on the registration rolls, less than half of these were able to do so, so obstructive and time-consuming were the methods employed by the office of the registrar.

During the controversy over registration only two groups in the white community gave or expressed sympathy to the beleaguered Negro voters. Initially the most effective opposition came from the local political faction headed by Mayor Cass and from James E. Noe, former governor of Louisiana and owner of a Monroe television station and member of the Cass faction. Mr. Noe on May 2 accompanied a group of Negroes to the registrar's office in an effort to expedite their filing of affidavits and while there actually came to blows, so the story goes, with an employee of the registrar's office. Later Noe issued a statement that, "If there are any ineligible voters I am 100 per cent for taking them off the rolls. But I am going to try every way possible to help everyone who is legally registered, white or Negro, to protect their franchise." Later Noe withdrew from the controversy, reportedly because of economic pressures imposed against him in the form of withdrawal of advertising from his television station.

The Monroe Ministerial Alliance, consisting of Methodist, Presbyterian and Episcopalian ministers, also opposed the purge and met with Negro ministers to discuss ways in which the situation could be remedied. The Ministerial Alliance later was responsible for a call to the Justice Department to investigate the situation, a move which led the Department in the latter part of 1956 to send several FBI agents into the purge parishes.

Other than the two groups mentioned, the Monroe white community tended to go along with the purge even if it did not actively participate. The Monroe newspapers owned by Colonel Ewing did not incite the purge but tended to report it as a legitimate clearing of the rolls of illegally registered voters, an attitude which is echoed by the editorial staff of the

Monroe *Morning World*. Interviews with various persons indicate that the purge gets a nod of approval from the man in the street who is likely to comment somewhat cynically that the purge was necessary after all because the Negroes do "bloc vote." A leading minister of Monroe declares that some of the prominent business and professional citizens of Monroe have serious reservations about the purge but, if they do, such opinions were not shown during the controversy and there was no organized action or sympathy other than that from the two groups mentioned.

Negro leadership during the purge was furnished chiefly by an organization formed during the purge and called the Guiding Voice. Three months after the purge began, by September, 1956, the Guiding Voice had a membership of over 50 business and professional leaders, was collecting money for a defense fund and seemed to be a satisfactory focus for Negro resistance which through the summer of 1956 had grown more determined and had captured the interest and devotion of much of the Negro community. Those active in the Guiding Voice, particularly its president Dr. Reddix, report that determination and interest in fighting the purge reached almost a "fever pitch" during the time the Guiding Voice was operating successfully. An office was set up to serve as headquarters for the organization, funds solicited with some success from the Negro community (at one time $1,800 was in the treasury) and meetings were held frequently to decide upon a defensive strategy.

Although initially some aid and encouragement was given to those Negroes trying to defend their registration, the decision was made early in the life of the Guiding Voice that the chief defensive strategy should be legal. Accordingly, a suit was filed in federal court in September, 1956 suing Mrs. Mae Lucky, the registrar, for $50,000 on behalf of Dr. John Reddix and attorney James Sharp. Mrs. Lucky refused to register Dr. Reddix, it was alleged; and, in the case of Sharp, it was complained that when he appeared at the registrar's office on behalf of a client whose registration was challenged, he was refused permission to inspect the cards in the office because he was a Negro, and was told that he would be waited on by her assistant in another room. The case for plaintiffs Sharp and Reddix was handled by lawyer Sharp while an array of legal representatives from the state Attorney General's office, including the parish district attorney, advised the defendant Mrs. Lucky.

During the course of the trial the full story of the purge was detailed by Sharp. Especially stressed were the facts that the purge was timed to coincide with the upcoming municipal election so that the registrar's office was closed May 12, ten days before the municipal primary on May 22.

In this way the office of registrar was not open to process any new registrants or handle any of the challenged voters.

In February Federal Judge Ben Dawkins handed down his opinion, in effect dismissing the suit and charging Reddix with bad faith, in emotional tones somewhat unusual for a federal judge: "Plaintiff's lack of good faith, in applying here for a declaratory judgment and an injunction . . . is shown plainly by his deliberate failure to seek re-registration since May 15, 1956 . . . His bad faith . . . his sheer stubborn vindictiveness . . . is doubly demonstrated by the fact that his wife applied for and actually was granted registration . . . he apparently prefers litigation to registration." The case was taken to the Court of Appeals where Judge Dawkins was overruled and the appellate court commented that the refusal to register Reddix represented "a shockingly unfair act by someone."[3]

The case involving the suit brought by attorney James Sharp against Mrs. Lucky was decided by Judge Dawkins against Lucky. After the Court of Appeals reversed and remanded the case, Judge Dawkins still denied the requested relief, because he found that the practice of segregation in the registrar's office had "been stopped voluntarily almost a month before this suit was filed"; he further remarged that the registrar had, in the purge period, segregated Negroes "for their advantage and convenience."[4]

Although Reddix *v.* Lucky was decided in favor of the plaintiff in that Reddix was held by the appellate court to have been illegally deprived of his registration, in a larger sense, the case represented defeat for the Negroes of Monroe since the court held also that there was no "class action" in the case. And since it was held that there was no class action, the ruling of the case was not applicable to the purge as such, but only to the case of Reddix.

After the defeat on the principle of class action in the Reddix case a virtual collapse of the Negro leadership in Monroe occurred. Those in the Guiding Voice had placed almost total reliance on this case, and its loss was taken as a great disappointment. In addition a bitter and highly personal quarrel developed between the two most active leaders, Reddix and Sharp, over the disposition of funds raised—to what extent these should be used in the payment of Sharp's fees and whether or not the Guiding Voice could maintain an office and a secretary or should operate more informally. Finally Sharp withdrew or was withdrawn from the case and Attorney Jesse Stone from Shreveport was called in to handle the retrial

[3]*Reddix v. Lucky,* 148 F. Supp. 108, 152 F. 2d 930.

[4]*Sharp v. Lucky,* 148 F. Supp. 8; 252 F. 2d 910; 165 F. Supp. 405.

of Dr. Reddix's case advocating a class action. At the present time, however, action on the case is at a standstill.

With the collapse and demoralization of Negro leadership in Monroe resistance on the part of Negro voters challenged or refused registration seems almost to have disappeared. The Guiding Voice belies its name and guides no one, vocally or otherwise, and continues as an organization in name only. The registrar's office is no longer thronged with Negroes seeking to secure their right of franchise.

In 1956, after the elections, Asst. Atty. Gen. Warren Olney of the Justice Department began action against the registrars and Citizens' Council leaders. Agents from the FBI were sent into the area to investigate and on Dec. 4, 1956, a grand jury was empaneled to hear testimony on three parishes: Grant, Caldwell, and DeSoto. However, no indictment was issued and on Feb. 12 the grand jury announced candidly that no more testimony would be heard on three other parishes: Ouachita, Jackson, and Bienville. Thus Senator Rainach's prediction that "it is not going to be easy to get Louisiana people to indict Louisiana people" proved all too true.

Aftermath of the Purge

In 1959, nearly three years after the start of the purge in Ouachita Parish, it is necessary to state that the immediate victory belongs to the purgers. Negro registration has been reduced from 5,782 to 776, and new registrations are discouraged with such vehemence by the registrar's office that in the past year or so there has been virtually no increase in the number of Negroes registered. Twelve other neighboring parishes have followed the lead of Ouachita and together have eliminated some 10,000 Negroes from the state registration rolls. In nearby parishes not a part of the purge, resistance to new Negro registration has stiffened where before it was permissive. Where before the Negro vote was considered politically, now politics has returned to the familiar white supremacy model—notably in the case of Monroe municipal politics.

As yet no effective remedy has developed against this latest disfranchisement of Negro citizens. The white community failed to develop action to block the purge, the cases in court failed to develop a principle of law by which the purge could be limited, and, most demoralizing of all, Negro leadership in Monroe collapsed after a name-calling, futile squabble. It is said that the only time the purgers showed fear and reluctance was during the investigations conducted by Ouachita by FBI agents.

In a real sense the whole people of Louisiana were the losers by the purge because during the time the Citizens' Council ran the registrar's office, government ceased to be public and was manipulated according to

the private purposes of a small group of zealots. Acts of the legislature intended to advance the cause of good government were twisted and misused in a manner wholly foreign to the intentions and purposes of "honest and legal registration." The evasiveness, the hypocrisy of those in power, the cynical frustrations of those attempting to exercise the franchises of citizenship have seemed more like a grim totalitarianism than a democratic polity.

From the long range point of view it may be doubted that the purges have really been as successful as the immediate record indicates. Negro registration in Louisiana is still well past the 100,000 mark and has been reduced only seven or eight per cent, considering all factors, rather than the 90 per cent reduction set by Senator Rainach as the desirable goal. Instead of engulfing the whole state, as undoubtedly was the intention, purges of Negro voters have taken place in only a group of 13 contiguous parishes and the majority of parishes in Louisiana remained unaffected by the movement.

While Negroes in Monroe did not succeed in fighting the purge effectively, possibly because of lack of able leadership, there is evidence that elsewhere in northern Louisiana determination and resistance to the purges are stiffening. Organizations have formed in several parishes and Negro leaders have come forward to assume the responsibilities of opposition. Even in Ouachita where organized opposition failed, Negroes appear to feel a quiet determination to see issues through and, although somewhat discouraged at the way events turned out, are far from defeatist in their hope for future remedies of the situation.

It is quite possible that in the long run the purges of Negro voters may redound against the aims of its sponsors and to the actual increase of Negro registration. By dramatizing registration and giving it an excitement and importance lacking before, the purges may very well ultimately increase the number of Negro voters. By overcoming apathy, the most important factor inhibiting registration in Louisiana, the purges can bring Negroes to the registration office whose interest might never have been aroused. A second possibility, which now seems a probability, is that the publicity resulting from purges will result eventually in a stronger Civil Rights Act which through federal pressures will open up areas of Negro registration previously restricted.

The political history of the American democracy has seen a progressive extension of the franchise and only rarely has this trend been reversed and groups deprived of the franchise. There would be a certain historical justice, therefore, if the purgers in trying to reverse the historic extension

of the suffrage should actually turn out to be the instruments of the increase of Negro registration.

(EDITOR'S NOTE: An item in *Southern School News,* May 1959, adds an interesting supplement to Professor Vines' report.

"In a ruling several weeks ago at Franklinton, La., U.S. District Judge C. A. Barnett ruled that members of the Citizens Council are free to continue challenging registered voters.

"Barnett said two Citizens Council members had a right to explore public records in a move to purge the rolls of Negro voters.

"He said they are acting within state law. The pair of Citizens Council members have challenged more than 140 registrants in a single precinct on basis of the intelligence provisions in state voter registration laws.")

A Coastal County: Quite Accommodation*

NEGROES IN BEAUFORT COUNTY along the South Carolina coast have a heritage of sea lore, folk music, farming—and freedom.

Beaufort Negroes were among the members of the North's Company A, First South Carolina Volunteers, during the Civil War. This was "the first official regiment made up of former slaves; strictly speaking, the first of all the Negro regiments with official military status."[1] Since that war, many have owned land and sent their children to school.

Schools still are segregated in Beaufort County and racial customs of the South prevail, but the atmosphere is more relaxed than in the majority of rural, Deep South counties.

The county once was an area of very large, successful plantations growing sea-island or long staple cotton, rice and indigo. Today there are a number of plantations still in existence but most are occupied by winter residents and used as resorts.

Farms in this coastal county are decreasing in number but growing in size. In 1930 there were 2,021 farms with an average of 62.5 acres; in 1955 there were 1,201 farms with an average of 110½ acres. In 1950, 87.1 per cent of the rural farm population was Negro; 12 per cent of the rural Negroes were tenants and only one-tenth of one per cent sharecroppers.

About 60 per cent of the population is Negro. In 1957, the population was estimated at 12,357 white persons and 18,209 Negroes.

The Negroes of Beaufort County maintained political influence for a number of years after Reconstruction. In the period from 1878 to 1900 some 75 Negroes were elected to the South Carolina legislature; of these, 26 came from Beaufort. There were three Negro Congressmen from South Carolina in that period; two of these were from Beaufort. Until 1888 all elective offices in Beaufort County were held by Negroes and in fact some Negroes held elective offices there until 1896. At that time, white South Carolinians barred Negroes from the Democratic primaries. However, even in the years between this move and the outlawing of the white primaries in the 1940's, some Negroes voted in general elections in Beaufort County.

REGISTRATION

After the 1958 re-registration—required every 10 years in South Carolina —Beaufort County had 4,141 whites and 1,286 Negroes registered to vote.

*Based on a field survey by Courtney Siceloff, Director of Penn Community Services, Frogmore, South Carolina.

[1]Benjamin Quarles, *The Negro In The Civil War*, Little-Brown, p. 119.

Approximately 31 per cent of the registrants then were Negroes, although they comprised 60 per cent of the population.

For the most part, both white and Negro persons interviewed felt that at present there is no effort to limit the number of Negroes registered.[2]

Except for an occasional complaint that white applicants seem to be favored slightly, the general feeling among Negroes interviewed was that registrars are cooperative. They said Negro registration is limited primarily by apathy, a failure to realize the importance of voting, or, in some cases, a fear of not being able to pass registration tests.

In general, county officials and political candidates are not racists; in fact, they seem to avoid the subject of race altogether. Their attitudes are generally friendly toward Negroes and white candidates now are occasionally seeking opportunities to speak before Negro groups during their campaigns.

There are a number of Negro organizations working to increase registration. There is a Citizens Committee in Beaufort, a Voters Association on St. Helena, and the NAACP in both, which have active programs in the field of registration and voting.

Within the churches, it is primarily the lay members rather than the ministers who take the lead, although one Negro minister is establishing a social action committee primarily concerned with registration and voting and is trying to get a similar committee in all churches. The Negro teachers do not generally participate in registration movements. One remarked they feel closely watched and so do not feel free to speak out.

Lines of communication remain open between the white and Negro communities, although primarily on an unofficial level. There are four or five self-reliant Negro leaders who serve as spokesmen for particular requests. One of these is vice president of the United Fund and has attended state meetings in that capacity. A local Negro Citizens Committee, which is non-partisan, goes to see the city council and mayor. Its spokesmen are cordially received but have not been impressed by the degree of action that has followed. One recent achievement was that, whereas in past parades Negroes always brought up the rear, the 1958 Christmas parade was desegregated with Scouts and other marchers together.

Facilities and Social Institutions

There have been Negro elementary and high schools under private auspices for a long period. At the beginning of the Civil War a number of

[2]While Beaufort County as a whole is referred to throughout, the interviews for this survey were conducted around the town of Beaufort and St. Helena Island, which are somewhat more advanced politically and economically than the other sections of the county. Consequently, while interviews with officials deal with the county as a whole, those with private citizens may apply to a more limited section of the county.

Northern abolitionists came to the freed areas of Beaufort County to set up schools for Negroes. One of these became Penn Normal, Industrial and Agricultural School, which continued as an elementary and high school until 1948 when the formal school program was turned over to the county. Two other schools were started in that period, one by the American Baptists which still operates as Mather School and Junior College. The Port Royal Training School, established in 1903 as an elementary and high school for Negroes, was operated until 1926 when it was turned over to the county. These schools had boarding departments, and thus pupils came from over the county as well as the locality.

In 1951, South Carolina passed a three per cent sales tax to aid in construction of schools and the operation of school buses; the following year, school districts were consolidated. Since then transportation and school facilities have been improved for Negroes in Beaufort County. Four new Negro schools have been constructed in the county north of Broad River, in School District No. 1. In 1951-52 the expenditure per Negro child was approximately 55 to 60 per cent of that for the white children. In 1956-57, when the expenditure was 70 per cent that of the white child, the comparative average costs in Beaufort County were:

	Elementary	*High School*
Negro	$136	$171
White	$199	$237

In the five-year period between 1951-52 and 1956-57, the cost per white pupil went down $3 and increased per Negro pupil by $60. During the 1951-52 school year the total library fund for Negro schools of the county was $35; in 1956-57, it was $7,000. Both white and Negro teachers receive the same salary for equal qualification levels. The salary in Beaufort County for the grade A certificate beginning teacher is the highest in the state. The salary in Beaufort County for the grade A certificate, 14 years' experience, is the second highest in the state. Of the white teachers, 92.4 per cent have grade A certificates, the highest percentage in South Carolina; and 37.9 per cent of the Negro teachers, the next highest in the state, have grade A certificates. The annual report of the State Superintendent of Education for 1956-57 lists the average salary for classroom teachers in the county as:

	Elementary		*High School*	
	White	*Negro*	*White*	*Negro*
Men	$4,250	$3,641	$3,543	$3,101
Women	2,977	2,716	3,054	2,992

The Parris Island Marine Corps Recruit Depot has its own elementary school, which is desegregated, having four Negro pupils at present.

A white doctor interviewed said Beaufort County Memorial Hospital had the same facilities in some cases for both races. For example, the same delivery and operating rooms were used; there were equal facilities for private rooms and lying-in privileges. Negro physicians have been courtesy (non-voting) members of the hospital staff, although there are none on the staff now, apparently for reasons unconnected with race.

Among the white persons interviewed, including a minister, in the Beaufort-St. Helena area, none had heard of any of the white ministers speaking out pro or con on segregation-integration questions. A white layman prominent in the community indicated that attitudes vary considerably. He spoke, for instance, of one minister who feels that it is not a basic issue, that other questions are of more importance; of another minister who is an avowed segregationist; a third minister who approaches the problem as a psychologist and is apparently liberal in his attitude.

The fourth church in Beaufort has had Negro attendants, primarily students at the Mather School, who presumably have now finished school. About a year ago, there was a Negro applicant from the Mather School who wanted to join this church. The governing body voted unanimously for acceptance but reserved a section in the front of the church for her. It also was suggested to the Negro that she come to the last serving of the communion, to which she agreed; she was joined usually by at least one white person. A Negro Marine participated in one service, not sitting in the "reserved section" and while there was some adverse comment, it was not known if anything was said directly to the Marine, although he attended only the one time.

The Catholic priest said in an interview that he had Negro communicants; the Negroes are welcome to all spiritual activities, but their presence at social functions poses a problem.

Since Beaufort County is not industrial, labor unions have not been a major issue. However, there are a few unions, one with the reactivated state port at Port Royal. A public official has urged Beaufort Negroes to organize a union so as to obtain work, since union members have been coming in from Charleston to service the ships. This official said in an interview that most of the skilled construction workers of Parris Island are union members.

The daily newspaper read most widely in Beaufort is the *News and Courier* of Charleston, one of the South's strongest advocates of racial segregation. The weekly *Beaufort Gazette* also is segregationist in tone although editorials dealing with racial problems do not appear frequently,

whereas almost every issue of the *News and Courier* deals with the question.

A state park located on the Atlantic Beach has a segregated section for Negroes which is inferior in both facilities and layout to that for whites.

There are two drive-in movies in Beaufort, both of which are desegregated, so that Negroes can park anywhere, which is rare in the South.

As far as public accommodations are concerned there seems to be no desegregation whatsoever. However, three important military installations in the county are completely desegregated: the Parris Island Marine Corps Recruit Dept., the U. S. Naval Hospital, and the Marine Corps Air Station. Not only is military personnel integrated, but also the large civilian personnel.

Police and Community Attitudes

There was unanimity among both the white and Negro persons interviewed that the attitudes and actions of the sheriffs, deputies and local police were good toward the Negro community. None knew of police brutality.

However, there were comments by some Negroes about the one full-time Negro policeman on the Beaufort staff. One said the Negro community thought of him more as a night watchman than a policeman; the Negroes do not believe he could arrest white persons. Another felt the sheriff was lax with Negro prisoners, for some apparently were allowed to go home at night.

The sheriff, J. E. McTeer, took issue with these impressions. He indicated that in June, 1959, a white man was fined in the city court for cursing the Negro policeman who had remonstrated with him for disturbing the peace. Also the sheriff denied that prisoners could go home at night.

The sheriff said he would like to be quoted on the following: "If I had to be tried in my own court, I would like to change the color of my skin." He felt that the judge made it much easier for Negroes. He indicated that he, himself, feels towards Negroes as if they were his children.

The sheriff's attitude toward the Negro community is important in all rural counties in the South, but this is particularly true in Beaufort County, where the sheriff holds a more important position politically than probably any counterpart in South Carolina. He has been in office more than 33 years. He is a close friend of the district's Congressman and of one of the U. S. Senators.

There was an article in a state paper recently about the Beaufort County sheriff, who does not wear a gun. It is obvious that the sheriff does not take a hostile, aggressive attitude in dealing with Negroes in the matter of law enforcement. Sheriff McTeer said there had been Negro deputies in the county since 1900. He said he has three Negro deputies

full-time during the summer, stationed particularly around the Negro beach, and part-time the rest of the year. One has held the job for 33 years. He indicated there was no limit to the authority of the Negro policeman or deputies in arresting white violators.

The county seems to have had less racial violence over the years than many other rural Deep South counties. The sheriff said the county never has had a lynching. Both white and Negro interviewees could recall only three or four incidents in the past 30 years which led to heightened racial tensions.

In June, 1959, a Beaufort jury in General Sessions Court convicted a young white Marine of raping a Negro woman. Since the verdict was without a recommendation of mercy the death sentence was mandatory, a rare finding against a white man in such a case in the South. The decision has been appealed.

This was followed by trial of a Negro accused of raping a white woman. The defendant was convicted and sentenced to death; however, he was committed to the state hospital for a 30-day mental examination, and his counsel has still, at this writing, time to appeal the sentence.

There has been no known Ku Klux Klan active in the county since about 1930 and even then, the sheriff said, it did nothing but collect dues. There is a Citizens Council which, according to its own figures has 50 members; just about that number turned up at a well-publicized meeting in Beaufort three years ago. Despite the strong support given the Citizens Council by the *News and Courier,* which serves the county, the local group appears to have failed so far to interest many community leaders.

Some of those of both races interviewed feel there has been no change in Negro-white relations since the Supreme Court school decisions or events in Little Rock. Others think that while the white community is still accessible as before to Negro spokesmen, so far as individual relations are concerned there is a change consisting of a definite "standing-off" by white people. However, a white minister said he had heard discussions in favor of preserving public schools, regardless of whether or not they were desegregated. He said this was a change from the absolute defiance predominant soon after the Little Rock crisis.

Negroes were unanimous in feeling they now have a greater determination about extending their civil liberties.

Legal Action

There have been only two legal efforts to break the segregation pattern in the county, one handled through the courts and the other in the form of a petition. In July, 1948, David Brown, Negro of Beaufort, brought suit successfully against the State Democratic Committee to open primary elections to Negroes. The case came before Federal Judge J. Waites

Waring on the eve of an election, after the registration books were closed. Judge Waring ruled in favor of Brown and also ruled that the registration rolls be opened again.[3] Negroes voted without incident in that election and have continued to do so. Brown, a garage owner, said the suit neither led to any threats against him nor to any discernible hard feelings by white members of the community.

About two years ago some 75 Negroes signed a petition and presented it to the Beaufort County Board of Education for the assigning of pupils without regard to race. The Board did not respond.

Political Future

In 1948 four Negro candidates ran for the Board of Education but none was elected, in part because the Negro vote was spilt. One Negro has been a member of the Trustee Board, appointed by the Board of Education, since 1952. In St. Helena Island precinct, since Negroes began voting in 1948, several of them have met with white leaders to work out a slate of precinct candidates. The chairman of the precinct has always been white, but the other officers have been about equally divided. A number of Beaufort Negroes have served as delegates to county political conventions. The Beaufort delegation to the State Democratic Convention included a Negro in 1956, and two in 1958. (There was only one other Negro delegate at this 1958 convention.) Negroes serve as poll officials both in Beaufort and St. Helena in township elections.

At the central polling place in Beaufort, there are two ballot boxes, one manned by whites and one by Negroes, but when the line of white voters is long, a number usually drop their ballots in the Negro box. The ballots from both boxes are mingled before being counted, a Negro poll watcher said. Prior to the last election this same Negro had the voting lists and the boxes in his custody.

Five white and three Negro leaders were asked about the future of Negro voting in the county. All the white persons indicated support of the right of all citizens to vote. Although none professed any personal concern about increased voting by Negroes, a few thought there was a certain anxiety among some white men and women who feared the election of Negro candidates. One foresaw "some different reaction if more Negroes register, but I don't know what type reaction it will be."

The Negroes all felt there was a growing interest in voting among their people. They pointed to larger attendance at political meetings. They also believed that before long Negroes would be elected to certain offices. On this subject, a Negro businessman commented:

"If they are elected, some white people may be shocked but I do not expect any severe reaction."

[3] *Brown v. Baskin*, 78 F. Supp. 933; *Baskin v. Brown*, 174 F. 2d 391.

A Blackbelt County: Total Disfranchisement

BRAILSFORD R. BRAZEAL

Dean of Morehouse College

THIS IS AN ACCOUNT of disfranchisement in a Deep South county located in the area commonly called the "Blackbelt," both because of the color of its soil and its large Negro population. For reasons that will shortly become apparent, the identity of the county and that of the individuals referred to have been deliberately obscured. The field study on which this study is based was not intended to develop an "exposé" of the particular county in question. Rather, the object was to shed light on a way of life, still prevalent in rural areas of the lower South, in which all of the economic and political arrangements serve to keep the Negro in abject subordination.

"Blackbelt" County is still one of the most highly agricultural counties in the region, four-fifths of the population being farm-dwellers. Peanuts, pecans, and cotton account for approximately two-thirds of its annual income. Three large plantations cover a large portion of the county—two of them owned by Northern families. These plantations are big businesses and have adapted to the racial patterns of the area. Individually owned farms decreased from 1,502 in 1920 to 751 in 1954.

The county, then, has had little industrialization or urbanization which would tend to alter provincial customs. The dominant mentality is rural, with a strong Old South motif. This is due to the racial, as well as the agricultural, composition of the county. In 1958 the total population was not much over 5,000 and showed a sizeable decrease since 1950. Negroes comprised over 60 per cent of the total.

VOTER REGISTRATION

The racial make-up of the county has generated fears on the part of the white population that, if the voting system is not controlled, Negroes might "take over."

Official records show that nearly nine-tenths of the total white population was registered to vote in 1958. Yet a simple count of the population below voting age indicates that it is a virtual impossibility for so high a percentage of the total to be legally registered. One can only conclude that the white registration figures for the county are inflated.

Although Negroes comprise a majority of the total population, none

is registered to vote. In the mid-1940's, after the outlawing of the white primary, several hundred succeeded in getting registered. They were later purged, however, by supporters of a white-supremacist candidate for governor.

Despite the small population of the county and the much smaller number of voters necessary to decide an election, "Blackbelt" County carries weight in state politics. Under the lopsided apportionment of the legislature, characteristic of many states and all of those in the Deep South, this rural county has one-third as much representation as the most populous county in the state. Thus the racial attitudes which prevail there and in other rural counties of the same type heavily influence the workings of state government.

Socio-Economic Factors

Most "Blackbelt" County Negroes work as farm laborers or domestic servants for three or four dollars a day. There is a widespread belief among local Negroes that welfare administrators are slow to put aged Negroes on their rolls. They insist that when they do get on, they usually receive $35 a month, while aged white citizens generally qualify for $50. One interviewee commented, "A Negro is just about dead when he gets $50 a month."

Good housing is at a premium. Shacks abound in Negro neighborhoods. Only about seven Negro homes in the county have bathrooms and septic tanks, except for one small housing project built for Negroes in the county seat.

Most of the few white collar jobs in the county are available only to white persons, except for 35 teaching jobs open to Negroes.

Several Negroes own their own farms, which are reasonably large and profitable. However, these landowners must operate carefully within the bounds of racial restrictions that apply to all the Negroes. They feel this is necessary if they want to keep their credit open and their taxes from being arbitrarily increased as a punitive measure.

One effective way to suppress any group is to withhold the right and ability to obtain an education. For years "Blackbelt" County, along with many other counties in the area, failed to provide high school facilities for Negro children. In most instances, these children had only one-teacher elementary schools which often operated in a Negro lodge hall or church. If parents wanted a high school education for their children they had to send them outside the county at their own expense. Needless to say, there was a high school for white children and many of them went on to college. Very few Negroes were able to attend high school and even fewer college.

This meant that, by and large, Negroes could not form an educated nucleus to provide leadership.

In 1941 the Negroes themselves started a high school in an old house. Several years later, largely as a result of pressure from federal court decisions in other areas, the educational picture for Negro children in the county began to change. The elementary school for Negroes now has eleven teachers. In 1956 a new combined high and elementary school for Negroes was built and now has 24 teachers. Unlike the long established county high school for white children, the new Negro high school does not have a gymnasium. However, Negro taxpayers have helped pay off a bond issue which financed the construction of a gym for the white school. Each school has classes in agriculture but neither offers trade courses. White pupils, however, can go to an area trade school in a nearby city. There is no area trade school available to Negroes.

Church leadership among Negroes is a week-end affair. All of the Negro preachers live outside the county. Except for emergencies, they come in only for the week-end, and when the Sunday services are over they leave. Several of the Negro churches have received token building and maintenance contributions from the owners or managers of the county's three large plantations. These relatively small gifts—and the anticipation of more—were considered by most of the Negroes interviewed as one reason their ministers do not provide a citizenship program which would encourage registration. Also, some of the ministers are limited in the knowledge of what their leadership roles should be. One person interviewed said, "I am going to tell you the truth about these preachers here—no preacher will tell us about voting. They are scared." In any event, voter registration meetings in churches for Negroes have been rare, apparently because of a feeling of obligation to the leading whites.

Another consensus of the Negroes interviewed was that the overseers of the three large plantations support the rigid system of segregation and tend to exploit labor, both white and Negro. "These hunting reserves mainly for Northerners," as one Negro termed them, "help in many ways to maintain the pattern of segregation."

There is a strong Citizens Council in the county which helps police Negroes, and also whites, who attempt to deviate from the normally accepted pattern of racial behavior. Several of those interviewed said the white ministers have been silenced by the Citizens Council.

Whatever the reason, the white ministers do not have any line of communication with Negro ministers who serve the county. One Negro said, "Once there was a white minister here who would speak in Negro churches and show some brotherly concern, but they got rid of him." There seems

to be no adequate, intelligent communication between the two racial groups in other fields. There is no contact between white and Negro veterans, teachers, or civic groups.

Some Negroes get in touch with whites who wish to learn surreptitiously what other Negroes are thinking about. There is a reluctance on the part of Negroes to communicate with each other about civil rights problems unless they are reasonably sure that what they say will not be communicated to the whites.

Under present conditions, Negro teachers feel that they dare not assert any leadership in the civil rights field if they expect to hold their jobs. They do not openly encourage, or even discuss, Negro voting; nor do they seek this right for themselves. They fear the loss of their jobs and possible physical violence. They know of the firing of two Negro teachers and a bus driver who are relatives of two Negro men who showed interest in registering and voting.

A Negro woman who was a visiting teacher in "Blackbelt" County for 30 years decided "under pressure" that she should resign after she was caught unwittingly in the cross-fire of a local political campaign. The episode, as recounted by Negroes interviewed, took this course:

About three years ago the incumbent school superintendent was running for reelection against the principal of the high school. The principal's campaign was designed to appeal to Citizens Council members and their supporters. He attacked the Negro visiting teacher, who is regarded by those who know her as a woman of integrity, dignity, and culture, because her name was listed among the names of other school officials on the official stationery used by the superintendent. The latter was attacked because, it was charged, he tacitly admitted the equality of the races by placing the Negro woman's name along with the white names on the official stationery which was used by the Board of Education and his office. This was the crux of the campaign. The challenger's promise over the radio and in public political meetings was that when he was elected he was going to remove "that black nigger woman's name from your stationery that has been paid for by your tax money." Some white women resented this type of campaign. The principal was not elected. But the visiting teacher left her job and her home.

Efforts to Register

The above factors explain in part why there is not a single Negro registered to vote in "Blackbelt" County. But many techniques have been used to disfranchise Negroes.

Shortly after the Civil Rights Act became effective in 1957 four sub-

stantial, tax-paying Negro residents of the county decided to sponsor a mass meeting to discuss setting up classes to help prospective registrants answer questions asked under the state voters' law. Later, a registration rally-barbecue was given by one of the leaders. According to those at the rally, the sheriff drove near the barbecue site, stopped and blew his siren. The sheriff left and nothing else happened; yet those at the rally interpreted this as a clear signal that the sheriff was opposed to Negroes registering.

Nevertheless, the Negro leaders continued their efforts with some assistance from one or two Negro civic leaders from a city in the neighboring county. Their efforts were unsuccessful. Negroes said members of the Board of Registrars have resorted to familiar evasive tactics, such as taking would-be registrants' names under the pretense of enrolling them. Later these Negroes would learn they were not actually registered. At other times the registration books or office would be closed when Negroes sought to register. Some found that no one would tell them the names of the registrars. On one occasion, 25 to 30 Negroes went together to register but one of the registrars told them to come back after banking hours. When they returned at the time suggested, the registrars' office was closed. A Negro leader of the group was later approached by a white man who told him, "I know you are a good nigger—just leave that thing off; go up later." Another white man who had known him for many years said "You are one of the best niggers in "Blackbelt" County and I advise you not to bother with this business." This kind of advice from white persons has frequently served to deter Negro registration.

Another tactic has been to discourage outside Negroes from coming to "Blackbelt" County to "stir up trouble." After it was learned that one or two members of the Voters League in a nearby city were encouraging local Negroes to register, law enforcement officers apparently felt they should discourage visits by these outsiders. In the fall of 1957 one of the visiting Negroes had a picnic in "Blackbelt" County and invited a number of Negroes from his city to attend. On their way back home, most of them were arrested for speeding and drinking and each one arrested was fined from $35 to $100 for a total of about $1,400.

The highway through the county has long been known as a speed trap, although this method of raising revenue has been curtailed in recent times, following outside pressure and unfavorable publicity. However, even now drivers must be careful, particularly if the driver happens to be a well-dressed Negro.

Some Negroes characterize "Blackbelt" County as "one step down from hell." More specifically one Negro said, "I stay out of that county

because I wear a tie." To the uninitiated this would appear to be a casual, flippant remark, but it is not. In rural areas the wearing of a tie or dress clothing, instead of work clothing, by Negroes (except on Saturday afternoon, Sundays, or holidays) is regarded as evidence of a desire to break away from the customary racial pattern, and this is resented by many whites. It may not be the Negro's dress that is involved but his car, his house, his manner of speaking, or his desire to register and vote.

For some time the Voters League in the nearby city has considered methods of opening registration lists for Negroes in several rural counties. It believes that "if we can break through in 'Blackbelt' County, the others will follow." The League is aware that strong leadership against the extension of civil rights in the area is centered in the city, which is headquarters for Citizens Council activities in "Blackbelt" and elsewhere in this region.

The daily newspaper of the city serves a large part of the area. Its editor, a vigorous segregationist, is a Northerner who has been in the community only since World War II. He has characterized the South's segregation laws as no more immoral than United States laws concerning Indians and immigrants. The Supreme Court, he has said, is "very much bent on fostering social revolution."

To Negroes, the daily is known as an anti-Negro paper. Every Saturday it carries a page of "News of the Colored People," but this deals only with such personal items as marriages, deaths and social events. No news is carried on the page about efforts to extend the Negro's civil rights.

Many Negroes in the area are concerned about a network of opposition they believe is set to "pick off" progressive Negro leaders. A case in point was the ouster, several years ago, of the president of a state-supported Negro college adjacent to "Blackbelt" County. The Negro educator was accused of aiding the NAACP, because he sat next to a state NAACP leader at a public meeting. He was later summoned before the governor and the state board in charge of higher education, which subsequently declined to renew his contract.

The college president's difficulties apparently started when some of his faculty members and students decided on a quiet boycott of local businesses which treated Negroes discourteously. The net effect of the president's ouster was to neutralize college-based civil rights activities and to serve as a warning to other Negro leaders that such efforts would lead to reprisals.

Fear and Violence

"Blackbelt" County has underscored in a number of ways its opposition to even a fractional extension of civil rights to its Negro citizens. Negroes

feel that the sheriff's office has for years used brutality to keep them "in line." They still recall what they regard as a public lynching of a Negro in 1943. The then sheriff had arrested the Negro on a charge of stealing an automobile tire and, before jailing him, beat him in a particularly brutal fashion. As a court later characterized the incident, it was "a shocking and revolting episode in law enforcement." Apparently frightened by their own cruelty, his attackers called an ambulance, and the victim died in a local hospital. The sheriff and two former policemen were indicted by the federal government and convicted of depriving the Negro of his life without due process of law. Eventually, on a technical legal point, the case was sent back for a new trial. The second trial ended in an acquittal. The former sheriff was later elected to the State Senate. And among local Negroes, the case has never been forgotten.

A man who had worked under the perpetrator of this brutality succeeded him as sheriff. Negroes interviewed said that the present sheriff is opposed to Negroes voting and in fact to their coming to the courthouse except for trial. He too has killed a Negro. He said he acted in the line of duty in shooting to death a Negro sitting in a parked car, and that ended the matter. These instances explain why Negroes in other counties in the South center so much attention on candidates for the sheriff's office. But in "Blackbelt" County, Negroes have no political voice.

Some three years ago, there were three separate bombings of property belonging to three of the four Negroes who attempted to register to vote and to persuade others to do the same. The front porch of one of them was bombed, as were cars belonging to the other two. (Because of these bombings and other factors, Negroes in the county report that it is increasingly difficult to get liability insurance on their cars.) Although the explosions were extremely noisy in the silence of night, no white persons came to see what had happened. Those whose property was bombed wondered if most of the white population in and around the county seat knew in advance what was going to happen. Negroes quickly showed up at the site of each bombing. The victims were sorely disillusioned because all of them thought they knew some white persons who would befriend them. No white person has publicly condemned the bombings.

Since the bombings, the suspense of not knowing what would happen next has been a source of deep anxiety to the families whose property was damaged. Meanwhile, the daughter of one of the men has lost her job as a school teacher; his brother-in-law was fired as a bus driver and his school-teacher daughter also suffered the same fate.

The fourth Negro who sought to register was arrested for having illicit liquor on his property and sentenced to jail, although he finally got out of

this difficulty. Most persons interviewed believed his arrest was attributable to his registration activities.

Following the dynamitings, FBI agents came into the county to investigate. After several days of questioning the victims and others, the agents left. Undoubtedly, they failed to unearth information or evidence to support any indictments or reveal that a federal law had been violated. There are two types of reaction among Negroes to this FBI investigation. Two of the victims felt the agents were "on the up and up" but "some Negroes wouldn't talk" and the "good white people held their peace too much." Nevertheless, they felt the "FBI had the Crackers scared." Some outspoken Negroes in the nearby city condemned the failure of the FBI to piece together what they considered an obvious violation of the civil rights of Negroes. When the agents entered "Blackbelt" County, some whites sent word to the Negroes they could register but none have dared attempt to do so yet.

Finally, widely publicized racial violence in a neighboring rural county served as further warning to "Blackbelt" County Negroes and others in the area who might otherwise have pressed their plans to register and vote.

Prospects

This county is but one political and geographical unit in a system of counties in the Blackbelt which have decreed that no Negro shall have the privilege of registering and voting, or none beyond a token number that would serve as a safety valve against federal intervention. These counties are counting on a pattern of sporadic and potential violence to keep civic-minded Negroes from attempting to register and, by their example, to deter others from doing so. Dramatic violence is usually reserved for those Negro citizens who will not heed the warning signals and evasions. Long before Negroes go this far, the opposition seeks to detect signs which indicate that stern warnings are necessary, such as: "It's all right for you to go ahead and register but we advise you not to do so."

Negroes who are pressing for the vote in "Blackbelt" County state emphatically that "the white folks watch us like a hawk watches a chicken." And these Negroes in turn watch Negro informants who "carry information to the white folks."

Economic reprisals have been applied only on a limited scale. However, they indicate what might take place if a Negro resident continues to press for his civil rights.

"If you owe money on a place white men will block you," said one Negro who had felt this kind of economic pressure.

They think, too, of the Negro school teachers who have been fired.

Some local Negroes don't do business in the county seat now, and the local merchants are feeling the effects. On the other hand, if a Negro has been somewhat forthright in his insistence on civil and legal rights, it is alleged that he is unlikely to qualify for welfare or old age assistance benefits.

Considering all these factors, there is little likelihood that Negroes in the county will initiate any united effort to register and vote in the near future. It seems unlikely that any formally well-educated Negro litigants will initiate a federal suit, at least for some time. For one thing, a number of Negro teachers have not established voting residence in the county. Then, too, they feel they would be fired and would thus have to leave the county to obtain another white collar job. There is a dearth of Negro professional and business men and women who would have a reasonable degree of the economic independence which would enable them to provide leadership.

Under the circumstances, most Negroes in the county interested in voting feel that their only hope in the near future must come from federal action against the Board of Registrars. They reason that federal intervention would provide would-be Negro registrants with a degree of protection from local white hostility. Without this federal intervention they feel it will be a long time before Negroes will be able to vote safely in "Blackbelt" County and others of the same type in the rural Deep South.

APPENDIX

FLORIDA

County	1958 Population			1958 Registration			Population	Registration
	Total	White	Negro	Total	White	Negro	% Negro	% Negro
Alachua	80,500	60,400	20,100	15,602	13,433	2,169	25.	13.9
Baker	6,800	5,100	1,700	3,820	3,423	397	25.	10.4
Bay	63,600	53,600	10,000	21,063	19,159	1,904	15.7	9.
Bradford	12,200	9,100	3,100	5,305	4,535	770	25.4	14.5
Brevard	86,200	75,800	10,400	21,019	19,272	1,747	12.1	8.3
Broward	265,900	218,900	47,000	92,604	84,997	7,607	17.7	8.2
Calhoun	7,800	6,700	1,100	4,303	4,038	265	14.1	6.2
Charlotte	7,200	6,300	900	4,168	3,895	273	12.5	6.5
Citrus	8,400	6,600	1,800	3,976	3,576	400	19.	10.1
Clay	19,700	17,300	2,400	6,312	5,402	910	12.2	14.4
Collier	13,900	10,300	3,600	4,491	4,164	327	25.9	7.3
Columbia	18,600	12,400	6,200	6,221	5,250	971	33.3	15.6
Dade	846,800	732,000	114,800	358,623	337,838	20,785	13.6	5.8
DeSoto	11,600	9,200	2,400	4,910	3,995	915	20.7	18.6
Dixie	4,400	3,600	800	2,018	1,948	70	18.2	3.4
Duval	427,200	324,400	102,800	132,105	105,652	26,453	24.1	20.
Escambia	166,400	131,000	35,400	60,033	51,956	8,077	21.3	13.5
Flagler	5,300	3,800	1,500	1,551	1,532	19	28.3	1.2
Franklin	5,700	4,100	1,600	3,420	2,897	523	28.1	15.3
Gadsden	50,100	21,700	28,400	6,317	6,310	7	56.7	.11
Gilchrist	3,300	2,900	400	1,704	1,670	34	12.1	2.
Glades	3,100	1,700	1,400	881	735	146	45.2	16.6
Gulf	8,900	6,400	2,500	3,736	3,234	502	28.1	13.4
Hamilton	8,300	4,500	3,800	4,317	3,805	512	45.8	11.9
Hardee	13,600	11,600	2,000	4,595	4,303	292	14.7	6.4
Hendry	7,200	4,900	2,300	2,702	2,339	563	31.9	20.8
Hernando	9,800	7,100	2,700	3,734	3,248	486	27.6	13.
Highlands	17,400	13,100	4,300	9,856	8,922	934	24.7	9.5
Hillsborough	359,300	305,000	54,300	114,938	105,116	9,822	15.1	8.5
Holmes	11,600	11,100	500	6,838	6,698	140	4.3	2.
Indian River	23,100	18,000	5,100	7,229	6,708	521	22.1	7.2
Jackson	34,100	23,000	11,100	11,530	9,440	2,090	32.6	18.1
Jefferson	9,500	3,700	5,800	3,470	3,038	432	61.1	12.4
Lafayette	2,800	2,600	200	1,902	1,902	0	7.1	0.
Lake	52,200	40,900	11,300	17,725	16,362	1,363	21.6	7.7
Lee	40,800	32,900	7,900	15,491	14,359	1,132	19.4	7.3
Leon	78,000	50,800	27,200	19,143	15,054	4,089	34.9	21.4
Levy	9,900	6,700	3,200	5,552	5,139	413	32.3	7.4
Liberty	2,800	2,200	600	1,706	1,706	0	21.4	0.
Madison	14,200	7,800	6,400	4,570	3,617	953	45.1	20.9
Manatee	56,300	46,100	10,200	18,207	17,293	914	18.1	5.
Marion	47,500	31,500	16,000	15,022	12,018	3,004	33.7	20.
Martin	13,100	10,000	3,100	6,065	5,450	615	23.7	10.1
Monroe	54,000	49,000	5,000	11,504	9,856	1,648	9.3	14.3
Nassau	14,900	10,700	4,200	6,304	5,041	1,263	28.2	20.
Okaloosa	56,500	52,100	4,400	13,005	15,321	684	7.8	5.3
Okeechobee	5,100	4,000	1,100	2,514	2,147	367	21.6	14.6
Orange	237,600	201,200	36,400	59,504	56,358	3,146	15.3	5.3
Osceola	16,300	14,600	1,700	7,456	7,102	354	10.4	4.7
Palm Beach	214,300	162,700	51,600	73,300	67,009	6,291	24.1	8.6
Pasco	30,800	27,300	3,500	13,767	13,097	670	11.4	4.9
Pinellas	296,100	264,600	31,500	138,833	134,223	4,610	10.6	3.3
Polk	176,000	142,900	33,100	61,360	55,761	5,599	18.8	9.1
Putnam	33,500	22,000	11,500	12,800	10,979	1,821	34.3	14.2
St. Johns	31,300	21,600	9,700	12,775	10,605	2,170	31.	17.
St. Lucie	33,600	24,000	9,600	13,072	11,179	1,893	28.6	14.5
Santa Rosa	25,200	23,300	1,900	11,139	10,390	749	7.5	6.7
Sarasota	59,000	51,700	7,300	21,598	20,915	683	12.4	3.2
Seminole	46,200	33,000	13,200	11,110	9,529	1,581	28.6	14.2
Sumter	11,500	8,600	2,900	4,790	4,216	574	25.2	12.
Suwannee	14,100	10,200	3,900	5,709	5,312	397	27.7	7.
Taylor	14,000	10,700	3,300	4,550	4,483	67	23.6	1.5
Union	10,600	7,100	3,500	2,598	2,598	0	33.	0.
Volusia	102,100	80,000	22,100	48,206	43,350	4,856	21.6	10.1
Wakulla	5,100	3,600	1,500	2,994	2,601	393	29.4	13.1
Walton	14,200	12,400	1,800	6,189	5,479	710	12.7	11.5
Washington	10,900	9,000	1,900	6,302	5,664	738	17.4	11.7
STATE	4,448,000	3,603,100	84,490	1,593,353*	1,448,543	144,810	19.0	9.1

SOURCE: Secretary of State of Florida, July, 1958. Population Figures: Florida State Board of Health, February, 1959.
*Total of Democratic and Republican registrants. There were also 13,861 voters with other affiliation or independent; as there is no racial break-down for these, they are excluded from the county figures and the state totals.

GEORGIA

County	1958 Population			1958 Registration			Population	Registration
	Total	White	Negro	Total	White	Negro	% Negro	% Negro
Appling	14,100	11,300	2,800	7,752	6,612	1,140	19.9	14.7
Atkinson	7,700	6,000	1,700	4,961	4,164	797	22.1	16.1
Bacon	9,700	8,600	1,100	6,127	6,105	22	11.3	.36
Baker	5,200	1,900	3,300	1,670	1,670	0	63.5	0
Baldwin	21,700	13,900	7,800	10,293	7,675	2,618	35.9	25.4
Banks	5,900	5,600	300	4,464	4,420	44	5.1	1.
Barrow	13,500	11,000	2,500	6,160	5,858	312	18.5	5.1
Bartow	29,400	25,200	4,200	12,442	11,239	1,203	14.3	9.7
Ben Hill	15,400	10,400	5,000	4,727	3,797	930	32.5	19.7
Berrien	13,400	11,600	1,800	4,580	4,177	403	13.4	8.8
Bibb	142,000	94,700	47,300	31,037	26,124	4,913	33.3	15.8
Bleckley	9,100	6,400	2,700	3,391	3,346	45	29.7	1.3
Brantley	6,200	5,600	600	3,993	3,767	226	9.7	5.7
Brooks	17,100	8,900	8,200	5,016	4,321	695	48.	13.9
Bryan	6,000	3,600	2,400	2,789	1,972	817	40.	29.3
Bulloch	24,600	15,400	9,200	9,289	7,899	1,390	37.4	15.
Burne	22,100	6,900	15,200	4,091	3,664	427	68.8	10.4
Butts	9,200	5,000	4,200	5,241	3,810	1,437	45.7	27.4
Calhoun	7,600	2,500	5,100	1,814	1,682	132	67.1	7.3
Camden	8,800	4,700	4,100	3,991	2,606	1,385	46.6	34.7
Candler	7,500	4,900	2,600	4,369	3,195	1,174	34.7	26.9
Carroll	35,000	28,200	6,800	14,605	13,680	925	19.4	6.3
Catoosa	17,600	17,200	400	10,008	9,938	70	2.3	.7
Charlton	4,800	3,400	1,400	2,333	2,293	40	29.2	1.7
Chatham	193,400	124,400	69,000	46,193	36,943	9,250	35.7	20.
Chattahoochee	1,200	600	600	292	284	8	50.	2.7
Chatooga	23,400	21,200	2,200	12,261	11,250	1,011	9.4	8.2
Cherokee	21,800	20,800	1,000	1,069	879	190	4.6	17.8
Clarke	42,700	32,400	10,300	17,391	14,255	3,136	24.1	18.
Clay	5,200	1,600	3,600	1,107	1,013	94	69.2	8.5
Clayton	33,900	29,100	4,800	11,918	11,441	477	14.2	4.
Clinch	6,500	4,400	2,100	2,748	2,429	319	32.3	11.6
Cobb	84,800	77,800	7,000	30,042	28,134	1,908	8.3	6.4
Coffee	26,100	19,600	6,500	11,000	10,058	942	24.9	8.6
Colqutt	35,700	27,200	8,500	13,965	13,000	965	23.8	6.9
Columbia	11,000	6,100	4,900	3,933	3,423	510	44.5	13.
Cook	12,700	9,000	3,700	6,500	6,000	500	29.1	7.7
Coweta	28,900	18,300	10,600	13,244	11,597	1,647	36.7	12.4
Crawford	5,600	2,300	3.300	1,651	1,496	155	58.9	9.4
Crisp	18,200	10,300	7,900	5,506	4,785	721	43.4	13.1
Dade	8,500	8,400	100	3,718	3,678	40	1.2	1.
Dawson	3,300	3,300	0	2,172	2,172	0	0	0
Decatur	25,300	13,700	11,600	8,490	7,530	960	45.8	11.3
DeKalb	202,800	183,800	19,000	66,603	64,450	2,153	9.4	3.2
Dodge	16,200	11,500	4,700	10,756	8,728	2,028	29	18.9
Dooly	12,800	6,100	6,700	4,974	4,252	722	52.3	14.5
Dougherty	59,000	36,500	22,500	13,443	10,815	2,628	38.1	19.5
Douglas	14,000	11,900	2,100	7,778	6,946	832	15.	10.7
Early	17,000	7,700	9,300	4,017	3,812	205	54.7	5.1
Echols	2,300	1,700	600	819	804	15	26.1	1.8
Effingham	9,000	5,700	3,300	2,806	2,618	188	36.7	6.7
Elbert	18,300	12,700	5,600	10,116	9,012	1,104	30.6	10.9
Emanuel	17,800	11,500	6,300	9,014	7,252	1,762	35.4	19.5
Evans	6,400	3,800	2,600	2,689	2,206	483	40.6	18.
Fannin	15,700	15,600	100	8,522	8,503	19	.63	.22
Fayette	8,000	5,400	2,600	3,229	3,204	25	67.5	.77
Floyd	67,700	58,000	9,700	20,767	19,244	1,523	14.3	7.3
Forsyth	11,100	11,000	100	4,148	4,148	0	.9	0
Franklin	13,900	12,300	1,600	5,800	5,500	300	11.5	5.2
Fulton	571,600	395,000	176,600	133,291	104,877	28,414	30.9	21.3
Gilmer	10,700	10,600	100	4,460	4,454	6	.9	.13
Glascock	3,000	2,200	800	1,358	1,339	19	26.7	1.4
Glynn	35,400	24,600	10,800	9,464	7,425	2,039	30.5	21.5
Gordon	19,600	18,400	1,200	7,702	7,353*	348*	6.1	.47
Grady	18,900	12,300	6,600	5,907	5,076	831	34.9	14.1
Greene	12,500	6,100	6,400	7,781	5,053	2,728	51.2	35.1
Gwinnett	35,600	32,400	3,200	17,500	16,498	1,002	9.	5.7
Habersham	18,100	17,500	600	8,423	8.223	200	3.3	2.4
Hall	45,000	40,200	4,800	18,751	17,542	1,209	10.7	6.4
Hancock	10,200	2,600	7,600	3,794	2,064	1,730	74.5	45.6
Haralson	15,100	13,900	1,200	12,194	11,443	751	7.9	6.2
Harris	11,400	5,000	6,400	3,850	3,635	215	56.1	5.6
Hart	14,100	10,600	3,500	6,238	5,944	294	24.8	4.7
Heard	6,000	4,600	1,400	2,849	2,475	374	23.3	13.1
Henry	16,800	9,400	7,400	7,104	5,442	1,662	44.	23.4
Houston	28,600	20,600	8,000	7,739	7,259**	480**	28.	6.2
Irwin	11,600	7,300	4,300	5,200	4,500	700	37.1	13.5
Jackson	18,700	16,000	2,700	7,659	7,209	450	14.4	5.9
Jasper	6,800	2,900	3,900	3,334	2,530	804	57.4	24.1
Jeff Davis	9,800	7,600	2,200	6,190	6,134	56	22.4	.9
Jefferson	18,500	7,700	10,800	4,384	4,120	264	58.4	6.
Jenkins	9,500	4,500	5,000	3,196	2,502	694	52.6	21.7
Johnson	8,200	5,700	2,500	3,923	3,655	268	30.5	6.8

GEORGIA—*Continued*

County	1958 Population			1958 Registration			Population	Registration
	Total	White	Negro	Total	White	Negro	% Negro	% Negro
Jones	7,300	3,500	3,800	2,659	2,048	611	52.1	23.
Lamar	10,600	6,400	4,200	3,700	2,801	899	39.6	24.3
Lanier	5,100	3,400	1,700	2,344	1,892	452	33.3	19.3
Laurens	33,600	20,000	13,600	16,725	13,218	3,507	40.5	21.
Lee	6,200	2,000	4,200	1,310	1,281	29	67.7	2.2
Liberty	9,700	4,000	5,700	4,600	2,128	2,472	58.8	53.7
Lincoln	6,300	3,200	3,100	2,440	2,437	3	49.2	.12
Long	3,400	2,300	1,100	3,262***	2,201***	1,061***	32.4	32.5
Lowndes	42,700	26,800	15,900	14,564	11,860	2,704	37.2	18.6
Lumpkin	7,000	6,800	200	3,995	3,912	83	2.9	2.1
Macon	13,500	4,700	8,800	3,202	3,024	178	65.2	5.6
Madison	11,700	9,400	2,300	4.643	4,588	55	19.7	1.2
Marion	6,400	2,400	4,000	1,382	1,330	52	62.5	3.8
McDuffie	12,200	6,800	5,400	4,468	4,089	379	44.3	8.5
McIntosh	6,600	2,500	4,100	2,615	1,396	1,219	62.1	46.6
Meriwether	20,900	10,400	10,500	6,384	5,457	927	50.2	14.5
Miller	8,600	6,200	2,400	3,363	3,357	6	27.9	.18
Mitchell	22,700	11,400	11,300	7,673	7,298	375	49.8	4.9
Monroe	10,600	5,600	5,000	4,086	3,333	753	47.2	18.4
Montgomery	6,900	4,000	2,900	4,320	3,315	1,005	42.	23.3
Morgan	11,600	5,600	6,000	3,353	2,615	738	51.7	22.
Murray	10,600	10,500	100	4,997	4,962	35	.94	.7
Muscogee	144,100	109,900	34,200	26,588	22,859	3,729	23.7	14.
Newton	21,600	14,400	7,200	10,963	9,058	1,905	33.3	17.4
Oconee	6,800	5,200	1,600	3,596	3,224	372	23.5	10.3
Oglethorpe	8,600	4,800	3,800	3,157	2,958	199	44.2	6.3
Paulding	11,400	10,100	1,300	8,286	7,851	435	11.4	5.2
Peach	12,900	4,900	8,000	3,218	2,539	679	62.	21.1
Pickens	8,900	8,500	400	4,494	4,393	101	4.5	2.2
Pierce	10,900	8,400	2,500	3,769	3,388	381	22.9	10.1
Pike	7,400	4,100	3,300	3,016	2,520	496	44.6	16.4
Polk	33,200	27,900	5,300	11,006	9,852	1,154	16.	10.5
Pulaski	8,400	4,500	3,900	3,088	2,853	235	46.4	7.6
Putnam	7,500	3,500	4,000	2,936	2,366	570	53.3	19.4
Quitman	2,800	1,000	1,800	764	721	43	64.3	5.6
Rabun	7,400	7,300	100	4,878	4,867	11	1.4	.22
Randolph	12,300	4,500	7,800	3,078	2,585	493	63.4	16.
Richmond	154,400	106,200	48,200	29,080	23,260	5,820	31.2	20.
Rockdale	9,200	6,600	2,600	4,064	3,501	563	28.3	13.9
Schley	3,500	1,400	2,100	1,164	1,006	158	60.	13.6
Screven	16,900	7,300	9,600	3,562	3,027	535	53.3	15.
Seminole	7,700	4,800	2,900	3,201	3,172	29	37.7	.9
Spalding	33,500	24,700	8,800	11,930****	9,930****	2,000****	26.3	16.8
Stephens	19,400	16,900	2,500	8,869	8,242	627	12.9	7.1
Stewart	8,600	2,300	6,300	1,662	1,555	107	73.3	6.4
Sumter	24,600	11,900	12,700	5,647	5,164	483	51.6	8.6
Talbot	7,600	2,200	5,400	1,667	1,448	219	71.1	13.1
Taliaferro	3,500	1,200	2,300	1,669	913	756	65.7	45.3
Tattnall	13,700	10,500	3,200	9,904	8,224	1,680	23.4	17.
Taylor	8,300	4,200	4,100	3,450	3,103	347	49.4	10.1
Telfair	12,400	8,200	4,200	7,558	7,389	169	33.9	2.2
Terrell	13,200	4,700	8,500	2,858	2,810	48	64.4	1.7
Thomas	36,600	22,100	14,500	10,001	8,422	1,579	39.6	15.8
Tift	25,900	18,500	7,400	7,794	6,681	1,113	28.6	14.3
Toombs	18,100	12,900	5,200	5,713	5,543	170	28.7	3.
Towns	4,800	4,800	0	2,123***	2,123***	0***	0	0
Treutlen	6,000	4,100	1,900	3,559***	3,541***	18***	31.7	.5
Troup	54,700	38,000	16,700	15,940	13,836	2,104	30.5	13.2
Turner	10,500	6,400	4,100	4,367	3,893	474	39.	10.9
Twiggs	8,000	3,100	4,900	2,865	2,517	348	61.3	12.1
Union	7,200	7,200	0	4,944	4,944	0	0	0
Upson	25,600	19,300	6,300	5,903	5,437	466	24.6	7.9
Walker	43,800	41,100	2,700	24,451	23,324	1,127	6.2	4.6
Walton	20,400	13,900	6,500	7,678	6,873	805	31.9	10.5
Ware	32,800	24,100	8,700	13,736	11,418	2,318	26.5	16.9
Warren	8,000	2,900	5,100	2,201	2,006	195	63.8	8.9
Washington	19,600	8,300	11,300	8,400	6,696	1,704	57.7	20.3
Wayne	15,600	12,500	3,100	9,370	7,931	1,439	19.9	15.4
Webster	3,800	1,300	2,500	934	934	0	65.8	0
Wheeler	5,700	3,700	2,000	3,592	3,157	435	35.1	12.1
White	5,800	5,400	400	4,121	3,932	189	6.9	4.6
Whitfield	40,800	39,100	1,700	16,777	15,920	857	4.2	5.1
Wilcox	8,700	5,900	2,800	3,289	3,059	230	32.2	7.
Wilkes	10,900	5,100	5,800	3,654	3,364	290	53.2	7.9
Wilkinson	9,200	4,700	4,500	3,452	3,041	411	48.9	11.9
Worth	18,700	9,200	9,500	6,151	5,855	296	50.8	4.8
STATE	3,934,000	2,791,000	1,143,000	1,292,343	1,130,385	161,958	29.0	12.5

SOURCE: Secretary of State, September 1958, unless otherwise noted. Population Figures: Georgia Department of Public Health, July, 1958.
*Total reported by Secretary of State not broken-down by race. Negro estimate taken from SRC 1956 report; white estimate based on population reports.
**Total reported by Secretary of State not broken-down by race. White and Negro estimates by county Board of Registrars.
***Not reported by Secretary of State. Estimates taken from SRC 1956 report.
****Not reported by Secretary of State. Estimates provided by county Board of Registrars.

LOUISIANA

Parishes	1958 Population Total	1958 Population White	1958 Population Negro	1958 Registration Total	1958 Registration White	1958 Registration Negro	Population % Negro	Registration % Negro
Acadia	55,050	43,771	11,279	21,828	18,324	3,504	20.5	16.1
Allen	21,883	16,550	5,333	8,816	7,053	1,763	24.4	20.
Ascension	25,919	16,744	9,175	9,406	7,382	2,024	35.4	21.5
Assumption	19,781	11,261	8,520	6,720	4,731	1,989	43.1	29.6
Avoyelles	43,311	31,288	12,023	15,999	14,045	1,954	27.8	12.2
Beauregard	21,030	17,291	3,739	7,787	6,747	1,040	17.8	13.4
Bienville	20,905	10,107	10,796	4,787	4,759	28	51.6	.58
Bossier	50,376	33,994	16,382	10,455	9,983	472	32.5	4.5
Caddo	208,722	127,707	81,015	55,688	51,222	4,466	38.8	8.
Calcasieu	112,461	87,039	25,422	41,967	35,603	6,364	22.6	15.2
Caldwell	11,338	8,025	3,313	2,572	2,534	38	29.2	1.5
Cameron	6,733	6,284	449	2,003	1,928	75	6.7	3.7
Catahoula	13,566	8,672	4,894	2,409	2,222	187	36.1	7.8
Claiborne	27,325	12,834	14,491	5,713	5,698	15	53.	.26
Concordia	16,968	7,037	9,931	2,262	2,090	172	58.5	7.6
DeSoto	27,434	11,403	16,031	6,012	5,526	486	58.4	8.1
East Baton Rouge	190,198	127,464	62,734	63,690	54,590	9,100	33.	14.3
East Carroll	18,681	7,243	11,438	2,028	2,028	0	61.2	0.
East Feliciana	21,198	8,343	12,855	2,939	2,485	454	60.1	15.4
Evangeline	35,908	26,626	9,282	15,901	12,815	3,086	25.8	19.4
Franklin	34,146	20,905	13,241	6,056	5,692	364	38.8	6.
Grant	15,783	11,732	4,051	5,277	4,752	525	25.7	9.9
Iberia	47,533	32,070	15,463	18,602	14,490	4,112	32.5	22.1
Iberville	30,479	15,440	15,039	7,853	5,917	1,936	49.3	24.7
Jackson	17,296	11,756	5,540	5,316	4,956	360	32.	6.8
Jefferson	130,226	108,398	21,828	66,127	59,392	6,735	16.8	10.2
Jefferson Davis	30,823	23,925	6,888	10,830	9,169	1,661	22.3	15.3
Lafayette	69,568	49,993	19,575	17,121	14,125	2,996	28.1	17.5
Lafourche	50,456	43,584	6,872	22,879	20,926	1,953	13.6	8.5
LaSalle	14,256	12,577	1,679	5,058	4,901	157	11.8	3.1
Lincoln	28,798	16,855	11,943	5,135	4,665	470	41.5	9.2
Livingston	23,238	19,511	3,727	7,107	6,543	564	16.	7.9
Madison	20,156	6,654	13,502	1,316	1,316	0	67.	0
Morehouse	38,276	19,308	18,968	4,849	4,647	202	49.6	4.2
Natchitoches	42,796	23,084	19,712	7,528	6,121	1,407	46.1	18.7
Orleans	643,979	424,440	219,539	194,421	163,132	31,289	34.1	16.1
Ouachita	87,967	58,006	29,961	22,755	21,979	776	34.1	3.4
Plaquemines	17,714	10,962	6,752	5,416	5,371	45	38.1	.83
Point Coupee	25,060	11,301	13,759	3,747	3,121	626	54.9	16.7
Rapides	105,119	70,082	35,037	27,924	25,294	2,630	33.3	9.4
Red River	13,460	6,480	6,980	1,973	1,958	15	51.9	.76
Richland	31,261	17,757	13,504	4,452	4,273	179	43.2	4.
Sabine	23,205	18,128	5,077	9,135	7,643	1,492	21.9	16.3
St. Bernard	14,944	12,919	2,025			802	13.6	
St. Charles	16,600	11,373	5,227	6,433	5,001	1,432	31.5	22.3
St. Helena	9,958	4,458	5,500	2,761	1,702	1,059	55.2	8.4
St. James	18,006	8,783	9,223				51.2	
St. John	17,653	8,565	9,088			2,426	51.5	
St. Landry	92,456	50,536	41,920	22,512	15,367	7,145	45.3	31.7
St. Martin	31,335	19,308	12,027	9,650	7,144	2,506	38.4	26.
St. Mary	42,703	26,845	15,858	14,021	11,363	2,658	37.1	19.
St. Tammany	31,177	21,381	9,796	16,129	14,059	2,070	31.4	12.8
Tangipahoa	61,991	41,135	20,856	21,031	17,554	3,477	33.6	16.5
Tensas	15,009	5,210	9,799	928	928	0	65.3	0.
Terrabonne	53,184	40,551	12,633	12,192	11,193	999	23.8	8.2
Union	21,164	13,390	7,774	4,303	3,935	368	36.7	8.6
Vermilion	42,245	36,711	5,534	18,753	16,863	1,890	13.1	10.1
Vernon	23,242	20,463	2,779	8,063	7,423	640	12.	7.9
Washington	44,852	29,838	15,014	12,961	11,444	1,517	33.5	11.7
Webster	41,189	25,890	15,299	8,277	8,197	80	37.1	1.
West Baton Rouge	13,448	6,354	7,094	2,315	1,301	1,014	52.8	43.8
West Carroll	19,488	15,709	3,779	3,335	3,265	70	19.4	2.1
West Feliciana	11,405	3,091	8,314	901	901	0	72.9	0
Winn	17,742	12,589	5,153			1,430	29.	
STATE	3,130,173	2,067,740	1,062,433	920,675*	793,265*	126,410**	33.9	13.7

SOURCE: Secretary of State, October 4, 1958. Population Figures: Louisiana State Department of Health, 1958.
*Excluding St. Bernard, St. John the Baptist, and Winn parishes, for which registration figures were not available at the time of the survey. The Negro registration figures entered above for these parishes are from SRC's 1956 survey, and are not included in the state totals or percentages.
**Plus 4,658 for the three excluded parishes = 131,068.

SOUTH CAROLINA

County	1957 Population			1958 Registration			Population	Registration
	Total	*White*	*Negro*	*Total*	*White*	*Negro*	*% Negro*	*% Negro*
Abbeville	24,167	15,995	8,172	5,538	5,420	118	33.8	2.1
Aiken	63,075	41,719	21,356	20,216	18,454	1,762	33.9	8.7
Allendale	13,211	3,704	9,507	2,559	2,419	140	72.	5.5
Anderson	100,724	77,296	21,428	25,048	23,424	1,624	21.3	6.5
Bamberg	19,733	8,029	11,704	3,660	3,267	393	59.3	10.7
Barnwell	20,074	8,097	11,977	5,317	4,786	531	59.7	10.
Beaufort	30,466	12,257	18,209	4,141	2,855	1,286	59.8	31.1
Berkeley	34,609	12,427	22,182	7,060	5,147	1,913	64.1	27.1
Calhoun	16,490	4,515	11,975	1,773	1,699	74	72.6	4.2
Charleston	193,973	113,329	80,644	40,136	32,859	7,277	41.6	16.5
Cherokee	39,146	29,976	9,170	11,276	10,612	664	23.4	5.9
Chester	36,716	20,802	15,914	9,143	8,463	680	43.3	7.4
Chesterfield	40,417	24,346	16.071	9,597	8,196	1,401	39.8	14.6
Clarendon	37,376	10,372	27,004	3,782	3,458	324	72.2	8.6
Colleton	31,684	14,405	17,279	6,430	5,695	735	54.5	11.4
Darlington	57,480	30,098	27,382	12,635	10,191	2,444	47.6	19.3
Dillon	35,541	18,045	17,496	5,740	4,924	816	49.2	14.2
Dorchester	25,514	11,153	14,361	5,742	5,330	412	56.3	7.2
Edgefield	18,950	7,231	11,719	3,537	3,267	270	61.8	7.6
Fairfield	24,824	9,692	15,132	4,968	4,218	750	61.	15.1
Florence	90,885	49,189	41,696	17,953	16,090	1,863	45.9	10.4
Georgetown	37,160	17,127	20,033	5,578	4,667	911	53.9	16.3
Greenville	193,720	157,176	36,544	51,097	47,057	4,040	18.8	7.9
Greenwood	46,524	32,327	14,197	11,682	10,844	838	30.5	29.3
Hampton	20,258	8,625	11,633	3,460	3,210	250	57.4	7.2
Harry	69,224	49,692	19,532	15,122	13,892	1,230	28.2	8.1
Jasper	12,224	4,213	8,011	2,464	1,975	489	65.5	19.8
Kershaw	36,262	18,709	17,553	9,790	8,706	1,084	48.4	11.1
Lancaster	41,921	29,593	12,328	12,977	12,084	893	29.4	6.9
Laurens	51,396	34,988	16,408	11,033	10,102	931	31.9	8.4
Lee	26,754	8,229	18,525	4,908	4,166	742	69.2	15.1
Lexington	50,725	39,833	10,892	14,319	14,106	213	21.5	1.5
McCormick	10,859	3,867	6,992	1,399	1,399	0	64.4	0
Marion	38,196	16,349	21,847	6,252	5,280	972	57.2	15.5
Marlboro	35,204	16,409	18,795	7,411	7,016	395	53.4	5.3
Newberry	34,392	21,283	13,109	8,480	7,984	496	38.1	5.8
Oconee	43,441	38,219	5,222	8,277	7,717	560	12.	6.8
Orangeburg	78,513	27,910	50,603	12,288	10,068	2,220	64.5	18.1
Pickens	44,737	39,866	4,871	10,734	10,435	299	10.9	2.8
Richland	165,882	106,686	59,196	38,775	32,110	6,665	35.7	17.2
Saluda	17,679	9,952	7,727	4,351	4,135	216	43.7	5.
Spartanburg	167,990	129,872	38,118	45,084	41,914	3,170	22.7	7.
Sumter	69,385	30,494	38,891	9,704	7,574	2,130	56.1	21.9
Union	34,687	23,408	11,279	12,124	11,100	1,024	32.5	8.4
Williamsburg	51,222	15,736	35,486	6,390	6,156	234	69.3	3.7
York	82,092	56,145	25,947	18,966	16,552	2,414	31.6	12.7
STATE	2,415,502	1,461,385	954,117	537,406	479,711	57,978	39.5	10.8

SOURCE: Secretary of State O. Frank Thornton, as reported in *The State* (Columbia, S. C.), May 24, 1958.

The *South Carolina Legislative Manual, 1959* prints county registration figures as of June 10, 1958 (page 358); the figures given above were reported by the Secretary of State as of May 10, 1958. The later figures are not used because they are not broken down by race. The difference, however, is slight: a total state registration of 536,206, or 1,200 less than the May 10 report used here.

Population Figures: State Board of Health, January 1, 1957.

VIRGINIA

County	1956 Population Total	1956 Population White	1956 Population Negro	1958 Registration Total	1958 Registration White	1958 Registration Negro	Population % Negro	Registration % Negro
Accomack	33,923	22,094	11,829	4,962	4,469	493	34.9	9.9
Albermarle	27,933	22,805	5,128	4,765	4,120	645	18.4	13.5
Alleghany	11,725	10,834	891	2,214	2,056	158	7.6	7.1
Amelia	8,299	4,128	4,171	2,582	1,975	607	50.3	23.5
Amherst	21,063	15,623	5,440	5,182	4,586	596	25.8	11.5
Appomattox	8,667	6,429	2,238	2,540	2,390	150	25.8	5.9
Arlington	158,710	151,207	7,203	44,526	43,252	1,274	4.5	2.9
Augusta	35,107	33,322	1,785	7,446	7,271	175	5.1	2.4
Bath	5,982	5,321	661	1,776	1,704	72	11.	4.1
Bedford	31,601	25,693	5,908	6,985	6,130	855	18.7	12.2
Bland	6,185	6,048	137	1,689	1,672	17	2.2	1.
Botetourt	16,555	15,112	1,443	4,740	4,740	0	8.7	0.
Brunswick	20,544	8,095	12,449	4,626	3,856	770	60.6	16.6
Buchanan	38,650	38,636	14	11,625	11,625	0	.04	0.
Buckingham	12,135	6,738	5,397	1,515	1,075	440	44.4	29.
Campbell	33,669	26,063	7,606	6,133	5,358	775	22.6	12.6
Caroline	12,788	6,108	6,680	1,912	1,410	502	52.2	26.3
Carroll	26,882	26,481	401	6,456	6,445	11	1.5	.17
Charles City	4,842	867	3,975	1,186	554	632	82.1	53.3
Charlotte	15,431	9,352	6,079	3,580	3,296	284	39.4	7.9
Chesterfield	56,044	46,385	9,659	12,595	11,325	1,270	17.2	10.1
Clarke	7,267	6,050	1,217	2,330	2,105	225	16.7	9.7
Craig	3,315	3,301	14	1,080	1,080	0	.42	0.
Culpeper	14,517	10,662	3,855	3,304	2,827	477	26.6	14.4
Cumberland	6,966	2,868	4,098	1,775	1,475	300	58.8	16.9
Dickenson	23,391	23,181	210	9,305	9,260	45	.9	.48
Dinwiddie	20,575	7,866	12,709	4,260	3,424	836	61.8	19.6
Essex	6,666	3,496	3,170	1,070	845	225	47.6	21.
Fairfax	176,371	164,269	12,102	48,580	47,506	1,074	6.9	2.2
Fauquier	24,401	18,206	6,195	4,120	3,937	183	25.4	4.4
Floyd	11,580	11,174	406	4,538	4,433	105	3.5	2.3
Fluvanna	7,289	4,492	2,797	890	808	82	38.4	9.2
Franklin	27,188	23,011	4,177	3,995	3,609	386	15.4	9.7
Frederick	20,400	19,972	428	4,265	4,220	45	2.1	1.1
Giles	20,090	19,547	543	5,001	4,950	51	2.7	1.
Gloucester	11,351	7,942	3,409	3,596	2,949	647	30.	18.
Goochland	9,280	4,512	4,768	2,625	1,950	675	51.4	25.7
Grayson	16,887	15,869	1,018	6,501	6,430	71	6.	1.1
Greene	5,321	4,641	680	1,787	1,700	87	12.8	4.9
Greensville	17,996	7,456	10,540	3,685	2,810	875	58.6	23.7
Halifax	43,418	24,223	19,195	6,332	5,750	582	44.2	9.2
Hanover	26,012	18,374	7,638	5,175	4,640	535	29.4	10.3
Henrico	86,821	80,776	6,045	30,813	29,958	855	7.	2.8
Henry	36,825	27,400	9,425	6,621	6,270	351	25.6	5.3
Highland	3,811	3,695	116	1,257	1,247	10	3.	.8
Isle of Wight	16,580	7,899	8,681	4,523	3,592	931	52.4	20.6
James City	7,370	4,037	3,333	1,465	1,123	342	45.2	23.3
King George	6,636	4,652	1,984	1,525	1,200	325	29.9	21.3
King and Queen	6,822	3,110	3,712	915	565	350	54.4	38.3
King William	7,949	4,650	3,299	1,405	1,100	305	41.5	21.7
Lancaster	8,911	5,316	3,595	2,075	1,660	415	40.3	20.
Lee	30,363	30,013	350	12,311	12,183	128	1.2	1.
Loudoun	23,764	19,788	3,976	7,919	7,498	421	16.7	5.3
Louisa	13,550	8,181	5,369	2,464	2,085	379	39.6	15.4
Lunenburg	14,925	8,134	6,791	2,660	2,200	460	45.5	17.3
Madison	8,784	6,621	2,163	2,110	1,985	125	24.6	5.9
Mathews	6,900	4,981	1,919	1,675	1,475	200	27.8	11.9
Mecklenburg	33,810	17,220	16,590	5,880	5,250	630	49.1	10.7
Middlesex	6,971	4,049	2,922	1,206	1,003	203	41.9	16.8
Montgomery	32,171	30,647	1,524	6,530	6,100	430	4.7	6.6
Nansemond	28,554	10,081	18,473	4,247	2,909	1,338	64.7	31.5
Nelson	14,248	10,229	4,019	3,444	3,078	366	28.2	10.6
New Kent	4,237	1,925	2,312	1,182	808	374	54.6	31.6
Norfolk	70,428	54,110	16,318	8,040	6,739	1,301	23.2	16.2
Northampton	17,861	8,085	9,776	2,795	2,275	520	54.7	18.6
Northumberland	9,594	5,391	4,203	4,550	3,070	1,480	43.8	32.5
Nottoway	15,964	8,921	7,043	3,220	2,655	565	44.1	17.5
Orange	13,589	10,208	3,381	2,531	2,274	257	24.9	10.2
Page	15,550	15,043	507	6,010	5,900	110	3.3	1.8
Patrick	16,307	14,999	1,308	3,980	3,900	80	8.	2.
Pittsylvania	60,674	38,597	22,077	6,918	6,425	493	36.4	7.1
Powhatan	5,823	3,534	2,289	1,796	1,365	431	39.3	24.
Prince Edward	15,993	9,259	6,734	3,450	2,750	700	42.1	20.3
Prince George	22,134	16,389	5,745	2,246	1,819	427	26.	19.
Princess Anne	77,104	64,438	12,666	16,573	15,158	1,415	16.4	8.5
Prince William	28,840	25,852	2,988	4,205	3,851	354	10.4	8.4
Pulaski	30,357	28,284	2,073	8,077	7,572	505	6.8	6.3
Rappahannock	5,839	4,875	964	2,360	2,150	210	16.5	8.9
Richmond	6,136	3,885	2,251	1,255	970	285	36.7	22.7
Roanoke	50,123	46,565	3,558	19,435	18,647	788	7.1	4.1
Rockbridge	25,054	23,013	2,041	5,179	4,834	345	8.1	6.7

VIRGINIA—*Continued*

County	1958 Poulation Total	White	Negro	1958 Registration Total	White	Negro	Population % Negro	Registration % Negro
Rockingham	39,544	38,928	616	7,933	7,855	78	1.6	.98
Russell	27,858	27,161	697	7,052	6,963	89	2.5	1.3
Scott	28,398	28,134	264	6,360	6,320	40	.93	.63
Shenandoah	21,651	21,240	411	6,260	6,205	55	1.9	.88
Smyth	30,822	30,283	539	8,022	7,931	91	1.7	1.1
Southampton	27,038	11,161	15,877	4,155	3,630	525	58.7	12.6
Spotsylvania	13,770	10,685	3,085	3,900	3,500	400	22.4	10.3
Stafford	14,235	12,430	1,805	3,285	2,940	345	12.7	10.5
Surry	6,662	2,391	4,271	1,340	1,075	265	64.1	19.8
Sussex	13,628	4,726	8,902	2,910	2,275	635	65.3	21.8
Tazewell	49,395	46,807	2,588	7,487	7,140	347	5.2	4.6
Warren	15,622	14,456	1,166	4,090	3,911	179	7.5	4.4
Washington	38,308	37,415	893	7,864	7,686	178	2.3	2.3
Westmoreland	10,825	5,824	5,001	3,543	3,177	366	46.2	10.3
Wise	48,223	46,918	1,305	11,095	11,044	51	2.7	.4
Wythe	23,075	21,848	1,227	12,391	12,131	260	5.3	2.1
York	18,635	14,361	4,274	3,235	2,715	520	22.9	16.1

Independent Cities	1956 Population Total	White	Negro	1958 Registration Total	White	Negro	Population % Negro	Registration % Negro
Alexandria	85,427	76,767	8,660	28,046	27,175	871	10.1	3.1
Bristol	18,093	16,986	1,107	3,230	3,000	230	6.1	7.2
Buena Vista	6,204	5,979	225	1,124	1,093	31	3.6	2.8
Charlottesville	29,975	24,616	5,359	10,638	9,467	1,171	17.8	11.
Clifton Forge	5,830	4,736	1,094	2,216	2,000	216	18.7	9.7
Colonial Heights	7,813	7,796	17	2,500	2,500	0	.2	0
Covington	11,453	10,353	1,100	3,215	2,755	460	9.6	14.3
Danville	50,006	36,824	13,182	11,450	9,893	1,557	26.4	13.6
Falls Church	9,752	9,592	160	3,352	3,297	55	1.6	1.6
Fredericksburg	12,597	10,658	1,939	4,411	3,853	558	15.4	12.7
Galax	5,423	5,094	329	1,360	1,350	10	6.1	.74
Hampton	75,980	58,805	17,175	17,440	14,811	2,629	22.6	15.1
Harrisonburg	12,188	11,326	862	3,385	3,200	185	7.1	5.5
Hopewell	18,722	16,052	2,670	4,310	4,000	310	14.3	7.2
Lynchburg	50,528	39,641	10,887	20,568	17,992	2,576	21.5	12.5
Martinsville	18,764	13,159	5,605	3,807	3,397	410	29.8	10.8
Newport News	44,778	22,355	22,423	11,369	6,626	4,743	50.1	41.7
Norfolk	291,896	218,108	73,787	69,310	59,422	9,888	25.3	14.3
Norton	5,139	4,714	425	1,459	1,386	73	8.3	5.
Petersburg	35,620	19,074	16,546	8,236	6,029	2,207	46.5	26.8
Portsmouth	88,073	54,927	33,146	15,724	11,415	4,309	37.6	27.4
Radford	9,999	9,415	584	4,198	3,957	241	5.8	5.7
Richmond	240,744	152,181	88,563	68,012	55,666	12,346	36.8	18.2
Roanoke	101,540	84,598	16,942	36,524	33,825	2,699	16.7	7.4
South Norfolk	24,105	18,762	5,343	4,535	3,850	685	22.2	15.1
Staunton	22,374	20,016	2,358	5,733	5,337	396	10.5	6.9
Suffolk	12,456	7,977	4,479	3,663	2,988	675	36.	18.4
Virginia Beach	6,958	6,658	300	3,714	3,591	123	4.3	3.3
Warwick	58,345	43,411	14,934	12,419	11,116	1,303	25.6	10.5
Waynesboro	14,051	13,028	1,023	4,309	4,165	144	7.3	3.3
Williamsburg	7,865	6,835	1,030	1,293	1,173	120	13.1	9.3
Winchester	14,700	13,377	1,323	4,087	3,996	91	9.	2.2
STATE	3,799,174	2,981,893	817,281	944,727*	852,483	92,172	21.5	9.8

*Includes 72 Indians in Charles City County.

SOURCE: Secretary, State Board of Elections, January 15, 1959. Population Figures: Bureau of Population and Economic Research, University of Virginia, May 1957.

ARKANSAS

County	1957 Registration Total	White	Negro	Registration % Negro
Arkansas	8,008	7,308	700	8.7
Ashley	8,050	6,868	1,182	14.7
Baxter	3,597	3,597	0	0
Benton	12,308	12,284	25	.2
Boone	5,869	5,869	0	0
Bradley	5,566	4,443	1,123	20.2
Calhoun	2,907	2,607	300	10.3
Carroll	4,195	4,195	0	0
Chicot	6,286	3,761	2,525	40.2
Clark	7,083	5,872	1,211	17.1
Clay	5,337	5,337	0	0
Cleburne	2,839	2,839	0	0
Cleveland	2,886	2,536	350	12.1
Columbia	7,544	6,534	1,010	13.4
Conway	7,585	6,189	1,396	18.4
Craighead	14,239	13,929	310	2.2
Crawford	6,584	6,489	95	1.4
Crittenden	6,923	5,778	1,145	16.5
Cross	4,642	4,036	606	13.1
Dallas	4,268	3,240	1,028	24.1
Desha	6,852	4,693	2,159	31.5
Drew	5,000	4,500	500	10.0
Faulkner	9,223	8,767	456	4.9
Franklin	4,547	4,518	29	.6
Fulton	2,647	2,647	0	0
Garland	17,347	16,647	700	4.0
Grant	3,665	3,479	186	5.1
Greene	8,144	8,134	10	.12
Hempstead	7,034	5,884	1,150	16.3
Hot Springs	8,859	8,559	300	3.4
Howard	4,112	3,852	260	6.3
Independence	6,862	6,787	75	1.1
Izard	2,933	2,910	23	.78
Jackson	7,368	6,553	815	11.1
Jefferson	20,970	15,308	5,662	27.0
Johnson	4,892	4,877	15	.31
Lafayette	3,830	2,725	1,105	28.9
Lawrence	5,536	5,506	30	.54
Lee	4,171	2,805	1,366	32.7
Lincoln	3,871	2,569	1,302	33.6
Little River	3,730	3,230	500	13.4
Logan	6,041	5,996	45	.74
Lonoke	7,755	6,597	1,158	14.9
Madison	3,645	3,645	0	0
Marion	2,792	2,792	0	0
Miller	10,740	9,172	1,568	14.6
Mississippi	16,841	12,919	3,922	23.3
Monroe	4,389	3,453	936	21.3
Montgomery	2,625	2,625	0	0
Nevada	4,021	3,285	736	18.3
Newton	2,465	2,465	0	0
Ouachita	11,421	7,401	4,020	35.2
Perry	2,147	2,117	30	1.4
Phillips	9,512	5,900	3,612	37.9
Pike	3,242	3,139	103	3.2
Poinsett	9,003	8,653	350	3.9
Polk	4,803	4,803	0	0
Pope	7,059	6,969	90	1.3
Prairie	3,832	3,632	200	5.2
Pulaski	72,190	61,771	10,419	14.4
Randolph	4,428	4,403	25	.56
St. Francis	7,162	5,262	1,900	26.5
Saline	9,415	9,328	87	.92
Scott	3,275	3,230	45	1.4
Searcy	2,766	2,766	0	0
Sebastain	21,045	20,209	836	4.0
Sevier	3,406	3,205	201	5.9
Sharp	2,823	2,823	0	0
Stone	2,770	2,770	0	0
Union	17,928	15,158	2,770	15.5
VanBuren	3,300	3,280	20	.60
Washington	13,933	13,921	12	.09
White	9,780	9,480	300	3.1
Woodruff	4,140	3,224	916	22.1
Yell	4,975	4,902	73	1.5
STATE	563,978	499,955	64,023	

SOURCE: Report of Jimmie "Red" Jones, Auditor of State of Arkansas, 1958.

TEXAS

Statistical Estimates of Qualified Negro Voters

EXPLANATION: Texas has no personal registration for voting, and the closest thing to it is poll tax payment. The poll tax is levied on all between the ages of 21-60, with a few classes of people (e.g. some physically disabled) exempted from payment. For these latter persons to vote, they must obtain a Certificate of Exemption; so also must persons *over 60* who reside in a city of 10,000 or more population. Persons over 60 living in smaller places need not get a Certificate to vote, if otherwise qualified. The table below, therefore, shows (1) number of poll taxes paid; (2) number of certified, or listed, exempts; (3) number of unlisted exempts, i.e. persons over 60 living in places of less than 10,000 population. Some of this third group, of course, may not realize that they are eligible to vote.

KEY TO SYMBOLS: <>—includes both "poll taxes paid" and "listed exempts"
X —county includes a city of 10,000 or over population
E —estimate of county tax assessor-collector
EE—estimate of SRC consultant

Counties	*Poll Taxes Paid*	*Listed Exempts*	*Unlisted Exempts Est.*	*1958 Voter Total*	*Negro Population, 1950*
Anderson	917	188	656	1,761	4,864
Andrews	33	0	1	34	34
Angelina E	768	242	188	1,198	5,944
Aransas	54	0	9	63	107
Archer EX	1	0	1	2	16
Armstrong EX	0	0	0	0	7
Atascosa	24	0	12	36	240
Austin EE	365	<> 0	435	800	3,016
Bailey EX	29	0	6	35	239
Bandera	2	0	1	2	15
Bastrop	666	0	858	1,524	6,196
Baylor	6	0	8	14	108
Bee	120	0	55	175	470
Bell	1,007	13	211	1,231	8,646
Bexar	6,175	1,376	216	7,767	32,565
Blanco	15	0	23	38	105
Borden	0	0	0	0	24
Bosque	9	0	59	68	373
Bowie X	1,614	355	922	2,891	15,184
Brazoria	1,419	29	672	2,120	6,845
Brazos	700	350	533	1,583	9,192
Brewster	7	0	7	14	40
Briscoe EX	10	0	2	12	98
Brooks	4	0	2	6	39
Brown X	127	41	90	258	906
Burleson EE	508	<> 0	704	1,212	4,203
Burnet EX	26	0	16	42	220
Caldwell	370	0	448	820	3,068
Calhoun	118	1	58	177	712
Callahan	0	0	2	2	7
Cameron EX	88	0	39	127	732
Camp EE	532	<> 0	468	1,000	3,478
Carson	3	0	2	5	11
Cass EE	1,324	<> 0	917	2,241	8,657
Castro	19	0	1	20	64
Chambers	621	0	174	795	1,526
Cherokee	883	0	1,101	1,984	10,634
Childress	61	0	62	123	832
Clay	9	0	21	30	81
Cochran EX	20	0	10	30	164
Coke	0	0	0	0	5
Coleman EX	48	0	38	86	402
Collin EE	444	<> 0	244	688	3,792
Collingsworth EX	81	0	48	129	671
Colorado	535	0	687	1,222	4,436
Comal	15	0	1	16	277
Comanche	0	0	3	3	8
Concho	0	0	1	1	10
Cooke EE	112	<> 0	18	130	959
Coryell	8	0	49	57	424
Cottle EX	46	0	14	60	385
Crane	53	0	1	54	104
Crockett EX	12	0	6	18	106
Crosby EX	99	0	39	138	827
Culberson	0	0	0	0	4
Dallam	6	0	2	8	35
Dallas EE	17,074	<> 0	1,615	18,689	82,922
Dawson X	103	29	2	134	1,091
Deaf Smith	4	0	0	4	6
Delta	24	0	101	125	934
Denton E	200	0	105	305	2,321
DeWitt EE	387	<> 0	547	934	3,199
Dickens	14	0	31	45	369
Dimmit	3	0	5	8	63
Donley	13	0	20	33	253
Duval	4	0	6	10	23
Eastland EX	38	0	62	100	313
Ector EX	557	0	28	585	1,571
Edwards	0	1	1	1	13
Ellis EE	1,270	<> 0	852	2,122	10,643
El Paso EX	905	<> 0	57	962	4,182
Erath	4	0	25	29	148
Falls	321	38	1,121	1,480	8,590
Fannin EE	384	<> 0	490	874	3,282
Fayette	275	0	643	918	3,929
Fisher	31	0	48	79	561
Floyd	36	0	16	52	387
Foard	23	0	15	38	430
Fort Bend EE	909	<> 0	952	1,861	7,520
Franklin	50	0	54	104	424
Freestone	746	5	860	1,611	6,316
Frio	8	0	6	14	98
Gaines EX	14	0	5	19	119
Galveston	6,011	961	358	7,330	23,712
Garza	37	0	10	47	242
Gillespie	2	0	4	6	15
Glasscock	0	0	1	1	11
Goliad EX	77	0	105	182	638
Gonzales	224	0	560	784	3,926
Gray EX	75	0	2	77	623
Grayson EE	1,900	<> 0	232	2,132	6,187
Gregg	4,412	<> 0	690	5,102	14,963
Grimes EE	740	<> 0	948	1,688	6,116
Guadalupe EE	438	<> 0	541	979	3,622
Hale EE	89	0	11	100	1,039
Hall EX	118	0	38	156	986
Hamilton	0	0	1	1	1
Hansford	0	0	0	0	0
Hardeman EX	99	0	65	164	822
Hardin	761	4	334	1,099	3,079
Harris	44,282	<> 0	1,112	45,994	149,286
Harrison EE	2,000	<>200	1,543	3,743	24,717
Hartley	0	0	1	1	11
Haskell	35	0	45	80	887
Hays	128	0	187	315	1,144
Hemphill	0	0	0	0	1
Henderson	463	0	518	981	4,766
Hidalgo EX	73	0	77	150	609
Hill	105	0	490	595	4,677
Hockley	31	0	28	59	940
Hood	4	0	25	29	30
Hopkins	201	0	292	493	2,631
Houston	701	4	1,050	1,755	8,918
Howard X	155	27	4	186	890
Hudspeth	0	0	1	10	25
Hunt EE	738	<> 0	260	998	6,309
Hutchinson	113	28	31	172	522
Irion EX	0	0	1	1	10
Jack EX	8	0	4	12	74
Jackson	166	1	202	369	1,714

TEXAS—*Continued*

Counties	Poll Taxes Paid	Listed Exempts	Unlisted Exempts Est.	1958 Voter Total	Negro Population, 1950
Jasper	636	3	572	1,211	5,305
Jeff Davis	2	0	3	5	26
Jefferson	8,616	1,383	162	10,161	44,122
Jim Hogg	2	0	1	3	13
Jim Wells EX	48	0	3	51	401
Johnson	80	3	98	181	1,761
Jones	58	0	109	167	1,333
Karnes	74	1	95	170	59
Kaufman EE	1,042	<> 0	465	1,507	8,905
Kendall	8	0	19	27	60
Kenedy	0	0	0	0	0
Kent EX	6	0	4	10	48
Kerr EX	68	0	56	114	564
Kimble	1	0	2	3	5
King EX	7	0	2	9	62
Kinney	56	0	36	92	221
Kleberg	253	0	2	255	810
Knox	21	0	42	63	613
Lamar X	561	276	363	1,200	7,971
Lamb EX	159	0	44	203	1,326
Lampasas EX	24	0	38	62	201
LaSalle EX	2	0	5	7	15
Lavaca	127	0	372	499	2,278
Lee EE	326	<> 0	425	751	2,695
Leon EE	682	<> 0	636	1,318	4,737
Liberty	1,144	<> 22	590	1,756	6,071
Limestone	1,305	22	827	2,154	7,468
Lipscomb	0	0	1	1	2
Live Oak	0	0	2	2	31
Llano EX	6	0	7	13	54
Loving	4	0	0	4	0
Lubbock X	404	90	48	542	7,893
Lynn	28	0	23	51	592
Madison	194	30	315	539	2,618
Marion EE	885	<> 0	721	1,606	5,782
Martin EX	32	0	8	40	263
Mason	0	0	4	3	64
Matagorda EE	571	<> 0	601	1,182	4,809
Maverick	0	0	4	4	10
McCulloch EX	44	0	35	79	370
McLennan EE	4,000	<> 0	800	4,800	22,329
McMullen	0	0	1	10	5
Medina	12	0	32	44	207
Menard EX	3	0	5	8	29
Midland	672	78	13	763	2,123
Milam	210	0	715	925	5,150
Mills	0	0	1	1	2
Mitchell E	200	0	63	263	905
Montague	0	0	0	0	1
Montgomery	1,084	0	704	1,788	6,149
Moore	0	0	1	1	6
Morris	269	2	274	545	3,126
Motley	18	0	16	34	259
Nacogdoches X	879	191	429	1,499	8,655
Navarro X	785	200	550	1,535	9,886
Newton	631	4	436	1,071	3,824
Nolan X	61	23	6	90	783
Nueces X	1,566	100	30	1,696	7,958
Ochiltree	0	0	0	0	0
Oldham	0	0	0	0	0
Orange EE	632	<> 0	32	664	4,387
Palo Pinto E	100	0	82	182	668
Panola	891	0	543	1,434	6,643
Parker EX	32	0	54	86	263
Parmer EX	2	0	1	3	17
Pecos	12	0	6	18	136
Polk EE	648	<> 0	599	1,247	4,504
Potter X	184	133	2	319	3,556
Presidio	1	0	9	10	57
Rains EX	51	0	41	92	424
Randall	0	0	4	4	47
Reagan EX	17	0	3	20	141
Real	1	0	0	1	8
Red River	318	0	647	965	5,230
Reeves EX	33	0	10	43	276
Refugio EX	134	0	101	235	1,120
Roberts	0	0	0	0	0
Robertson	753	0	1,147	1,900	8,212
Rockwall EE	197	<> 0	116	313	1,688
Runnels	0	0	60	60	509
Rusk	2,093	29	1,258	3,380	12,632
Sabine EE	322	<> 0	185	507	2,240
San Augustine	236	0	302	538	3,068
San Jacinto EE	542	<> 0	528	1,070	3,767
San Patricio	52	0	41	93	723
San Saba	7	3	11	21	70
Schleicher EX	12	0	0	17	99
Scurry EX	47	0	15	62	341
Shackelford	8	0	17	25	135
Shelby EE	700	0	584	1,284	5,916
Sherman	0	0	0	0	2
Smith EX	2,000	500	1,276	3,776	22,291
Somervell	0	0	0	0	2
Starr	0	0	1	0	3
Stephens	151	0	50	201	359
Sterling EX	1	0	0	1	13
Stonewall EX	12	0	14	26	101
Sutton	4	0	1	5	33
Swisher	4	0	6	10	104
Tarrant X	4,590	433	242	5,265	39,674
Taylor X EX	307	0	26	333	2,561
Terrell	1	0	3	3	13
Terry EX	46	0	16	62	382
Throckmorton	0	0	1	1	1
Titus	566	0	305	871	3,197
Tom Green X	500	110	2	612	3,091
Travis	3,919	961	473	5,353	22,493
Trinity	1,100	7	417	1,524	2,688
Tyler	227	0	205	432	2,232
Upshur EE	919	<> 0	604	1,523	6,009
Upton	84	0	11	95	207
Uvalde	10	0	23	33	193
Val Verde X	43	15	2	60	355
Van Zandt EE	181	0	180	361	1,543
Victoria X	420	46	182	648	3,073
Walker	792	0	885	1,677	7,494
Waller EE	765	<> 0	626	1,391	6,328
Ward	76	1	21	98	319
Washington EE	846	<> 0	1,202	2,048	6,993
Webb X	1	3	0	4	79
Wharton EE	949	<> 0	1,008	1,957	7,843
Wheeler	10	0	25	35	288
Wichita X	803	191	27	1,021	6,276
Wilbarger EX	210	0	22	323	1,746
Willacy EX	13	0	12	25	110
Williamson	56	0	655	711	5,864
Wilson	24	0	60	84	310
Winkler	71	0	6	77	170
Wise	7	0	16	23	135
Wood	328	0	399	677	3,124
Yoakum	17	0	1	18	13
Young	17	0	9	26	140
Zapata	0	0	0	0	1
Zavala	23	1	7	31	95
TOTALS	163,773	8,954	54,291	226,818	977,458

SOURCE: SRC Consultant—Population Figures: 1950 Census.

N

1. Several factors combine ~~to induce at the~~ at the present time to induce residential shifts of Negroes in the Atlanta area. Among these are:

a. Dislocations caused by urban renewal + other re-building + growth projects

b. Increased income of Negroes, encouraging more to seek better accommodations for their families. e.g.:

1949:
all families — $2,936
white families — $3,618
non-white families — $1,413

1959:
all families — $5758
white families — $6414
non-white families — $3033

median family income metro Atlanta

CITY of ATLANTA, DEKALB COUNTY, FIGURES ON BACK OF THIS PAGE

c. Increased educational levels of Negroes, encouraging more to seek better accommodations for their families.

Persons over 25, median School years, DeKalb County:

1950:
non-whites — 5.5
all persons — 11.4
white persons — 12.0

1960:
non-whites — 6.7
all persons — 12.3
white persons — 12.8

median school years, persons over 25, METRO Atlanta

1950: non-whites — 6.4; all persons — 9.6; white persons — 10.7

1960: non-whites — 7.6; all persons — 10.8; white persons — 11.6

d. The stimulus of the civil rights campaign

e. The spread of "fair-employment", bringing Negro professionals + technicians to outlying installations such as Lockheed and the Commonwealth Daycare Center, + in turn, to such installations as the Emory University, the new VA hospital, + the Doraville General Motors plant.

f. The federal requirement of teacher integration under Title VI of the Civil

Median family income: 1949 —

		Page of Ga. Census Report
City of ~~Metropolitan~~ Atlanta —		
All families —	$2,664 ✓	(11-74)
White families —	$3,811	
Non-white families	$1,427 ✓	(11-76)
DeKalb County —		
All families —	$3,539 ✓	(11-156)
White families —	$3,807	
Non-white families	$1,286 ✓	(11-160)

Median family income: 1959 —

City of Atlanta —
All families — — $5029
White families — — $6212
Non-white families — $3069
DeKalb County —
All families — — $6873
White families — — $7188
Non-white families — $2823

DeKalb — Families + Family Income

All — 36,205 × $3539 = $128,129,495

non-wh — 3,870 × $1286 = $4,976,820

32,335 $123,152,675

Whites: $\frac{123,152,675}{32,335}$ = $3808.6

Atlanta — Families + Family Income

All — 86,860 × $2664 = $231,395,040

41,785 × $1427 = $59,627,195

45,075 171,767,845

Whites: $\frac{171,767,845}{45,075}$ = $3810.7

VF

Population
[In thousands]

	Atlanta		Atlanta Metro		DeKalb Co.	
	White	Negro (%)	White	Negro (%)	White	Negro (%)
1900	54.1	35.7 (39.8)	142.5	72.2 (33.6)	14.1	7.0 (33.4)
1910	102.9	51.9 (33.5)	204.2	87.2 (29.9)	19.5	8.4 (30.0)
1920	137.8	62.8 (31.3)	266.5	100.7 (27.4)	34.2	9.9 (22.5)
1930	180.3	90.4 (33.5)	348.8	130.2 (27.2)	58.2	12.1 (17.2)
1940	197.7	104.6 (34.6)	409.1	149.7 (26.8)	73.0	14.0 (16.0)
1950	209.9	121.4 (36.6)	554.3	172.7 (23.8)	122.0	14.3 (10.6)
1960	300.6	186.3 (38.3)	785.4	231.6 (22.8)	234.4	22.4 (8.7)
1964 (est)	298.9	207.3 (41.0)	889.2	253.8 (22.2)	271.2	29.8 (9.9)

Negro home owners, DeKalb County, 1900 - 1960
" acres owned, " " " "

From Ga. Dept of Revenue - Statistical Rpt.
No of homestead exemptions, colored, DeKalb County:

HOMESTEAD EXEMPTIONS -

1940 - 430
1942 - 442
1944 - 442
1946 - 486
1947 - 692
1949 - 754
1951 - 1142
1953 - 1224
1955 - 1228
1958 - 1102
1961 - 1923
1963 - 1877

[See also Reverse side]

From Censuses of Agriculture:
All land in farms, non-white owners (full owners* & part owners**)
DeKalb County:

	[acres]	TOTAL
1934	1482** + 447*	= 1929 acres
1940	1804** + 64*	= 1868 "
1950	1299** + 256*	= 1555 "
1954	638** + 34*	= 672 "
1959	304** + 0*	= 304 "

Actually, data is land in farms operated by non-white owners. But, can't we presume few Negro-owned acres leased to whites and negroes. Big gap in data may be non-farm land.

[See Reverse side]

Re: colored persons, or non-whites.

DeKalb County — no of homestead exemptions
Value of city property
Value of land

YEAR	No. of Homestead exemptions	Value of City Property	Value of land
1963	1,877	----	----
1961	1,923	$3,707,930	$422,575
1958	1,102	$3,261,200	$375,620
1955	1,228	$980,400	$139,850
1953	1,224	$791,770	$152,395
1951	1,142	$524,220	$90,525
1949	754	$465,955	$79,595
1947	692	$342,985	$69,545
1946	486	$298,245	$66,465
1944	442	-----	-----
1942	442	----	----
1940	430	-----	-----

Not very meaningful. Means assessed value of all property, personal and real, w/in city limits

Ditto. Means assessed value of all land outside city limits.

become predominantly Negro. This has already occurred in Washington, despite the fact that the percentage of Negroes living in the Washington metropolitan area is lower than at any time since 19??.

6. A few middle class & upper middle class neighborhoods of the North have accepted a small number of Negro newcomers, & remained stable neighborhoods. ~~This seems the only alternative to neighborhood transition.~~ The spread, North & South, of the practice, ~~permitting~~ enabling Negroes to settle freely throughout the metropolitan area in, given the pressures for more & better housing by Negroes, the only ~~probable~~ likely alternative to neighborhood by neighborhood transition.

Right Act will presumably result in the non-racial assignment of teachers who will presumably want to live close to their schools.

g. Negro parents, as do white parents, choose neighborhood so far as possible that have good schools

2. Few truly integrated neighborhoods exist, North or South.

3. The usual pattern of housing change has been for ~~entire,~~ an entire neighborhood to pass from white to Negro occupancy in a ~~relatively short time~~ relatively short time. Once the transition starts, it is hastened by ~~realtors~~ the power of + practice of realtors + lending firms. It is also expedited by the decisions of churches ~~to~~ to sell + move ~~[illegible]~~ in both North + South, ~~decisions made by the public schools~~ + by decisions affecting public schools.

4. The ~~[illegible]~~ frequent pattern is that the first whites to sell get prices for their homes higher than their market value. ~~The last~~ Prices frequently fall as the transition moves. Usually once a transition begins, no whites will buy into the neighborhood.

+ frequently panic selling begins

5. The ~~[illegible]~~ practically inevitable outcome of the process is that the "inner city" will

Estimated non-white population of voting age —

		1952 *	1956 **
1.	Alabama	516,245	498,783
2.	Arkansas	232,191	212,409
3.	Florida	366,797	418,529
4.	Georgia ***	661,887	612,243
5.	Louisiana	481,284	497,937
6.	Mississippi	497,354	459,805
7.	North Carolina	549,741	550,335
8.	South Carolina	390,024	380,564
9.	Tennessee	318,790	316,332
10.	Texas	582,944	616,228
11.	Virginia	422,670	429,695
		5,019,927	4,992,860

* Based on 1950 Census.
** Average of 1950 and 1960 Census figures.
*** Voting age 18.

Negro registration, and % of Voting Age Pop'n:

		1952 no.	1952 Percent	1956 no.	1956 Percent
1	Ala	25,224	4.9	53,366	10.7
2	Ark	61,413	26.4	69,677	32.8
3	Fla	120,990	33.0	148,703	35.5
4	Ga	144,835	21.9	163,389	26.7
5	La	120,000	24.9	161,410	32.4
6	Miss	20,000	4.0	20,000	4.3
7	N Caro	100,000	18.2	135,000	24.5
8	S Caro	80,000	20.5	99,890	26.2
9	Tenn	85,000	26.7	90,000	28.5
10	Texas	181,916	31.2	214,000	34.7
11	Va	69,326	16.4	82,603	19.2
		1,008,614	20.1	1,238,038	24.8

State by State — — South — 1952 + 1956
Number registered + % of eligibles

Non-white population of voting age.

		1950	1960
1	Alabama	516,245	481,320
2	Arkansas	232,191	192,626
3	Florida	366,797	470,261
4	Georgia	611,576	612,910
5	Louisiana	481,284	514,589
6	Mississippi	497,354	422,256
7	North Carolina	549,741	550,929
8	South Carolina	390,024	371,104
9	Tennessee	318,790	313,873
10	Texas	582,944	649,512
11	Virginia	422,670	436,720

		TOTAL	AVERAGE
1	Ala	997,565	498,783
2	Ark	424,817	212,409
3	Fla	837,058	418,529
4	Ga	1,224,486	612,243
5	La.	995,873	497,937
6	Miss	919,610	459,805
7	N. Caro	1,100,670	550,335
8	S. Caro	761,128	380,564
9	Tenn	632,663	316,332
10	Texas	1,232,456	616,228
11	Va	859,390	429,695

1960 Voter Registration Statistics, taken from SRC Suffrage files by JBM

STATE	NVAP	TREG	WREG	NREG	%W VAP REG	%N VAP REG.
ALABAMA	506,000	902,218	828,946	73,272	62.5	15.5
ARKANSAS	197,000	590,501	517,897	72,604		
FLORIDA	477,00	1,747,447	1,584,319	163,128		
GEORGIA	613,000	1,200,000	1,020,000	180,000		
LOUISIANA	518,000	1,130,381	973,443	156,938	74.1	34.1
MISSISSIPPI	423,000	500,000	478,000	22,000		5.2
NORTH CAROLINA	547,000	1,819,869	1,647,703	172,166		
SOUTH CAROLINA	379,000	539,095	480,973	58,122	54.4	15.5
TENNESSEE	298,000	1,569,000	1,300,000	185,000	74.6	
TEXAS	624,000	2,305,318	2,078,500	226,818	43.5	43.6
VIRGINIA	439,000	967,074	866,974	100,100		
TOTAL	5,021,000	13,270,903	11,776,755	1,410,148		

Please remember that <u>all</u> of this information is only approximate.

1960, 1962 — State by State

(1) no. of reg N W's (2) % of elg N. W's —

	1960	1962
Ala	73,272	76,500
Ark	72,604	71,200
Fla	163,128	176,000
Ga	180,000	175,600
La	156,938	156,200
Miss	22,000	24,750
NCaro	172,166	210,450
SCaro	58,122	90,900
Tenn	185,000	168,700
Texas	226,818	179,400
Virginia	100,100	94,400

(2) % of N-W VAP registered

	1960	1962
Ala	15.2	15.8
Ark	37.7	37.0
Fla	34.7	37.4
Ga	29.3	28.7
La	30.5	30.3
Miss	5.2	5.9
NCaro	31.2	38.2
SCaro	18.5	24.5
Tenn	58.9	53.7
Texas	34.9	27.6
Vir	22.9	21.6

SPECIAL NOTE: This report corrects any errors appearing in that report released 1/28/64 and the former should be destroyed.

VEP REGISTRATION REPORT

Prepared by the Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
1/28/64; corrected 3/10/64

RESULTS OF VEP PROGRAMS
April 1, 1962 to December 31, 1963

STATE	1st Fiscal Year 4/1/62-3/31/63	1st 9 months 2nd Fiscal Year 4/1/63-12/31/63	Total As of 12/31/63	Total Voting Age Population	White Voting Age Population	Nonwhite Voting Age Population	Total Registration	W. Reg.	NW Reg.	% NW of Total Reg.	%NW Reg. of NWVAP
ALABAMA	5,598	7,889	13,487	1,834,378	1,353,058	481,320	1,015,000	925,000	90,000	8.8	18.6
ARKANSAS	4,952	3,804	8,756	1,043,269	850,643	192,626	633,665	553,665	80,000	12.6	41.5
FLORIDA	22,790	14,321	37,111	3,087,699	2,617,438	470,261	2,137,801*	1,899,433	213,128	9.9	45.3
GEORGIA**	27,156	19,191	46,347	2,409,972	1,797,062	612,910	1,405,100	1,183,181	221,919	15.7	36.2
LOUISIANA	2,765	3,134	5,899	1,803,805	1,289,216	514,589	1,193,775	1,031,691	162,084	13.5	31.4
MISSISSIPPI	1,592	1,636	3,228	1,170,522	748,266	422,256	553,000	525,000	28,000	5.0	6.6
N. CAROLINA	9,838	13,485	23,323	2,556,884	2,005,955	550,929	2,090,270	1,856,497	233,773	11.1	42.4
S. CAROLINA	7,357	13,370	20,727	1,266,251	895,147	371,104	814,628	703,000	111,628	13.7	30.0
TENNESSEE	16,269	17,974	34,243	2,092,891	1,779,018	313,873	1,500,000	1,297,026	202,974	13.5	64.6
TEXAS	20,590	100,000***	120,590	5,534,277	4,884,765	649,512	2,020,183	1,720,183	300,000	14.8	46.1
VIRGINIA	6,100	7,777	13,877	2,312,887	1,876,167	436,720	1,032,104	923,792	108,312	10.4	24.8
TOTAL	125,007	202,581	327,588	25,112,835	20,096,735	5,016,100	14,395,526	12,618,468	1,751,818	12.1	34.9

*Figure includes 25,240 registrants not identifiable by racial designation.

**Voting age is 18.

***Represents an estimate of the new voters paying poll tax for the first time under a VEP-sponsored statewide program through Voters of Texas Enlist (V.O.T.E.). Includes Latin Americans, white and colored. 60,000 are estimated to be Negroes.

NOTE: The first three columns to the right of the double vertical bar reflect 1960 census figures.

TABLE III.

RESULTS OF VEP PROGRAMS

APRIL 1, 1962 to MARCH 31, 1964

(Publication or Quotation of this Table Permitted)

STATE	VEP RESULTS 1ST FISCAL YR	VEP RESULTS 2ND FISCAL YR	VEP 2 YEAR TOTAL	EST. TOTAL NEGRO REGISTRATION 4/1/64 9/1/64	EST. NO.* UNREG. N. 4/1/64	% OF ELIGIBLE NEGROES REG.	W+N TOTAL VEP 9/1 or offic.
ALA.	5,598	9,777	15,375	111,000 104,000	377,320	21.6	1,057,477
ARK.	4,952	3,804	8,756	95,000 WE 80,000	112,626	43.5	offic. 715,528
FLA.	22,790	30,651	53,441	299,960 offic. 240,616	229,645	51.1	offic. 2,500,466
GA.	27,156	31,963	59,119	270,000 W.E. 240,000	372,910**	39.1	1,610,000
LA.	2,765	3,545	6,310	164,707 offic 162,866	351,723	31.6	offic 1,202,056
MISS.	1,592	2,181	3,773	28,500 N.C.	393,756	6.7	553,500
N. C.	9,838	18,713	28,551	258,000 WEP 248,000	302,929	45.0	2,200,000
S. C.	7,357	24,783	32,140	144,000 9/1/64 127,000	244,104	34.2	847,000
TENN.	16,269	22,500	38,769	218,000 W.E. 211,000 9/1/64	102,873	67.2	1,515,026
TEX.	20,590	267,984	288,574	375,000 N.C.	274,512	57.7	2,986,967 ~~3,015,115~~
VA.	6,100	10,420	16,520	127,000 9/1/64 121,000	315,720	27.7	1,091,047
TOTAL	125,007	426,321	551,328	1,937,982	3,078,118	38.6	

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

*BASED ON 1960 CENSUS FIGURES
**VOTING AGE 18 IN GEORGIA

The Atlanta Journal Tuesday, September 8, 1964

ATLANTA'S PRECINCTS AND POLLING PLACES

Here are the precincts, polling places, and senatorial district numbers in the city of Atlanta in Wednesday's primaries.

Sen. Dist.	Ward Precinct	
35	1-A	Fulton County Courthouse
35—36	1-B	El Cook School, 211 Memorial Drive SE
35	1-C	Georgia Avenue School, 252 Georgia Ave., Southwest
36	1-D	Fire Station No. 10, 447 Boulvevard, SE
36	1-E	Faith School, 1043 Memorial Drive, SE
37	1-F	Atlanta Public Library, 126 Carnegie Way, Northeast
36	1-G	Anne E. West School, 820 Essie Ave., SE
36	1-H	W. F. Slaton School, 668 Grant St., SE
35—39	3-A	Walker St. School, 165 Walker St., SW
38—39	3-B	E. R. Carter School, 80 Ashby St., NW
38	3-C	Grove Park Recreation Center, Hortense Pl., SW
37—39	3-D	Fowler St. School, 595 Fowler St., NW
38—39	3-E	English Ave. School, 627 English Ave., NW
39	3-F	J. Allen Couch School, 860 McMillan St., NW
38—39	3-G	J. W. Goldsmith School, 1202 W. Marietta St., NW
39	3-H	School Bldg., Corner Greensferry and Chestnut St., NW
39—40	3-I	Mt. Vernon School, 1850 Alma St., NW
38—39—40	3-J	Bolton School, 268 Adams St., NW
35—39	3-K	Bethune School, 198 Northside Drive, NW
38	3-L	Center Hill School, 2451 Bankhead Ave., NW
39—40	3-M	Fire Station No. 23, 1545 Howell Mill Rd., NW
38	3-N	Rockdale School, 1557 Johnson Rd., NW
35	4-A	Perkerson School, 2895 Lakewood Ave., SW
35	4-B	Adair School, 711 Catherine St., SW
36	4-C	Lakewood School, 335 Sawtell Ave., SE
35	4-D	Capitol View School, 1442 Stewart Ave., SW
34	4-E	I. N. Ragsdale School, 1114 Avon Ave., SW
36	4-F	Milton Ave. School, 202 Milton Ave., SE
35	4-G	Sylvan Hills School, 1757 Melrose Ave., SW
36	4-H	Orchard Knob Recreation Bldg., 3055 Humphries Drive, SE
36	4-I	Thomas H. Slater School, 1320 Pryor Road, SW
36	4-J	Benteen School, 200 Casanova St., SE
37—39	5-A	Clark Howell School, 176 10th St., NE
39	5-B	Home Park School, 1031 State St., NW
39	5-C	Spring St. School, 1404 Spring St., NW
40	5-D	E. Rivers School, 8 Peachtree Battle Ave., NW
37	5-E	Grady High School, Grady High Gym, 929 Charles Drive, NE
40	5-F	Peachtree Hills Community House, 308 Peachtree Hills Ave., NE
37—39	5-G	Fire Station No. 11, 30 North Ave., NE
39—40	5-H	E. P. Howell School, 1741 Howell Mill Road, NW
37	5-I	New Rock Springs School, 771 Lindbergh Drive, NE
37	6-A	Highland Branch Library, N. Highland and St. Charles Pl., NE
37	6-B	Highland School, 978 North Ave., NE
37	6-C	Hellenic Center, 2124 Cheshire Bridge Road, NE
37	6-D	Moreland School, 1083 Austin Ave., NE
37	6-E	Samuel Inman School, 774 Virginia Ave., NE
37	6-F	Morningside School, 1053 E. Rock Springs Road, NE
37	6-H	David T. Howard School, 551 Houston St., NE
37	6-I	Forrest School, 608 Forrest Road, NE
38	7-A	Recreation Bldg., Anderson Park
34—38	7-B	West Haven School, 2531 Gordon Road, SW
34	7-C	Cascade Heights School, 2326 Venetian Drive, SW
38	7-D	Washington High School, 45 White House Drive, SW
38	7-E	J. C. Harris School, 1444 Lucile Ave., SW
34—38	7-F	E. L. Connally School, 1628 West Haven Drive, SW
34—38—93	7-G	Peeples St. School, 589 Peeples St., SW
34—38	7-H	Fire Station No. 25, 2349 Sewell Road, SW
34	7-I	Ben Hill Recreation Center, Fairburn Rd. at Campbellton Road, SW
40	8-A	Northside High School, 2875 Northside Drive, NW
37—40	8-B	North Fulton High School, 2 North Fulton Drive, SW
40	8-C	Margaret Mitchell School, 2845 Margaret Mitchell Drive, NW
40	8-D	R. L. Hope School, 3317 Piedmont Road, NE

Atlanta Journal 9/8/66

DeKalb Precincts, Polling Stations

Here is an alphabetical listing of DeKalb County voting precincts, listing the polling places in each precinct for Wednesday's Democrat and Republican primaries:

AVONDALE PRECINCT: Avondale Elementary School, 10 Lakeshore Drive, Avondale Estates.

BRIARCLIFF: Hawthorne Elementary School, 2535 Caladium Dr., NE.

BROOKHAVEN: Brookhaven Elementary School, 1330 North Druid Hills Rd., NE.

BROWNINGS: Tucker Elementary School, Tucker.

CHAMBLEE: Chamblee City Hall.

CLARKSTON: Old Clarkston High School Gym, Clarkston.

COLLEGE HEIGHTS: College Heights School, 917 S. McDonough St., Decatur.

DECATUR-GLENWOOD: Glenwood Elementary School, 440 E. Ponce de Leon Ave., Decatur.

DIAMONDS: Rock Chapel School, Stephenson Road.

DORAVILLE: Community Center, Park Avenue, Doraville.

EAST ATLANTA: John B. Gordon School, 1205 Metropolitan Ave., SE.

EAST LAKE: East Lake School, 2440 Cottage Grove Ave.

EDGEWOOD A: Fire Station No. 12, DeKalb Avenue at Candler Street.

EDGEWOOD B: Mary Lin School, 586 Candler Park Dr., NE.

EDGEWOOD C: Church of the Epiphany, 2089 Ponce de Leon Ave., NE.

EMORY: Druid Hills High School Library, 1798 Haygood Dr., NE.

EVANS A: Mountain View Civic Club, Redan Road.

EVANS B: Glenhaven Civic Club, 3133 Mercer Road, Decatur.

FERNBANK: Fernbank Elementary School, 157 Heaton Park Dr., NE.

HOOPER-ALEXANDER: Hooper-Alexander School, Memorial Drive, Decatur.

JIM CHERRY: Jim Cherry Elementary School, 3007 Hermance Dr. NE.

JOHNSON ESTATES, Briar Vista Elementary School, 1731 Briar Vista Terrace NE.

view Civic Club, 353 Wilkinson Dr., SE.

SOUTHWEST DeKALB: Panthersville Masonic Lodge, 2688 Panthersville Rd., Decatur.

STONE MOUNTAIN: Stone Mountain High School Gymnasium, Ridge Avenue, Stone Mountain.

TERRY MILL: Terry Mill School, Fayetteville Road, SE.

TONEY: Mt. Carmel Christian Church, Recreational Building, 2207 Candler Rd.

WADSWORTH: Wadsworth School, 2084 Green Forest Dr., Decatur.

W. D. THOMSON: W. D. Thomson School, 2892 Druid Hills Rd., NE.

WINONA: Winona Park Elementary School, 510 Avery St., Decatur.

KITTREDGE: Kittredge Elementary School, 2383 North Druid Hills Dr., NE.

KNOLLWOOD: Knollwood Elementary School, 3039 Santa Monica Dr., Decatur.

LAUREL RIDGE: Laurel Ridge School, 1215 Balsam Dr., Decatur.

LESLIE J. STEELE: Leslie J. Steele Elementary School, 2162 Second Ave., Decatur.

LITHONIA: Scout Hut, across from City Hall, Lithonia.

McWILLIAMS: Robinson's Store near Salem Church.

MEDLOCK: Medlock Elementary School, 2418 Wood Trail Lane, Decatur.

MIDWAY HEIGHTS: Midway Elementary School, 3318 Midway Road, Decatur.

MILLS: Bouldercrest Elementary School, 1795 Constitution Rd., SE.

NORTH KIRKWOOD: Kirkwood School, 138 Kirkwood Rd., NE.

OAKHURST: Oakhurst Elementary School, Mead Road, Decatur.

PHILLIPS: Murphy Candler Elementary School, Klondike Road.

PINE LAKE: City Hall, Pine Lake.

PONCE DE LEON: Ponce de Leon Elementary School, West Ponce de Leon Ave., Decatur.

REDAN: Redan Supply Co., Redan Road.

REHOBOTH: Rehoboth Elementary School, Lawrenceville Highway.

SAGAMORE: Sagamore Elementary School, 1865 Alderbrook Rd., NE.

SCOTTDALE: Insruction Center, DeKalb County School System, (Old Scottdale Elementary School) East Ponce de Leon Avenue.

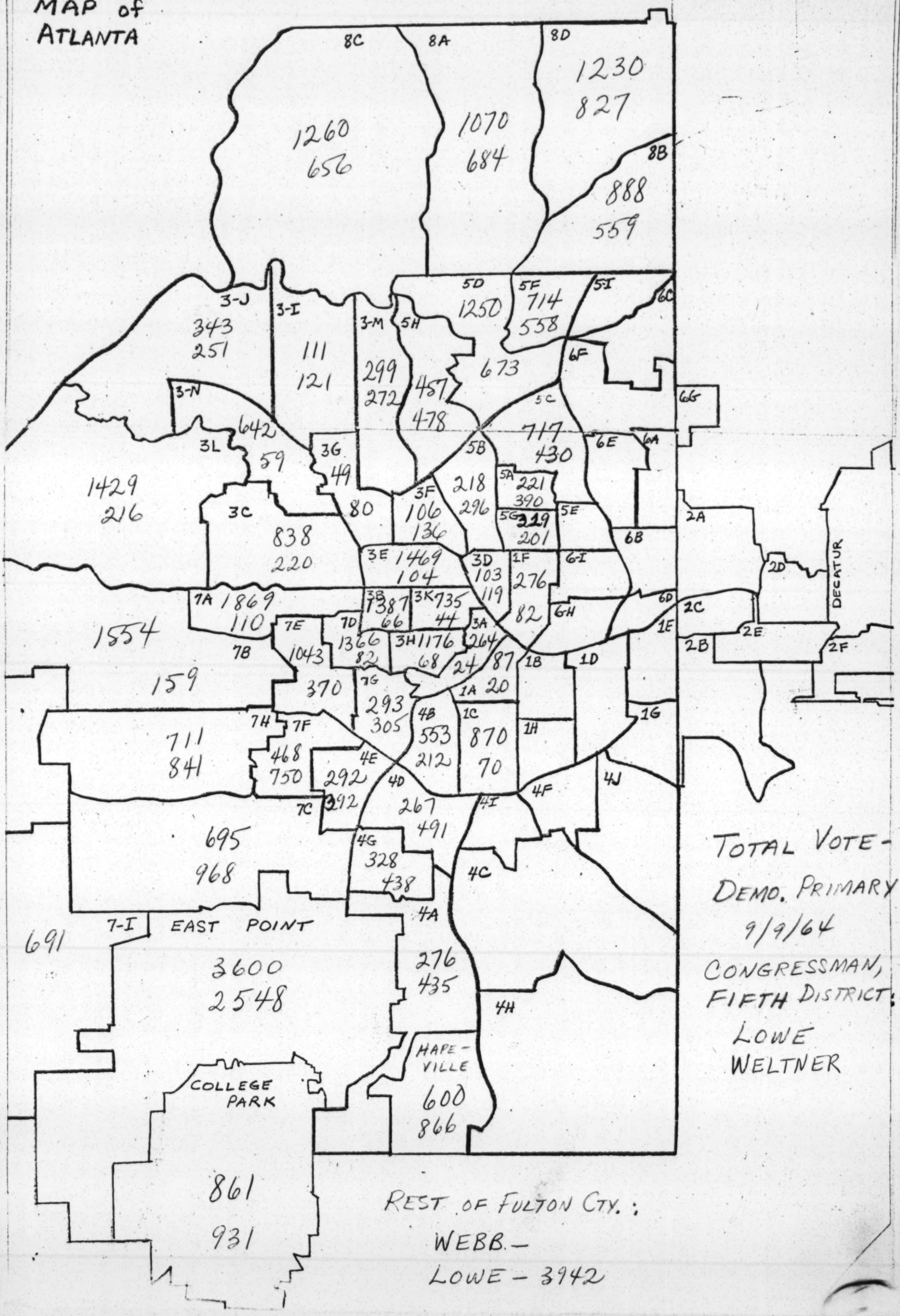
SHALLOWFORD: Dunwoody Elementary School, 5339 Chamblee - Dunwoody Rd., Dunwoody.

SKYHAVEN: Skylaven Elementary School, 2600 Skyland Dr., Chamblee.

SOUTH, KIRKWOOD A: Bessie Brandon Recreation Center, corner DeLano and Norwood Streets.

SOUTH KIRKWOOD B: Park-

PRECINCT MAP of ATLANTA

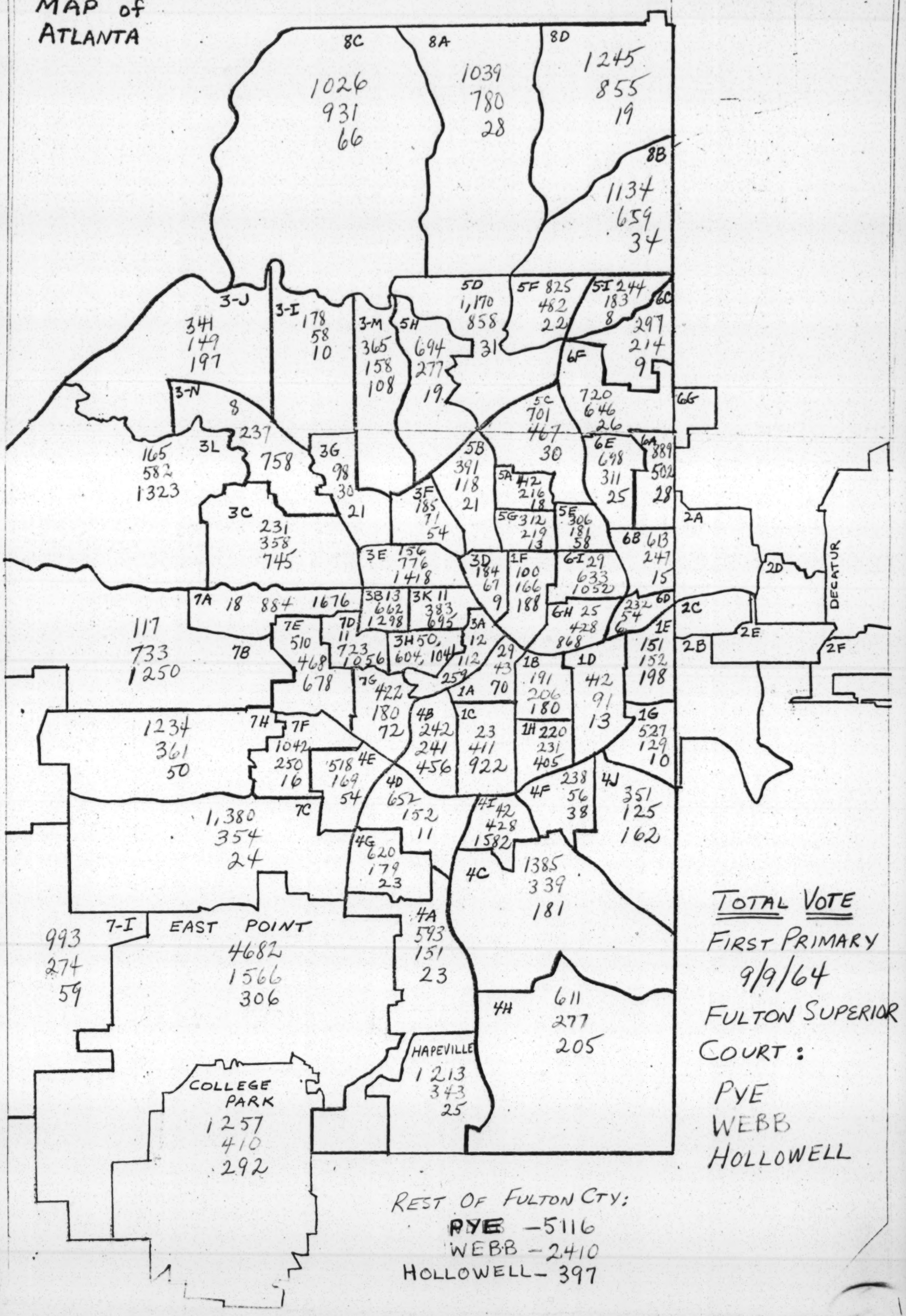


TOTAL VOTE -
DEMO. PRIMARY
9/9/64
CONGRESSMAN,
FIFTH DISTRICT:
LOWE
WELTNER

REST OF FULTON CTY.:
WEBB -
LOWE - 3942

~~EXHIBIT 15~~

PRECINCT MAP of ATLANTA



TOTAL VOTE
FIRST PRIMARY
9/9/64
FULTON SUPERIOR
COURT:

PYE
WEBB
HOLLOWELL

REST OF FULTON CTY:
PYE -5116
WEBB -2410
HOLLOWELL- 397

Here's How Fulton's Voters Balloted In 3-Way Race for Judge Pye's Seat

The following is the vote by precincts in the Democratic primary race for Superior Court Judge between incumbent Durwood T. Pye, Donald L. Hollowell and Paul Webb Jr.

ATLANTA Ward Precinct	HOLLOWELL	PYE ✓	WEBB ✓
1-A	70	29	43
1-B	180	191	206
1-C	922	23	411
1-D	13	412	91
1-E	198	151	152
1-F	188	100	166
1-G	10	527	129
1-H	405	220	231
3-A	259	12	112
3-B	1,298	13	662
3-C	745	231	358
3-D	9	184	67
3-E	1,418	156	776
3-F	54	185	71
3-G	21	98	30
3-H	1,0[illegible]	50	604
3-I	[illegible]	[illegible]	58
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	695	[illegible]	383

Ward Precinct	HOLLOWELL	PYE ✓	WEBB ✓
3-L	1,323	165	582
3-M	108	365	158
3-N	758	8	237
4-A	23	593	151
4-B	456	242	241
4-C	181	1,385	339
4-D	11	652	152
4-E	54	518	169
4-F	38	238	56
4-G	23	620	179
4-H	205	611	277
4-I	1,582	42	428
4-J	162	351	125
5-A	18	412	216
5-B	21	391	118
5-C	30	701	467
5-D	31	1,170	858
5-E	58	306	181
5-F	22	825	482
5-G	13	312	219
5-H	19	694	277
5-I	8	244	183
6-A	28	889	502
6-B	15	613	247
6-C	9	297	214

Ward Precinct	HOLLOWELL	PYE ✓	WEBB ✓
6-D	6	232	54
6-E	25	698	311
6-F	26	720	646
6-H	868	25	428
6-I	1,052	29	633
7-A	1,676	18	884
7-B	1,250	117	733
7-C	24	1,380	354
7-D	1,056	11	723
7-E	678	510	468
7-F	16	1,042	250
7-G	72	422	180
7-H	50	1,234	361
7-I	59	993	274
8-A	28	1,039	780
8-B	34	1,134	659
8-C	66	1,026	931
8-D	19	1,245	855
FULTON			
Alpharetta	34	261	115
Big Creek	4	50	37
Buckhead	24	797	513
Campbellton	2	42	15
Coll. Park	~~292~~	~~1,257~~	~~410~~
Dbl. Branch	1	91	32

Ward Precinct	HOLLOWELL	PYE ✓	WEBB ✓
E. Point 91-A	19	888	285
E. Point 91B	22	957	309
E. Point 92-A	15	775	229
E. Point 92B	18	920	309
E. Point 93-A	108	466	167
E. Point 93-B	9	523	192
E. Point 94	115	153	75
Fairburn	70	425	151
Goodes	—	50	35
Grogans	1	94	48
~~Hapeville~~	~~25~~	~~1,213~~	~~343~~
Little River	—	101	36
Newtown	—	49	36
Oak Grove	40	1,400	749
Old First	4	28	40
Old Ninth	5	159	22
Palmetto	20	125	66
Red Oak	13	422	126
Rivertown	5	27	11
Roswell	62	420	196
Sandtown	6	232	65
Union	1	66	12
Union City	51	167	45
Utoy Springs	54	110	60
Totals	20,696	39,982	25,991

Const. 9/10/64

Second FRONT
2 ★★★ Thursday, Sept. 10, 1964

DeKalb Senators Win Renomination

Veteran Sen. W. Hugh McWhorter barely edged labor leader Arnold L. McDonald, but Sen. H. McKinley Conway won a runaway victory in Wednesday's Democratic primary in DeKalb County.

Newcomers J. O. (Jim) Bowen and Bob Farrar won easy victories for two other DeKalb legislative seats being vacated by Reps. James Mackay and Guy Rutland Jr.

DeKalb Sen. Ben Johnson Jr. and Rep. Robin Harris did not have opposition.

This means all three of DeKalb's senators were nominated for re-election while only one of the county's three representatives will be returning.

Robert Farrar

Jim Bowen

H. M. Conway

W. H. McWhorter

Sen. McWhorter, 70, who has served 19 years in the General Assembly, had by far the toughest race. He won by less than 400 votes, 5,134 to 4,781.

The veteran legislator got off to a quick lead against the 34-year-old labor leader in the first precinct reporting and managed to hang onto it all night, but never by a large margin.

With 30 of 57 precincts reporting, Sen. McWhorter led by only 257 votes. His final margin was only 353.

Sen. Conway, winning his second straight Senate election, defeated Decatur Attorney T. M. Allen Jr. 8,120 to 5,146.

"Of course, I was delighted," Sen. Conway said. "This is a larger margin than I had in the primary two years ago. I hope and believe this indicates the people approve of the way I conducted myself in the last two years."

Mr. Farrar, 42, who has owned and operated a home building and land development business for 18 years, won the biggest landslide of votes. He overwhelmed 39-year-old attorney J. C. Rary 28,330 to 11,137.

Mr. Bowen, 68, who has been in the printing and publishing business in Decatur 37 years, won his seat in the House by drubbing two 37-year-old lawyer opponents.

Mr. Bowen amassed 26,292 votes to 13,553 for Robert Walling and 6,890 for Wright Gellerstedt. He held a majority vote throughout most of the vote counting Wednesday night.

Rep. Robin Harris got 26,259 votes and Sen. Ben Johnson Jr. 12,851 as they return to the General Assembly unopposed.

Three of the four Democrats who won victories in contested races must now face opposition from Republican candidates in the general election Nov. 3.

All three Republican candidates ran uncontested races in the GOP primary held Wednesday.

Attorney H. E. (Gene) Sanders polled 880 votes and will oppose Sen. Conway. Frank G. Miller, a real estate developer and cattleman, accumulated 622 votes and will oppose Sen. McWhorter.

Benjamin B. Blackburn, an attorney, will oppose Mr. Bowen after getting 2,615 votes.

Voters Kick Out Some Legislators

By United Press International

Georgia grass roots voters decided in the Democratic primary election they wanted a change in their representation in the General Assembly and defeated a number of incumbents.

Voters in Atlanta also nominated a second Negro for the state Senate and the Sumter County primary resulted in the election of the first woman legislator in many years.

In Bartow County, Wednesday's primary brought defeat to two incumbents. Reps. Jake Cullens and William B. Green were beaten by Joe Frank Harris and David Vaughan Jr.

Veteran Rep. Louis T. Raulerson of tiny Echols County lost to Dan DeLoach, and Gene Brown and Andrew Hughes battled into a runoff for Rep. H. Dorsey Deen's seat in Bacon County. Rep. Ralph W. Bowen lost to Max Looper in Dawson County.

Roscoe E. Dean Jr. unseated Sen. William Zorn of Jesup. Early County Rep. Leon H. Vaughman lost to Mobley Howard. Rep. A. C. Smith lost to James Otwell in Forsyth County, and Rep. C. Patrick Milford of Franklin County was defeated by A. P. Mauldin.

Glynn County Rep. Jose Isenberg lost to Allen Smith and E. E. Griffin Jr. whipped Rep. W. G. Todd in Glascock County. Longtime Rep. Haywood Keadle was defeated in Lamar County by J. R. Smith. Jack Evans of McDuffie County beat Rep. Leonard N. Lokey.

Rep. Del Bowen of Randolph County fell to former Sen. Jake Dailey. Rep. Ross P. Bowen lost a Toombs County seat to Johnnie Collins and Treutlen County Rep. J. Wyman Fowler lost to Laverne (Pete) Phillips. Rep. Joe L. Dennard lost to Norman Doster in Wilcox County.

In other Senate races, Avant Edenfield whipped Russell J. Mercer in the 4th District; Sen. Talmadge McKinnon and Frank Eldridge will be in an 8th District runoff, and in the 10th District, William H. Flowers Jr. beat Logan Lewis.

Sen. Stanley E. Smith Jr., kept his 18th District seat over Dreyfus L. Fountain. Sen. Roy Noble of Vienna beat T. C. Cross, and Eugene Holley won over Donald E. Cheeks in the 22nd District.

Tilman E. Self beat Homer Bostick for the 27th District seat and Render Hill pushed into a runoff with Sen. Shaefer Heard of West Point in the 29th. Sen. Kyle Yancey of Austell will meet Jerry A. Sanders in a 33rd District runoff.

Robert R. Ballew won the 50th District race, and Sen. Battle Hall of Rome was forced into a runoff. Sen. Joseph Loggins of Summerville defeated S. A. Dunson.

Lowe Charges Irregularities In Vote Count

Wyman C. Lowe, who unsuccessfully sought the Democratic nomination for 5th District congressman in Wednesday's primary, charged Friday that there were irregularities in the vote counting in at least two Negro precincts.

Mr. Lowe, who ran strong but was defeated by incumbent Rep. Charles L. Weltner, said he does not know whether he will file a formal complaint about the alleged irregularities.

"I will want to see whether they might affect the outcome of the vote," he declared.

IN A FORMAL statement, Mr. Lowe declared:

"I observed some irregularities in conduct of the election in at least two Negro precincts having registration of very large number of Negro voters that I visited between 8:30 and 10:30 p.m. Sept. 9, before recording of votes shown in counters of voting machines was completed.

"In the polling place for one of those precincts in a school building, a man with me and I observed that a Negro policeman, assigned on guard duty at that poling place, was the only person inspecting and reading each of the totals in the counters in back side of voting machines and stating out loud each of the totals for recording by tally clerks. It appeared that three separate tally sheets were being maintained showing his reporting of the votes.

"The law requires that such reporting be done by regular election employes, he not being such an employe."

Shelby County - Official
Data as of Oct 5, 1964

TOTAL Reg Vot - 287,598
Colored - 93,328
White - 194,270

TENNESSEE

Vol 1 - 1961 C-R Report

Voting

(Mostly 1960 figures)

77
411
188

63 County Total — 150,869 *

UEP Report — 63,783

214,651

* Does not include 31 counties
Davidson County
Madison County } not included

Comparison

	1960 C-R Report	1964 Figures
Shelby -	76,582	93,328
Fayette -	1,500	4,000
Dowdan -		24,000
Tipton -	3,022	3,466
Gibson -	3,077	4,000
Roof -	10,000	
Hamilton -	21,147	

Memo from LLOYD ELLIOTT

Per: H. Lee:

Satterfield — Winner
Obenshain — -650
Haddock — -2000 to -3000

Richmond City —
Votes for Haddock — 26,750
Negro Votes for Haddock — 20,269
White votes for Haddock ≐ 6,500

VIRGINIA THIRD

Memo from **LLOYD ELLIOTT**

3rd Congress –

Total, but unofficial:

68.5+% { Satt – 43,881
Oben – 43,205
Hadock – 39,379

Smith – 937
126,465

TOTAL – 127,402

43,881
39,379
4,502

City of Richmond:

Satt – 19,073
Oben – 13,577
Hadd – 26,524

Richmond Negro:

12.3% – Satt – – 3,143 (Bepd money)
7.2% – Oben – – 1,828 (Clarence Tonn)
80.5% – Hadd – 20,269

25,240
2,880
22,120

Memo from LLOYD ELLIOTT

GEORGIA FIFTH —

Using CQ results:

Weltner — 66,346
O'Callaghan — 54,036
TOTAL VOTE — 120,382

Winning margin —
66,346 — 54,036 = 12,300

TOTAL REGISTRATION — — 127,550
NEGRO REGISTRATION — — 46,150
WHITE REISTRATION — — 183,700

PERCENT VOTING — —

$$\frac{127,550}{183,700} = 69.6$$

Negro Votes = 69.6 X 46,150 = 32,100

Suffrage - Search

NEWS FROM

NAACP

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

20 WEST 40TH STREET NEW YORK, N. Y. 10018 BRYANT 9-1400

ROY WILKINS
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

HENRY LEE MOON
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

FOR RELEASE: A.M. PAPERS, TUESDAY, OCTOBER 13, 1964

NEGRO VOTE MAY REACH 7,000,000 NAACP SAYS

NEW YORK. — Incomplete, preliminary figures received from NAACP representatives and others in the field indicate a registration of nearly 5,500,000 Negro voters in 34 states and the District to Columbia as of Oct. 1.

In announcing these figures Miss Althea T.L. Simmons, coordinator of the NAACP nationwide voter registration drive, pointed out that registration is continuing into the early part of the month in 13 of these states. She also noted that no reports had been received at NAACP headquarters from 16 states, most of them with Negro populations. Moreover, final reports are yet to be received from most of the 34 states represented in the present survey.

On the basis of the reports and the continuing stepped-up drive to enroll every eligible Negro, Miss Simmons ventured to estimate a registration of about 6,500,000 by Election Day, Nov. 3. "The figure may well approach 7,000,000," she added.

Nationwide, the potential Negro vote is about 12,000,000. A significant portion of this potential lives in Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and other southern states where Negro registration is kept low through systematic programs of repression, reprisal, trickery and intimidation.

The heaviest Negro registration is reported for such pivotal and big electoral college vote states as California, Illinois, Michigan, New York and Texas, in each of which the present estimate is about 300,000. There has also been a significant increase in Negro registration in key southern states — Florida, Georgia, North and South Carolina, and Virginia.

The preliminary and incomplete NAACP survey indicates the following Negro registration in the 34 states and the District of Columbia:

Arizona, 8,030; Arkansas, 165,000; California, 450,000; Colorado, 21,000; Connecticut, 9,000; Delaware, 22,000; Florida, 265,000; Georgia, 240,348; Illinois, 500,000; Indiana, 65,000; Iowa, 12,000; Kansas, 65,000; Kentucky, 72,000; Louisiana, 175,000; Maryland, 210,000; Michigan, 353,520; Minnesota, 11,000; Mississippi, 28,000; Missouri, 100,000; Nebraska, 8,050; Nevada, 4,030; New Jersey, 73,000; New York, 550,000; North Carolina, 234,073; Ohio, 225,000; Oklahoma, 50,000; Pennsylvania, 350,000; Rhode Island, 7,000; South Carolina, 175,000; Tennessee, 294,974; Texas, 325,000; Virginia, 108,312; Washington, 12,000; Wisconsin, 20,000; and the District of Columbia, 101,000.

WAB ✓
JM ✓
JJ ✓

FULTON COUNTY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

OCT 21 1964

VOTER REGISTRATION OFFICE
LEON G. HAY, CHIEF REGISTRAR
ROOM 106 • 165 CENTRAL AVENUE, S. W. • 30303 • TELEPHONE 522-5310

October 6, 1964

REGISTERED VOTERS BY WARD & PRECINCT

WARD & PRECINCT	WHITE	NEGRO	TOTAL
1 A	103	362	465
1 B	1,060	796	1,856
1 C	171	3,091	3,262
1 D	1,824	13	1,837
1 E	619	965	1,584
1 F	561	722	1,283
1 G	1,683	1	1,684
1 H	932	1,388	2,320
3 A	46	750	796
3 B	24	3,556	3,580
3 C	1,613	2,500	4,113
3 D	890	9	899
3 E	58	5,023	5,081
3 F	862	193	1,055
3 G	430	81	511
3 H	31	2,921	2,952
3 I	883	4	887
3 J	1,606	546	2,152
3 K	14	2,056	2,070
3 L	1,488	3,388	4,876
3 M	1,387	240	1,627
3 N	9	2,286	2,295

File: Registration Data: Georgia Atlanta Negro Precincts

WARD & PRECINCT	WHITE	NEGRO	TOTAL
4 A	2,599	42	2,641
4 B	1,028	1,374	2,402
4 C	4,786	496	5,282
4 D	2,161	3	2,164
4 E	2,058	200	2,258
4 F	832	113	945
4 G	2,052	72	2,124
4 H	2,392	576	2,968
4 I	28	3,742	3,770
4 J	1,445	411	1,856
5 A	2,019	13	2,032
5 B	1,566	8	1,574
5 C	2,821	21	2,842
5 D	5,441	21	5,462
5 E	1,614	217	1,831
5 F	3,442	4	3,446
5 G	1,569	10	1,579
5 H	2,665	5	2,670
5 I	1,585	-	1,585
6 A	3,553	7	3,560
6 B	2,463	20	2,483
6 C	1,526	-	1,526
6 D	805	16	821
6 E	2,680	6	2,686
6 F	3,552	8	3,560
6 H	66	2,987	3,053
6 I	66	3,776	3,842
7 A	39	4,980	5,019
7 B	692	3,632	4,324
7 C	5,010	8	5,018
7 D	20	2,967	2,987
7 E	1,809	1,745	3,554
7 F	3,267	1	3,268
7 G	1,978	256	2,234
7 H	4,098	102	4,200
7 I	3,899	138	4,037
8 A	4,809	29	4,838
8 B	5,274	40	5,314
8 C	4,790	134	4,924
8 D	5,677	13	5,690
TOTAL	114,470	59,084	173,554

8B is about 3/4 to 4/5 FIFTH DISTRICT, 1/4 to 1/5 FOURTH DISTRICT

REGISTERED VOTERS BY MILITIA DISTRICT

MILITIA DISTRICT		WHITE	NEGRO	TOTAL
02	ALPHARETTA	1,499	52	1,551
03	BIG CREEK	176	1	177
05	BUCKHEAD	4,207	3	4,210
06	CAMPBELLTON	187	1	188
07	COLLEGE PARK	4,576	638	5,214
08	DOUBLE BRANCH	410	-	410
10	FAIRBURN	1,633	241	1,874
11	GOODES	231	7	238
12	GROGANS	406	3	409
13	HAPEVILLE	4,261	5	4,266
14	LITTLE RIVER	371	1	372
15	NEWTOWN	240	-	240
16	OAK GROVE	6,758	9	6,767
17	OLD FIRST	146	22	168
18	OLD NINTH	587	9	596
19	PALMETTO	581	150	731
21	RED OAK	1,614	80	1,694
22	RIVERTOWN	79	17	96
23	ROSWELL	2,157	125	2,282
24	SANDTOWN	732	45	777
25	UNION	256	2	258
26	UNION CITY	643	135	778
27	UTOY SPRINGS	422	156	578
71	COLLEGE PARK	180	12	192
72	COLLEGE PARK	133	75	208
73	COLLEGE PARK	23	-	23
74	COLLEGE PARK	202	-	202
75	COLLEGE PARK	210	44	254
76	COLLEGE PARK	4	-	4
91A	EAST POINT	2,989	5	2,994
91B	EAST POINT	2,857	-	2,857
92A	EAST POINT	2,417	3	2,420
92B	EAST POINT	2,823	1	2,824
93A	EAST POINT	1,423	369	1,792
93B	EAST POINT	1,835	9	1,844
94	EAST POINT	601	388	989
	TOTAL	47,869	2,608	50,477

FOR
FULTON COUNTY
GRAND TOTALS —
See next page

REGISTERED VOTERS BY SENATORIAL DISTRICT

SENATORIAL DISTRICT	WHITE	NEGRO	TOTAL
34	38,056	1,922	39,978
35	18,487	5,871	24,358
36	15,320	8,405	23,725
37	21,328	7,778	29,106
38	9,649	27,731	37,380
39	12,048	9,529	21,577
40	47,451	456	47,907
TOTAL	162,339	61,692	224,031
5TH CONGRESSIONAL --	127,550	46,150	183,700
4TH CONGRESSIONAL --	34,790	15,540	50,330

STATE & COUNTY	TR	WR	NR	SOURCE
ALABAMA (for total, county by county but not by race, see Ala., reg.)				
Elmore	1290	1134	156	Selma Times, 6/19/64
Macon	7000	3400	3600	Daily World, 8/16/64
Perry	3295	3006	289	Birm. World, 8/5/64 Mont. Adv. 10/22/64
Tuscaloosa	33 732		5000	Mobile Beacon, 9/11/64
First District			18,300	Birm. World, 10/21/64 Mont. Adv 10/22/64
Mobile County	82,712		14,000	" " "
Washington County	7,105		1,300	" " "
Clarke	8,877		1,200	
Monroe	7,293		1,200	
Choctaw	4,928		600	" " "

ARKANSAS (for total, county by county but not by race, see Ark. reg.)

FLORIDA (see Fla. registration for county and race)

St. Augustine (city)	13,738	10,919	2,829	
Duval (Co. & city)	194,555	152,132	42,423	Supt. of Reg., 10/26
County	112,411	102,432	9,979	"
City	82,144	49,700	32,444	"

GEORGIA				
Fulton	224,031	162,339	61,692	registrar, 10/6/64
Floyd	17,000	10,380	6,620	NAACP Progress report
Richmond	41, 904	32,781	9,123	Daily World, 8/6/64
"	43,636		9,000	Const., 10/27/64

STATE & COUNTY	TR	WR	NR	SOURCE
VIRGINIA				
3rd. Cong. Dist.	171,000	137,617	33,255	Times-Dis., 10/11/64
Richmond (city)	87, 914	58,544	29,388	
Henrico Co.	47,125	45,727	1,398	
Chesterfield Co.	32,033	29,564	2,469	
4th Cong. Dist.	77,200	61,100	16,100	(1963 fig.) J&G, 9/26/64

STATE & COUNTY	TR	WR	NR	SOURCE
GEORGIA, con.				
Glynn	35,000	28,700	6,300	Const., 10/27/64
2nd plat	119,000			
Liberty	5,000	2,950	2,050	"
Clayton	20,357			Atl. Times 11/4/64
Americus (city)	3,900	3,400	500	Sav. News, 10/18/64
Bibb Co	54,872			Atlanta Times 11/4/64
4th Dist.	172,000			"
DeKalb	117,740			"
Clarke	16,000			"
LOUISIANA (Total by parish & race in files)				
Mississippi Sunflower	4506	4392+	114	B.R. State Times 10/13/64
NORTH CAROLINA				
Forsyth	78,817	66,800	12,000	Winston-Salem J.
Shelby	22,180	19,827	2,353	9/24/64
Guilford Co.	162,485	85,689	16,791	Shelby Daily Star 10/29/64
Greensboro (cty)	53,063	41,688	11,375	George Simpkins, 11/2/64
High Point "	25,280	21,694	3,586	"
SOUTH CAROLINA				
Spartanburg Co.	63,090	56,347	6,743	9/27/64
Aiken Co.			5,000	Aiken Standard & Rev. 8/20/64
Greenville Co.	74,408	66,028	8,368	Greenville Piedmont, 10/21/64
Orangeburg (city?)	22,102	15,619	6,483	3-20 report, 10/23/64
Charleston Co. (grd. total)	64,285	50,310	13,974 (21.14)	Charleston Eve. Post 10/23/64
" (city)	25,907	18,394	7,513	"
" Co alone	32,372	31,916	6,462	"
TENNESSEE				
Fayette	7,500	3,500	4,000	Teen., 8/9/64
Davidson			24,000	N.Y.T., 10/19/64
Shelby	287,598	194,270 (67.5)	93,328 (32.5)	Comm. App., 10/18/64

Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

VEP FINANCIAL STATEMENT
January 1, 1962 to November 1, 1964

RECEIPTS:		
Foundations:		
Field	$225,000.00	
Stern Family Fund	219,000.00	
Taconic	339,000.00	
Other	74,550.00	
Organizations & Churches	9,686.98	
Individuals	17,361.85	
Refund of Bail	500.00	
Foundation Share of Internship Program	2,500.00	
Interest on Treasury Bills	438.57	
TOTAL RECEIPTS		$888,037.40
DISBURSEMENTS:		
Grants-In-Aid*	$631,452.11	
SRC Overhead Payments:		
1962 - $7,269.18		
1963 - 9,587.57		
1964 - 10,343.77	27,200.52	
VEP Operating Expense	170,543.18	
TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS		829,195.81
VEP BANK BALANCE 11/1/64		$ 58,841.59

*Geographic breakdown is attached.

GEOGRAPHIC BREAKDOWN OF GRANTS-IN-AID
April 1, 1962 to November 1, 1964

STATE	INDEPENDENTS§	CORE	NAACP	URBAN LEAGUE	SNCC	SCLC	TOTAL
ADMIN. COSTS*			10,874.50	2,394.15			13,268.65
ALA.	52,309.33				2,500.00	4,500.00	59,309.33
ARK.	13,103.71				1,200.00		14,303.71
FLA.		8,100.00	32,587.50			1,100.00	41,787.50
GA.	34,622.35		15,987.77		16,108.00	30,175.00	96,893.12
KY.				500.00			500.00
LA.	13,850.00	35,100.00	8,860.00			5,127.00	62,937.00
MISS.	42,650.00	700.00	3,995.00		7,250.00		54,595.00
N.C.	15,677.43	1,750.00**	1,750.00** 11,606.00	5,978.72	2,875.00	4,752.00	44,389.15
S.C.	52,666.83	32,525.00	6,980.00		1,826.00	442.00	94,439.83
TENN.	11,019.23		23,865.23			4,195.00	39,079.46
TEXAS	43,500.00		4,900.00	2,380.00			50,780.00
VA.	23,757.00	1,300.00	11,514.00	5,186.83		9,244.00	51,001.83
MISC.	5,167.53¶ 3,000.00¶¶						8,167.53
TOTAL	311,323.41	79,475.00	132,920.00	16,439.70	31,759.00	59,535.00	631,452.11

For all footnotes, see attachment.

Footnotes to Geographic Breakdown
VEP Grants-In-Aid

*Due to difference in bookkeeping methods among the various agencies, the administrative costs of their programs were not pro rated geographically by NAACP and the National Urban League.

** This figure represents half of the entire grant to a joint program of CORE and NAACP in Winston-Salem, North Carolina. The entire grant was $3,500.00.

¶ Educational Film Associates.

¶¶ United Church Board (Film).

§ A large portion of the grants to Independents represents direct grants to local affiliates of agencies listed on the above chart.

LJE CORRECTED COPY

SOUTHERN NEGRO VOTER STATISTICS

STATE	Total Negro Voters as of 11/1/64	Increase Since 4/1/62	% of Eligible Negroes Regis-tered	% of Eligible Whites Regis-tered	% Negro of Total Regis-tered	% Negro of Voting Age Popula-tion	Presiden-tial Winner & Margin 1964 (Incom-plete Returns)		Unregis-tered Negroes of Voting Age
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)		(8)
ALA.	111,000	42,700	23.0	70.7	10.4	26.2	BG	254,000	370,000
ARK.	~~95,000~~	~~26,000~~	49.3	72.9	13.2	18.4	LBJ	65,400	98,000
FLA.	300,000	117,500	63.7	84.0	12.0	15.2	LBJ	37,800	170,000
GA.*	270,000	94,500	44.0	74.5	16.8	25.4	BG	90,900	343,000
LA.	164,700	13,000	32.0	80.4	13.7	28.5	BG	115,700	350,000
MISS.	28,500	4,500	6.7	70.1	5.2	36.0	BG	306,600	394,000
N. C.	258,000	47,500	46.8	92.5	11.7	21.5	LBJ	173,900	293,000
S. C.	144,000	53,100	38.8	78.5	17.0	29.3	BG	91,500	227,000
TENN.	218,000	67,100	69.4	72.9	14.4	14.9	LBJ	126,000	96,000
TEXAS	375,000	133,000	57.7	53.2	12.5	11.7	LBJ	684,100	275,000
VA.	200,000	89,900	45.7	55.9	16.0	18.8	LBJ	77,000	237,000
TOTAL	2,164,200	688,800	43.3	73.2	13.0	22.4	LBJ	305,500	2,853,000

Released 11/20/64 by Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N. W
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

*Voting Age 18

Atl Const 11-4-64

RALPH

McGILL

Atl Const.

A Choice, Not an Echo

A towering tidal wave of votes in the nation's presidential election swept away all the accumulated garbage of smear books and pamphlets, all the sick propaganda and falsehood. The result was a rejection of Barry M. Goldwater that gave a mighty answer to the "choice, not an echo" slogan of the curious clacque of extremist groups that supported Barry M. Goldwater.

Only in the areas of the old cotton and sugarcane South, where much of the archaic plantation culture and prejudices still have deep roots, was there sullen and blindly irrational support of the Goldwater program of racist prejudice, of the Klans and Birch-type mentality. The senator from Arizona had spoken to them from beneath Confederate flags. He had promised to cast out the Supreme Court and to restore the old concept of states rights. Georgia provided the one surprise. The South areas of Savannah, Augusta, and Columbus, which had gone Republican for Eisenhower and Nixon, repeated. But rural counties, traditionally Democratic and faithful even to Kennedy, vented their resentment over civil rights to go for Goldwater. They were enough to place Georgia with the anticipated defections of Mississippi, Alabama, South Carolina and Louisiana.

Two Races

In the Atlanta area two Republican congressional efforts, strongly backed and well financed, were crushed. The Goldwater committee had made its strongest bid on those two races and failed. North Georgia responded well. But in the Southern half of the state, a campaign that distorted and falsified the Civil Rights Act won enough adherents to put Georgia in the Goldwater-Republican column, the first time in its history that the state had so voted.

There were other contributing factors. The state's senior senator, Richard B. Russell, who had led and lost the filibuster against the rights bill, refused to speak or work for the party's nominees. He contented himself with saying he would vote the ticket. Only the vigorous and consistent work of the state's young governor, Carl Sanders, prevented a larger margin of defeat.

Hard Core

That the five states of the old South should have provided the small hard core of Goldwater support is a melancholy commentary on the values of those so voting and on their awareness of the nation's commitment to a future of unity and advancement. In producing a somewhat narrow margin for prejudice and for withdrawal from the mainstream of national decision, those who made up the margin of victory for the senator revealed once more how separated they are from reality and the national course. In Georgia, at least, they have not won a true victory. They have at best succeeded in delaying the state's progress and temporarily blurring its image.

In retrospect, the triumph of anger, hate, and prejudice in the small group of Southern states may prove, in the long run, to be a necessary therapy. They are so very much alone. Their position is untenable for any long period of time. They are still part of the Union and bound by its Constitution and laws. They have, by their action, so isolated themselves that they cannot fail to see how terribly and irrevocably alone they are. They are surounded by sister states that have committed themselves to progress in education and industry. The Goldwater victory in the South is a Pyrrhic one in the full sense of that word.

Nationally, the Johnson victory was awesome in its massive size and in the fact that it carried governors, senators and congressmen to triumph. The Democratic party is stronger than at any time since the peak Roosevelt days. That is the real story.

RALPH

McGILL

Still in Agony And Transition

If the race issue, in its varying emotional forms and impact, is removed from the national election results, Barry M. Goldwater won by one state — Arizona. Even there, other Republican candidates did not fare too well. The senator's margin of about 5,000 in Arizona was obviously a sympathy vote for the hometown candidate.

There are left the five Southern states of the old cotton-sugarcane region. There was little discernible joy among the Democrats who had backlashed themselves into the Goldwater-Republican column. Senator Goldwater had gone down the drain of history. President Johnson's percentage of victory was greater than that of Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1936 and Dwight D. Eisenhower in 1956. No Presidential candidate has ever been so overwhelmingly the choice of so vast a majority. The President had carried out the Kennedy program. Only in the five states was there a backlash of resentment against him for so doing. Other Southern states that had gone Republican in three previous national elections—North Carolina, Florida, Tennessee, Virginia, Kentucky—chose to face a future in which all Americans would have an opportunity to live with dignity and opportunity.

Racial Prejudice

That five states could not muster a majority of voters to rise above the level of the many forms of racial prejudice that have for so long retarded the development of education and general progress was not entirely unexpected. Indeed, only Georgia provided the shock. It likely will take these five states a decade to eliminate from their political life the bitterness and stresses growing out of their defection to prejudice.

Senator Goldwater had campaigned hard for such a result. He had made inflammatory racist appeals to create a following. His speeches in the South had been carefully tailored to appeal to each aspect of prejudice, be it that in housing, business, or the Klans and various "councils" committed to maintaining all evils of the old segregated system that has held the South back for a century.

Deserted by all other Southern states, the five stand out in the national eye and conscience in stark isolation. So it was not surprising that there was little pleasure in the state margins given the worst-defeated and discredited man in the history of American politics.

Republicans in the South called themselves Goldwater Republicans — not Republicans. Senator Strom Thurmond, of South Carolina, in announcing his official departure from the Democratic party, from which he really had walked out in 1948, was careful to say he was affiliating with the Goldwater Republican party.

Two-Party System

A two-party system has been growing in the South for a decade. But Republicans in the East and West never understood that this had been brought about by men who had committed themselves to the so-called Eisenhower Republicanism. All of them were ruthlessly thrown out when Goldwater forces captured the Southern parties in 1964. The Goldwater Republicans were, and are, largely extremist and racist. This seemingly was what attracted Strom Thurmond.

Senator Goldwater's leadership is not now available. Whether the Goldwater-Republican strength can long survive in the South as a racist-extremist conservative party is for the future—and the people—to determine. In time it will of necessity divest itself of these divisive influences.

The Deep South is still in an agony of social and political transition. That five states find themselves still unable to rise above racial prejudices is a measure of their agony.

New Orleans Times Picayune clip on Boggs vs Treen

TREEN BACKERS RECEIVE THANKS

Praises Efforts Despite Obstacles in Race

David C. Treen, who was defeated Tuesday in his bid to unseat incumbent Second Congressional District Representative Hale Boggs, issued the following statement Wednesday:

"To the hundreds of devoted and determined campaign workers throughout the Second Congressional District I wish to express my heartfelt thanks and sincere gratitude. No man ever owed so much to so many. Naturally, I am disappointed in the outcome of the race, disappointed primarily because I was unable to produce a victory for those who have put forth such a magnificent and unselfish effort. I realize, of course, that this monumental job was carried out not for me as an individual, but for the cause of constitutional government and the philosophy of individuality in which all of us believe and will continue to believe.

"It is a tribute to the efforts of our group to have amassed 44 per cent of the vote. This was done in spite of many obstacles such as the opposition of The Times-Picayune and New Orleans States-Item. We were also faced with traditional Democratic voting habit, and the fact that our opposition had tremendous sums of money to spend for television, radio and newspaper advertising. We were simply unable to match the fantastic expenditure of money by the opposition.

"Then too, in our strongest precincts, such as precinct four of Ward 10 and precinct 30E of Ward Eight of Jefferson Parish (where we ran way ahead of the incumbent) we lost votes due to the unbelievable delay in voting. In the fourth precinct of the 10th Ward of Jefferson hundreds stood in line after the poll was opened but could not begin voting because of the absence of registration books until well after 7 a. m. In this precinct voters had to stand in line up to five hours to vote! When the poll closed hundreds were still standing in line to vote.

"The results show that we obtained well over a majority of the white vote. We lost the district by approximately 17,000 votes. A conservative estimate of the number of Negro votes cast in the district is 25,000, of which the opposition got 99 per cent. Examples of this fantastic bloc vote can be seen in Orleans Parish in precincts five and six of Ward Two (in the latter of which we were beaten 583 to four), and in precincts 12, 13 and 14 of Ward 10. Another dramatic illustration of the Negro bloc vote can be found in Ward Eight of Jefferson Parish. While we carried Ward Eight with a 4,000-vote margin, and carried 40 out of the 41 precincts, we lost the 22nd precinct 228 to 10.

"Bloc voting, regardless of what group is involved, is destructive of our system of electing public officials. Each voter should study the candidates and the issues and make up his own mind. The Negro has the most to lose by bloc voting. If this continues, white voters may be provoked into bloc voting also. When this occurs the effectiveness of Negro votes will be obliterated by the white majority.

"There is much in the outcome of this election that is encouraging. The final vote tabulations will show that we carried the East Bank of Jefferson by approximately 4500 votes. We carried Wards Seven, Eight and 10 and lost Nine by just a few votes. Of significance is the fact that East Jefferson is the fastest growing area of the Second Congressional District.

The results in Orleans Parish are also encouraging. We carried Wards 14 and 16 and did very well indeed in Ward 17. The upper portion of the 17th Ward is a fast growing area and we carried all of the precincts of that area.

It was also personally satisfying to me to note that I again defeated Mr. Boggs in his home precinct (precinct nine of Ward 11 of Orleans) by a vote of 239 to 183; and that I carried my own precinct (precinct 16 of Ward 3 of Jefferson) by a vote of 263 to 134.

"The frantic effort made by my opponent in the final days of the campaign to obtain more federal spending for the Second Congressional District is a strong illustration of what political competition can produce. The continued development of a two-party system in the Second District and throughout Louisiana will result in more and more attention by the federal government in the areas of defense and space programs.

"It will also result in more attention from industry which always looks favorably upon states that have a strong two-party system. Perhaps the close race that we ran will also be helpful in producing the tidelands settlement which has been unjustly withheld from the people of Louisiana.

"In conclusion, I want to reiterate my pledge to continue working for the betterment of our area, our state and our nation so that our children may enjoy in even greater measure the blessings of liberty and freedom. We will look backward only for the lessons which will aid us in the accomplishment of our goals for the future."

Boggs 98,067
Treen 79,502
Margin 18,565

Houston Chronicle, Sunday 11/8/64

Determined Negro Bloc Spoke With Single Voice

BY SAUL FRIEDMAN
Chronicle Reporter

Throughout the nation the Negro revolution moved from the streets to the polling places election day.

And Negroes voted in unprecedented numbers, and with amazing single-mindedness, for President Johnson.

The Blue Ridge area of Southeast Harris County, precinct 158, which is virtually all Negro, gave the President the largest vote of any precinct—2583. Sen. Barry Goldwater got only nine votes in that box.

Nearly 9 to One

Precinct 186, in the Fifth Ward, gave 2343 votes to Johnson, 16 to Goldwater; Precinct 25 in the Third Ward polled 1754 for Johnson, 12 for Goldwater; Precinct 240, in the Chocolate Bayou area gave 1221 to Johnson, seven to Goldwater.

Counting only Harris County precincts which are virtually all Negro (some are heavily Negro), Johnson got 57,270 votes, while Goldwater got 768.

This meant that 98.5 percent of the Negro vote in Harris County went for President Johnson.

Elsewhere in the nation it was the same.

In one Atlanta, Ga., precinct, Johnson got 4000 votes, and Goldwater got four.

97 Pct. of N.Y. Vote

The National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People in New York estimated that 97 percent of the state's 580,000 Negro voters chose Johnson. In Harlem, Goldwater was beaten 25 to one.

In Philadelphia, Republican chairman William J. Devlin complained that during the campaign Goldwater signs put up in the Negro areas were "torn down within five minminutes." After the campaign was over, the Negroes there gave 187,648 votes to Johnson and 19,000 to Goldwater.

In the Negro wards of Chicago, Johnson got from 92 to 98 percent of the vote. In Tennessee, Johnson got 99.5 percent of the Negro vote. In one Negro precinct in Washington, D.C., the vote was 1762 for Johnson, six for Goldwater. In Florida, it was 90 percent.

No Goldwater Precinct

Democratic National Committee official Louis Martin said he couldn't find that Goldwater carried one Negro precinct in the country.

Almost as phenomenal was the percentage of eligible Negro voters who went to the polls.

In Texas, the average seems to be about 80 percent, although in the larger cities — Houston and Dallas — the turnout was nearer 85 percent.

Voter registration campaigns in Texas, Florida, Tennessee, Virginia, and other Southern states helped pile the Negro votes on the Johnson landslide. An estimated 6 million Negroes were registered — 2 million in the South.

Gave All They Had

In Mississippi and Alabama, where Negro registration is very low — in comparison with the Negro population—Goldwater had little trouble. But where Bayou, Miss., for instance, the all-Negro community gave 275 votes to Johnson, all the votes the little town had.

Perhaps the intensity of the Negro vote was part of the crashing wave of the Negro Revolution, a wave that was meant to drown Goldwater by voting for Johnson.

Stark Contrast

Whatever the reason for the monolithic Negro vote, it was in contrast to the somewhat apathetic Negro vote of four years ago.

While there were 325,000 eligible Negro voters in Texas this year, in 1960 there were 140,000. About 70 percent went to the polls and about 75 percent of those who voted cast their ballots for John Kennedy.

So it is no wonder that this year the Goldwater forces tried desperately to stop the Negro behemoth.

At the last minute in the South, Negroes were being urged, no doubt by Goldwater people, to write-in Rev. Martin Luther King for President. It was a vain gambit to split their vote.

Voting Delay, Phony Handbills

And in Houston — with the largest Negro vote of any city in the South—Republicans apparently tried many things to blunt Negro power at the polls.

Squads of pollwatchers did what they could to delay the Negro vote. Phony handbills were distributed threatening Negroes with arrest at the polls if they owed traffic fines. And the GOP County Chairman, Charles Haden, talked of challenging voters who were on the welfare rolls.

If Harris County is any indication, Negroes not only helped President Johnson, they also gave a needed hand to the rest of the Democratic ticket. And they were loyal to conservatives as well as liberals.

Supported Conservatives

Rep. Bob Casey a conservative Democrat who voted against the Civil Rights Bill, could not have won without the Negro support. More than 97 percent voted for him, pulling the big lever over the Democratic column.

Casey, incidentally, lost to Republican Desmond Barry in almost every area with which he is philosophically identified. The middle-class conservative areas voted for his opponent, while the more moderate and liberal working class areas voted for him.

In Ohio, Sen. Stephen Young's surprising upset over Rep. Robert A. Taft Jr., one of the golden names in politics, was credited mainly to the 98 percent vote Young received in Cleveland's Negro wards.

Mandate for Action

Rev. King said in Atlanta that the Negro vote gave Johnson a mandate to support renewed Negro action for integration and equal rights, especially in the electoral process.

Roy Wilkins, executive director of the NAACP, saw the possibility that the Negro vote might tend to move the Negro revolution more sharply from

of the Republican Party and the candidates it nominates."

The thunder of the Negro strength may echo in strange fashion in the South. In states where Negro registration is kept low by Southern Democrats, Republicans have made significant inroads. Five GOP congressmen were elected in Alabama.

Thus southern Democratic lawmakers may have to choose between encouraging Negro registration and moderating their position on the race issue, or losing to Republicans.

Southern Triumphs

That is not the only irony to emerge from the 1964 elections.

Five states of the deep South left the party of their birth, for the party that was born of abolitionism.

And the estimated 4.8 million Negroes in the nation who voted, rejected the candidate of the party of Lincoln. And helped give a Southern-born president the greatest election triumph in American history.

VEP COPY

ALABAMA REGISTRATION STATISTICS

COUNTY	WVAP	NVAP	WREG	NREG	SOURCE
Autauga	6,353	3,651	4,991	50	WReg and NReg from news clip given WAB by Ala. labor leader in Miami 11/13/64
Baldwin	22,236	4,527	20,021	1,100	
Barbour	7,338	5,787	7,107	450	
Bibb	6,807	1,990	7,192	475	
Blount	14,368	378	12,600	150	
Bullock	2,387	4,450	2,300	1,200	WVAP and NVAP from U. S. Census, 1960
Butler	8,363	4,820	7,239	248	
Calhoun	44,739	9,036	29,000	2,200	
Chambers	15,369	6,497	10,083	850	
Cherokee	8,537	782	6,438	288	
Chilton	12,861	1,947	8,139	700	
Choctaw	5,192	3,982	5,163	252	
Clarke	7,899	5,833	8,350	650	
Clay	6,470	926	6,342	320	
Cleburne	5,870	385	5,235	80	
Coffee	14,221	2,985	9,310	503	
Colbert	21,680	4,575	16,229	1,500	
Conecuh	5,907	3,635	4,385	400	
Coosa	4,201	1,794	3,800	350	
Covington	18,466	2,876	12,330	685	
Crenshaw	6,310	2,207	5,452	492	
Cullman	25,848	285	19,850	250	
Dale	14,861	2,743	8,864	794	
Dallas	14,400	15,115	9,463	320	
DeKalb	23,878	441	22,950	250	
Elmore	12,510	4,808	11,728	400	
Escambia	12,779	5,685	11,843	1,150	
Etowah	48,563	7,661	35,200	1,800	
Fayette	8,277	1,291	9,432	360	
Franklin	12,412	,645	11,787	800	
Geneva	11,357	1,606	8,043	75	
Greene	1,649	5,001	2,305	275	
Hale	3,594	5,999	4,824	236	
Henry	5,165	3,168	4,958	503	
Houston	22,095	6,899	12,106	1,000	
Jackson	19,298	1,175	13,034	350	
Jefferson	256,319	116,160	130,804	23,992	
Lamar	7,503	1,027	8,580	300	
Lauderdale	31,809	3,726	21,600	1,200	
Lawrence	10,509	2,471	11,227	800	
Lee	17,547	8,913	11,384	1,995	
Limestone	16,173	3,579	11,221	750	
Lowndes	1,900	5,122	2,314	0	
Macon	2,818	11,886	3,733	3,479	
Madison	54,516	10,666	32,000	2,000	

Alabama (cont.)

COUNTY	WVAP	NVAP	WREG	NREG
Marengo	6,104	7,791	6,280	295
Marion	12,656	403	7,050	400
Marshall	26,997	637	21,925	125
Mobile	121,589	50,793	69,795	12,917
Monroe	6,631	4,894	7,017	325
Montgomery	62,911	33,056	33,000	5,500
Morgan	30,955	4,159	18,000	1,200
Perry	3,441	5,202	3,006	289
Pickens	7,336	4,373	6,511	438
Pike	9,126	5,259	10,356	273
Randolph	9,196	2,366	9,900	1,100
Russell	13,761	10,531	7,520	800
St. Clair	12,244	2,035	7,726	850
Shelby	14,771	2,889	12,500	500
Sumter	3,061	6,814	3,275	375
Talladega	25,635	9,333	19,000	3,000
Tallapossa	15,310	4,999	14,880	903
Tuscaloosa	47,076	15,332	26,000	6,000
Walker	28,148	2,890	21,602	1,710
Washington	5,293	2,297	6,068	700
Wilcox	2,624	6,085	2,974	0
Winston	8,559	47	10,354	15
	1,835,379	481,321	935,695	93,737

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FOR RELEASE:

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 15, 1964

WHAT HAPPENED IN THE SOUTH?

Of the six southern states carried by the Democratic Party in the 1964 Presidential election, four (Arkansas, Florida, Tennessee, and Virginia) clearly would have gone Republican had it not been for the Negro vote. One other, North Carolina, might have. Only in President Johnson's home state of Texas among the eleven states of the South did the Democratic Party clearly receive the majority of white votes.

Similarly, in a number of U. S. House and Senate races, Democratic success would not have been won without Negro support.

The states which President Johnson carried have the highest Negro registration; he failed to carry those with less than 45% of eligible Negroes registered.

In Georgia, Louisiana, and South Carolina, Senator Goldwater carried 54%, 57%, and 59% of the vote respectively; strong Negro support of the Democrats prevented even larger margins. In Mississippi and Alabama, where the Republican vote was of landslide proportions (87% and 69%), Negro voter registration is abnormally low. Both of these states are notorious for intimidation and other blocks to the constitutional rights of Negroes to vote.

Registration of Negro southern voters has been the chief activity of the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council during the past two years. This has been a non-partisan effort, endorsing no candidates or parties. Working cooperatively with the principal civil rights groups and many local citizen's groups, it has sought a rapid acceleration of Negro registration throughout

the South. The results of this concentrated drive are revealed by a simple comparison: Between 1952 and 1962, Negro registration increased from 1,008,614 to only 1,386,654. From 1962 to Fall, 1964, it rose to 2,164,200. These increases were spread over the South. But, in three states only relatively small gains were made: Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi.

Increases in Negro registration exceeding the normal rate of increase were responsible for Democratic victories in two states: ~~Arkansas and North Carolina.~~ FLORIDA AND VIRGINIA

In addition to the effect of the Negro vote on the Presidential election, it was responsible for election of many local and state office holders throughout the South, including some Negroes. The latter included two justices of the peace, a member of the school board and a member of the county board of revenue in Macon County, Alabama; a second Negro senator in Georgia, in a district where the majority of voters are white; a member of the state House of Representatives and a county judge in Shelby County, Tennessee. It was responsible also for adoption of a constitutional amendment in Arkansas which sets up a permanent voter registration system for the first time, and eliminates the poll tax in all elections, not just federal elections as required by the Twenty-Fourth Amendment.

These are findings from a study of complete and nearly complete election returns from the eleven states of the South. They emphasize, among other things, the importance of the Negro vote and of the race issue in understanding what happened in the South -- an understanding of value to the nation because the Deep South was the only place outside Senator Goldwater's home state where his candidacy was successful.

Despite some attempts at it, there can be little

persuasive argument that voters of the South did not understand clearly that for the first time in recent history the two candidates for the Presidency of the United States offered a clear-cut, opposed view on the race issue. This was accompanied in most southern states this year by the blunt ejection of Negroes from their traditional participation in Republican Party organizations, the "lily-white" conversion of the Party of Lincoln. Republican strategy in the South, baldly stated in some quarters, was to compensate for loss of Negro voters with great gains of white voters. There were, indeed, mass defections of previously Democratic white voters to the Republican candidate, and -- as elsewhere in the nation -- there was almost unanimous support of the Democratic candidate by Negroes.

The other issues of the campaign undoubtedly entered into the outcome in the Deep South, but the fact that they did not have the same effect on white voters as in the entire rest of the nation leads (along with other compelling evidence) to the conclusion that race was the controlling factor in this area where it has always assumed grotesquely disproportionate importance.

The lily-white strategy was effective in all of the Deep South, as the figures in this study will show, but it was strongest in Mississippi and Alabama. In both, support of Senator Goldwater by white leaders was virtually unanimous. In Alabama, of course, voters were not able to vote for the Democratic candidate, but chose between the Republican candidate and a slate of unpledged electors controlled by Governor George Wallace. Governor Wallace was left with the Alabama Democrats in the shambles of a Republican sweep which, in the election of five freshmen Republican congressmen, destroyed nearly a century of

seniority for three conservative Democratic congressmen, and put the GOP in charge of ten county courthouses. Probably only in his battles against school desegregation has Governor Wallace served better the cause he was against.

In all five states that went Republican, the Goldwater cause was helped (and the race issue emphasized) by defections of politicians noted through the decades as leaders in the southern resistance to equal citizenship for Negroes. Others of this stripe refused to work for the Democratic ticket. In Georgia, this refusal by U. S. Senator Richard Russell, and, to an almost equal extent, U. S. Senator Herman Talmadge, was considered probably crucial to defeat of their party, despite strenuous work for the ticket by Governor Carl Sanders.

The lily-white strategy failed (six states to five) over the whole of the South. It is notable that the five states which went Republican in 1964 are those which (with the exception once of Louisiana) had not since Reconstruction voted for a Republican Presidential candidate, and were not before the ascendancy of the new Republicanism considered the southern states where Republican strength on the local level was most solidly based. With the exception of Georgia, they were the states which voted Dixiecrat in 1948.

Senator Goldwater lost Florida, Texas, Tennessee, and Virginia, all of which in recent years had supported Republican Presidential candidates. Florida, Tennessee, and Virginia had, in fact, voted Republican in 1952, 1956, and 1960. In Florida, Texas, Tennessee, and Virginia, as well as in North Carolina and Arkansas, Republican grassroots gains over the years had been considered solid. But in 1964, Republicans suffered setbacks in all in local and state races.

While Republicans gained five U. S. House seats in Alabama and one each in Georgia and Mississippi, they lost two in Texas, for a net gain of five. The Mississippi

U. S. House victory of a conservative Republican unseated one of the Democrats' ultra-conservatives of long-standing, Representative W. Arthur Winstead, an irony repeated in several of the southern upsets.

The Republicans elected no U. S. senators and no governors in the South. In state legislatures, they netted a loss of two seats, with significant gains only in Georgia. There were no legislative races in Mississippi and Alabama, but in Louisiana and South Carolina, the Goldwater landslide did not carry over to lesser offices.

To the extent that Republicans made genuine and lasting gains in grassroots political strength in the formerly one-party South, to that extent is democracy strengthened. Time -- and the future policy perhaps of both parties -- will tell what happened in the South along these lines.

Meanwhile, these points seem clear:

1. Effective Negro registration and participation in elections is the best assurance that race will be eliminated as a politically profitable issue, as it was this time in six southern states, and that all the southern states will be freed from the threat of demagogic appeals to racism.

2. Continued efforts to achieve the basic constitutional right of the ballot for Negroes is essential in all eleven states, and is most notably needed in those two states where the Negro electorate is most restricted. This is not for the advantage of any one political party over the other, but necessary for healthful self-government in the South and the nation. Past experience proves conclusively that the abnormality of almost unanimous Negro support of a candidate or a party (the so-called bloc vote)

occurs in the South only when the race issue is raised, and there are clearly opposed stands on it.

3. While the presidential results of 1964 certainly did not provide a head-count on the race issue, North or South, they do suggest that racism remains, region-wide, a pressing public problem in the South. Over the rest of the nation, with backlash and frontlash knocking each other out, the issue is alive and serious, but perhaps not as deeply imbedded in the fabric of society and government as many had thought.

4. In the pragmatic terms of politics, Democrats and the nation's majority owe a greater debt to the Negro electorate in the South than has so far been acknowledged.

(The Democratic Party for example would seem to owe its Negro constituency better treatment than was afforded one of its political leaders in Atlanta, Horace Ward. Mr. Ward won nomination to a state senate seat in the Democratic primary over a white opponent, only to have campaign envelopes prepared for this Democrat used by the Republican candidate, also white, in the general election race. Other Democratic spokesmen and resources did not visibly aid Mr. Ward. He nevertheless won -- with little thanks to his party.)

5. In these same pragmatic terms, and perhaps in moral ones as well, the Republican Party needs to examine carefully its future southern policy. The 1964 election returns seem to indicate the futility of trying to gather in all of the South for a base keyed to racism, and the futility of trying to appeal to the rest of the nation from the positions necessary to holding that remnant of the South in

which racism overrides other issues. And the experience of the Democrats in this century offers many unhappy examples of the difficulties involved in trying to contain within one national party the stubborn racist remnant in the South as well as the representatives of the majority of Americans, North and South, who believe in democracy.

6. The tradition of southern Negro support for Republican candidates in the past is well known. Results in Arkansas in 1964 underscore the willingness this year as ever of Negroes to vote for Republican candidates acceptable to their aspirations and dignity. The previously avid segregationist Democratic candidate for re-election as governor, Orval Faubus, actively sought the Negro vote this year in campaign activities and literature, including boasts about the amount of integration in Arkansas. Despite this, Negroes over the state supported the Republican candidate, Winthrop Rockefeller, whose support of Negro aspirations was of longer standing. Returns in the Negro precincts of Pine Bluff, Arkansas, offer a fascinating example of this selectivity in balloting: They went 97.8% for President Johnson, and 88.5% for Republican Rockefeller. For a constitutional amendment to remove the poll tax as a prerequisite for voting there was again great agreement, 85.1% in favor. But in a contest for mayor, where race was not an issue, there was a normal spread among three candidates, 29.9%, 14.6%,and 55.5%, the latter going for the only candidate who appeared before Negro audiences seeking their vote and who won by only 101 votes.

* * * * * * * * * *

The estimate of Negro voting in this study is purposely conservative. It was arrived at by calculating the percentage of the total electorate which voted, and then assuming that the same percentage of the Negro electorate voted. Actually, in most areas, the Negro turnout was higher than that of the total electorate, a mark of political maturity worth noting. In all the southern states, the Negro vote may be assumed to have been more than 95% Democratic.

I. Florida, Tennessee, Arkansas, and Virginia are the states in which President Johnson's victory was clearly attributable to the Negro vote plus a white minority.

Florida--Johnson margin: 37,800 votes. Estimated Negro vote: 211,800.

The voter registration drives accounted for an increase in Florida Negro voter registration from 1962 to 1964 that was 121,000 in excess of normal increase.

Virginia--Johnson margin: 77,000. Estimated Negro vote: 166,600.

The voter drive increase in excess of normal Negro registration from 1962 to 1964 was 78,700.

Tennessee--Johnson margin: 126,000. Estimated Negro vote: 165,200.

The voter drive increase in excess of normal Negro registration from 1962 to 1964 was 32,900.

Arkansas--Johnson margin: 65,400. Estimated Negro vote: 67,600.

The Arkansas voter drive increase in excess of normal Negro registration from 1962 to 1964 was 19,200. Without this extra increase, Democrats would have not carried the state.

II. In North Carolina, President Johnson would most probably not have won without the Negro vote.

Johnson margin: 173,900. Estimated Negro vote: 168,400.

The North Carolina voter drive increase in excess of normal Negro registration from 1962 to 1964 was 38,400. Without this extra increase, the Democrats most probably would not have

carried the state.

III. In Texas, President Johnson clearly carried the majority of white voters.

Johnson margin: 684,100. Estimated Negro vote: 325,500.

Texas is the only state where registration drives supported by the Voter Education Project included a sustained effort to register white as well as Negro voters. The increase in Negro registration was 134,600 in excess of normal increases from 1962 to 1964.

IV. The Goldwater margins in Georgia, Louisiana, and South Carolina were considerably less than they would have been without the heavy Negro support of President Johnson.

Georgia -- Goldwater, 578,509; Johnson, 487,581. Margin: 90,900. The estimated Negro vote: 178,700.

In Georgia, more of the Negroes eligible to vote are not registered (343,000), than are (270,000). If only 40% of those who are not registered had been registered, and if they had followed the same turnout and voting pattern, the state would have been carried by President Johnson.*

Louisiana--Goldwater, 503,545; Johnson, 387,811. Margin: 115,700. Estimated Negro vote: 122,000.

Here, too, more eligible Negroes are not registered (350,000) than are registered (164,800). Registration of only 45% of those unregistered would have changed the results in Louisiana.

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*It should be emphasized again that our estimates of Negro turnout are simply the state averages. All evidence indicates that the Negro turnout was higher. This would mean, for example, that less than a 40% increase of Negro registration would have changed the Georgia decision.

South Carolina--Goldwater, 311,144; Johnson, 219,613. Margin: 91,500. Estimated Negro vote: 90,300.

Again, more eligible Negroes are not registered (227,000) than are registered (144,000). Registration of 65% of those unregistered would have been required to change results.

V. Alabama and Mississippi show the impact of the race issue where disenfranchisement of Negroes is still relatively great.

Alabama--Goldwater, 454,313; Unpledged Democrats, 200,355. Margin: 254,000. Estimated Negro vote: 68,100.

Here, of eligible Negroes, only 110,000 are registered, compared with 370,000 who are not.

Mississippi--Goldwater, 359,693; Johnson, 53,063. Margin: 306,600. Estimated Negro vote: 21,200.

In this state, not more than 28,500 Negroes are registered. Another 394,000 are eligible, but unregistered.

VI. In Congressional races analyzed, the Negro vote was in some cases even more crucial to Democratic victories than in the Presidential race.

In Tennessee, Sen. Albert Gore defeated Republican Dan Kuyhendall by a margin of 73,500 votes. The estimated Negro vote was 153,300. Democrat Ross Bass defeated Republican Howard Baker for the U.S. Senate by an even smaller margin, 52,300. The estimated Negro vote was 157,900.

Sen. Ralph Yarborough in Texas defeated Republican George Bush by 343,100. The estimated Negro vote (again conservative) was 320,500.

In Georgia, Democrats drew comfort from election of two Atlanta Democrats to the U.S. House. Rep. Charles Weltner defeated Republican James O'Callaghan by 12,300 votes. The Negro vote was 32,100. Democrat James Mackay defeated Republican Roscoe Pickett by 15,760. The estimated Negro vote (conservative) was 14,600.

The Negro vote was the key to one Tennessee U.S. House race, a substantial part of victory in another. In the Ninth

District, Democratic George Grider defeated Republican Robert B. James by 11,700 votes. The Negro vote was at least 70,000. In the Fifth District, Democratic Representative Richard Fulton defeated Republican Bill R. Wills by 25,100 votes. The Negro vote was at least 18,000.

In the Second District of Louisiana, Democratic Representative Hale Boggs won over Republican challenger David C. Treen by 17,900 votes. The Negro vote was at least 25,000.

As said earlier, race was the controlling factor of the Presidential election in the Deep South. Whereas these states took some helpful steps toward a two party politics, including impressive statewide organization in Alabama and South Carolina, the principal showing was that when one party builds its appeal almost entirely on race the electorate will be polarized on that question. So intense was the rejection of the Democrats by large blocs of white voters that even strongly conservative Democratic candidates, e.g. Representative George Huddleston Jr. of Birmingham, were swept out of office. So intensely did Negroes reject the Republican Party that voting by them clearly accounted for the victory of some strongly conservative Democrats; among others, Representative Robert Casey of Houston owes his re-election to the Negro vote.

Los Angeles Times
LARGEST CIRCULATION IN THE WEST
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DEC 23 1964

Democrats Are Working to Retain Negro Vote

BY DAVID KRASLOW
Times Staff Writer

(1)

The Democrats are not letting up.

A few weeks from now, on a date still to be set, some 80 Negro leaders from the 11 Confederate states will be brought to Washington by the Democratic National Committee to map plans for a new Negro voter registration drive in the South.

"We don't intend to lose any time on this business," says Louis E. Martin, deputy chairman of the Democratic National Committee and a Southern-born Negro. "We're getting ready for '66 and '68."

Like other professional politicians—both parties—Martin is still incredulous over the "suicidal, lily-white strategy" the Goldwater forces adopted in the Presidential campaign.

The Negro is a growing political force of enormous potential, especially in the South, yet Barry Goldwater managed to turn him away from the party of Lincoln.

★

The descendants of those emancipated by Lincoln were nowhere to be seen in the Republican Party this fall. The combination of President Johnson's adroit and sympathetic handling of the race problem plus Goldwater's vote against the civil rights bill and his espousal of a state's rights philosophy adored by segregationists made the choice easy for Negroes.

(3)

and a fifth (North Carolina) might have.

Goldwater did best in Alabama and Mississippi, where Negro registration is kept abnormally low by the racist power structure.

In 1964, for the first time in recent history, the two candidates for the Presidency offered a clear choice on the civil rights issue.

Wholly aside from the moral implications, the lily-white conversion of the Republican Party in 1964 was a disaster in the purest practical terms — numbers of votes.

David Kraslow is a member of The Times' Washington Bureau.

But this election, certainly with respect to the position of the parties on the race issue, was a freak, and Martin and other Democratic politicians understand this well.

They understand that Republican candidates in the future will not be detached from the mainstream, and that elections will be decided on issues other than civil rights.

They recognize that the Negro vote, especially in the South, can be as contestable as the Chinese vote, the white Protestant vote, the Catholic vote, the Jewish vote, or the vote of frecklefaced redheads and onearmed shortstops.

In brief, it can be had—by those who respect it and earn it.

(2)

But Goldwater did more than merely lose the Negro vote. He helped the Democrats mobilize it to an unprecedented degree.

"We knew we had the vote, if we could just get it out," said Martin. "We were really shook up when only 40% of the registered Negroes in Fulton County (Atlanta) voted in a local primary on Sept. 9. We went to work and 90% went to the polls on Nov. 3."

Martin called this fall's Negro voter registration campaign "the biggest in the history of the Democratic National Committee.

"We sought the support of every social, fraternal, civic and religious organization," he said, "and they responded. This election marked the first time that we really had the total involvement of the Negro community. You didn't hear any preachers saying they didn't want to mess around with politics."

★

In recent Presidential elections before 1964, Martin estimated, Republicans captured between 40% and 45% of the Southern Negro vote. Goldwater got only what Martin termed the "accident" vote, perhaps 5%.

Goldwaterites who were so confident they could marshal Southern whites on the race issue, pick up far more than enough to cancel out Negro defections and thereby sweep Dixie were taught a hard lesson on Nov. 3. One hopes, for the sake of the two-party system, that they never forget it.

Nor should they forget that hundreds of thousands of whites across the South rejected Goldwaterism.

The Southern Regional Council in Atlanta notes that of the six Confederate states carried by Mr. Johnson, four (Arkansas, Florida, Tennessee and Virginia) clearly would have gone Republican had it not been for the Negro vote,

(4)

★

"Goldwater helped us," said Martin, "but we don't consider the Negro vote in the South—or anywhere else, for that matter—in the pocket. That's why we're working at it already for '66 and '68. The Negro vote will ride on other issues besides civil rights next time. There'll be no Goldwater."

Despite the enormous success of the registration drive this year, there is still a great untapped potential of Negro voters.

Martin has the statistics under the glass cover on top of his desk, but he carries most of them in his head.

Kraslow

He says there were over 5 million Negroes of voting age in the South in December 1963, yet there were only 2.1 million Negroes registered to vote last month.

"It's a tremendous improvement," Martin said, "but it's still only 40% of the potential. We hope to bring the registration up to 70% in the next two or three years."

Martin also estimates that while Negroes accounted for 15% of the total Southern vote last month, the Negro voting age population is about 25% of the total.

Martin says he hopes the President will be able to personally greet the Southern Negro leaders who attend the voter registration seminar . . .

He can bet on it!

Cities

		TOTAL	WHITE	NEGRO
Ga	Atlanta	173,554	114,470	59,084
Va	Richmond	87,914	58,544	29,388
	Norfolk	74,694	58,893	15,801
	Petersville	17,125	13,879	3,246
La	New Orleans	197,951	162,127	35,824

COUNTIES (PARISH)

		TOTAL	WHITE	NEGRO
Ga	FULTON CO.	224,031	162,339	61,692
Ala	JEFFERSON CO.	154,796	130,804	23,992
	MOBILE CO.	82,712	69,795	12,917
	MONTGOMERY CO.	38,500	33,000	5,500
S. Caro	CHARLESTON CO.	64,286	50,310	13,976
	RICHLAND CO.	67,500	58,750	8,750
La.	ORLEANS PARISH (N.O.)	197,951	162,127	35,824
	CADDO PARISH (Spt)	67,316	62,362	4,954
	E. BATON ROUGE PARISH (B.R.)	87,763	75,773	11,990
Miss	HINDS CO. ☆	28,715 ★	23,715 ★	5,000 ★

July, 1963

☆ All fall, 1964 except miss

		W	N	T
Caddo Parish.	M	30,905	2290	W – 62,362
	F	31,457	2664	N – 4,954
E. Baton Rouge	M	38,451	5366	W – 75,773
	F	37,322	6624	N – 11,990

STATE	NEGRO VOTERS 1956	NEGRO VOTERS 1960	CHANGE, 1956 to 1960	EXPECTABLE CHANGE, 1960-64	EXPECTABLE NEGRO REGISTRATION 1964	ACTUAL NEGRO REGISTRATION 1964	REGISTRATION DRIVES' INCREASE	TOTAL REGISTRATION, W+N 1964	NEGRO REGIS-TRATION 1964	PER CENT NEGRO
Alabama	53,366	73,272	+19,906 +37.2%	+27,250	100,500	111,000	10,500	1,055,500	111,000	10.4
Arkansas	69,677	72,604	+2,927 +4.2%	+3,220	75,800	95,000	19,200	715,500	95,000	13.3
Georgia	163,389	180,000	+16,611 +10.2%	+18,250	198,250	270,000	71,750	1,610,000	270,000	16.7
Florida	148,703	163,128	+14,398 +9.65%	+15,750	178,900	300,000	121,100	2,500,500	300,000	12.0
Louisiana	161,410	156,938	−4,472 −2.77%	−4,250	152,700	164,700	12,000	1,202,100	164,700	13.7
Mississippi	20,000	22,000	+2,000 +10.0%	+2,200	24,200	28,500	4,300	553,500	28,500	5.1
North Carolina	135,000	172,166	+37,166 +27.5%	+47,450	219,600	258,000	38,400	2,200,000	258,000	11.7
South Carolina*	57,978*	90,901*	+32,923* +56.8%	+25,750*	116,650	144,000	27,350	847,000	144,000	17.0
Tennessee	90,000	150,986*	+60,986** +67.8%	+34,100**	185,100	218,000	32,900	1,515,000	218,000	14.4
Texas	214,000	226,818	+12,818 +6.0%	+13,600	240,400	375,000	134,600	2,977,000	375,000	12.2
Virginia	82,603	100,100	+17,497 +21.2%	+21,200	121,300	200,000	78,700	1,250,000	200,000	16.0

*1958 *1962 *1958 to 1962 *1962-1964 ONE HALF OF INCREASE EXPECTABLE, 1962-1966

**1956 to 1962 **1962-1964 ONE THIRD INCREASE EXPECTABLE 1962-1968

STATE	PRESIDENTIAL VOTE (1)	TOTAL PRES. VOTE (2)	REGISTERED VOTERS (3)	PER CENT VOTING (4)	REGISTERED NEGRO VOTERS (5)	ESTIMATED NEGRO VOTE (6) = (4) x (5)	WINNER AND WINNER'S MARGIN	UNREGISTERED NEGRO ELIGIBLES	MARGIN AS PERCENT OF UNREGISTERED
Alabama	D-200,355 R-454,313	654,700	1,057,500	61.8	111,000	68,100	GOLDWATER 254,000	370,000	68.7
Arkansas	D-296,390 R-231,039	527,400	715,500	71.2	95,000	67,600	JOHNSON 65,400	98,000	66.7
Georgia	D-487,581 R-578,509	1,066,100	1,610,000	66.3	270,000	178,700	GOLDWATER 90,900	343,000	26.5
Florida	D-900,417 R-862,614	1,763,000	2,500,500	70.6	300,000	211,800	JOHNSON 37,800	170,000	22.2
Louisiana	D-387,811 R-503,545	891,400	1,202,100	74.2	164,800	122,000	GOLDWATER 115,700	350,000	33.2
Mississippi	D-53,063 R-359,693	412,800	553,500	74.6	28,500	21,200	GOLDWATER 306,600	394,000	77.8
North Caro.	D-805,731 R-631,855	1,437,600	2,200,000	65.3	258,000	168,400	JOHNSON 173,900	293,000	59.4
South Caro	D-219,613 R-311,144	530,800	847,000	62.7	144,000	90,300	GOLDWATER 91,500	227,000	40.4
Tennessee	D-636,627 R-510,630	1,147,300	1,515,000	75.8	218,000	165,200	JOHNSON 126,000	96,000	131.2
Texas	D-1,633,117 R-944,873 C-4,215	2,582,200	2,977,000	86.8	375,000	325,500	JOHNSON 684,100	275,000	247.8
Virginia	D-558,935 R-481,932	1,040,900	1,250,000	83.3	200,000	166,600	JOHNSON 77,000	237,000	32.5
Totals	D-6,179,640 R-5,870,147 C-4,215	12,054,000	16,428,100	73.4	2,164,300	1,585,400	JOHNSON 305,300	2,853,000	10.7

CONGRESSIONAL & SENATORIAL RACES

RACE	WINNER & VOTES	LOSER(S) & VOTES	WINNER'S MARGIN	ESTIMATED NEGRO REGISTRATION	ESTIMATED NEGRO VOTE	MARGIN AS % OF N. REGISTRATION	MARGIN AS % OF N. VOTE	
Virginia Third District	SATTERFIELD 43,881	OBENSHAIN-42,205	680	33,255	24,900 to 27,100	2.1	2.7 to 2.5	
		HADDOCK--39,319	4500			13.5	18.1 to 17.2	
Tennessee - Senate #1	GORE 570,703	KUYKENDALL 494,158	73,500	218,000	153,300	33.7	47.8	✓
Tennessee - Senate #2	BASS 570,445	BAKER 518,097	52,300	218,000	157,900	24.0	33.1	✓
Texas -- Senate	YARBOROUGH 1,435,315	BUSH-1,106,270 CARSWELL-4,984	343,100	375,000	320,500	91.6	107.0	✓
Tennessee - Fifth District	FULTON 75,223	WILLS 50,164	25,100	24,000	18,000	104.2	139.0	✓
Tennessee - Ninth District	GRIDER 106,879	JAMES 95,138	11,700	95,000	70,000	12.3	16.7	✓
Louisiana - Second District	BOGGS 78,882	TREEN 60,992	17,900	—	25,000	—	71.7	✓
Georgia - Fifth District	WELTNER 62,508	O'CALLAGHAN 52,278	10,230	46,150	32,000	22.2	32.0	✓
Georgia - Fourth District (Fulton Portion)	MACKAY 20,879	PICKETT 11,330	9,450	15,540	10,500	61.3	90.0	
Georgia Fifth - CQ vote totals	Weltner 66,346	O'Callaghan 54,036	12,300	46,150	32,100	26.7	38.3	✓

Stephen Young of Ohio as non Sou Sen in debt to N vote.

Senatorial Election Results –

Alabama – ~~1960 – Sparkman 389,000 Republican 165,000.~~
1962 – Hill 202,000 Martin 195,000.
But – did Negro vote necessarily go to Hill?

Florida – 1962 – Smathers 658,000 Republican 281,000
1964 – Holland 940,570 Republican Kirk 536,570

Georgia – 1960 – Russell 576,000 } Un-
1962 – Talmadge 306,000 } opposed

Kentucky – 1960 – Demo 445,000, Cooper 644,000
1960 – Demo 387,000, Morton 453,000

Louisiana – 1960 Ellender 432,000 Republican 110,000
1962 Long 319,000 Republican 103,000

Mississippi – 1960 Eastland 244,000 Republican 22,000
1964 Stennis = Unopposed

North Carolina – 1960 Jordan 194,000 Republican 198,000
1962 Ervin 442,000 Republican 322,000

South Carolina – 1960 – Thurmond 330,000 – No opponent
1962 Johnston 179,000 – Workman 134,000

~~Tennessee~~ Texas – ~~1960 + 1 – Johnson, Tower & Yarborough~~
1964 – Yarborough +329,000 over Bush

Tennessee – 1964 – Gore +76,518 570,703 Fulkerson 494,185
1964 – Bass +52,431 570,445 Baker 518,097

Virginia – ~~1960 – Robertson – No opponent~~
~~1964 – Byrd – token opposition~~

size of N. vote in Memphis

SOUTHERN NEGRO VOTER STATISTICS

STATE	Total Negro Voters as of 11/1/64	Increase Since 4/1/62	% of Eligible Negroes Regis-tered	% of Eligible Whites Regis-tered	% Negro of Total Regis-tered	% Negro of Voting Age Popula-tion	Presiden-tial Winner & Margin 1964		Unregis-tered Negroes of Voting Age
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)		(8)
ALA.	111,000	42,700	23.0	70.7	10.4	26.2	BG	268,355 ~~213,625~~	370,000
ARK.	105,000 ~~95,000~~	36,000 ~~26,000~~	54.4 ~~49.3~~	71.7 ~~72.9~~	14.6 ~~13.2~~	18.4	LBJ	70,932	88,000 ~~98,000~~
FLA.	300,000	117,500	63.7	84.0	12.0	15.2	LBJ	42,599	170,000
GA.*	270,000	94,500	44.0	74.5	16.8	25.4	BG	94,027	343,000
LA.	164,700	13,000	32.0	80.4	13.7	28.5	BG	122,157	350,000
MISS.	28,500	4,500	6.7	70.1	5.2	36.0	BG	303,910	394,000
N. C.	258,000	47,500	46.8	92.5	11.7	21.5	LBJ	175,295	293,000
S. C.	144,000	53,100	38.8	78.5	17.0	29.3	BG	93,348	227,000
TENN.	218,000	67,100	69.4	72.9	14.4	14.9	LBJ	126,082	96,000
TEXAS	375,000	133,000	57.7	53.2	12.5	11.7	LBJ	704,619	275,000
VA.	200,000	89,900	45.7	55.9	16.0	18.8	LBJ	76,704	237,000
TOTAL	2,174,200 ~~2,164,200~~	688,800	43.3	73.2	13.0	22.4	LBJ	314,475 ~~369,164~~	2,843,000 ~~2,853,000~~

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5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

*Voting Age 18

Corrected by WAB. as of 1-65

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HOUSTON CHRONICLE

Washington Beat

Democrats Look South At a Cloudy Picture

BY LESLIE CARPENTER

Washington — As top Democrats diagnose Dixie, things are apt to get worse before they get better.

The GOP's Barry Goldwater faction may be dead everywhere else. But with the civil rights issue furnishing the vitals it is in vigorous health below the Mason-Dixon Line.

TAFT, JR.

BOLTON

Seek Negro Vote

Specifically, Democratic strategists think they might lose more Southern congressional seats to the Republicans in 1966. But by the 1968 presidential election, Democrats believe the GOP will go all out on civil rights, neutralizing the subject as far as the white Southerner is concerned—and opening the door for his return to the Democratic Party.

Already on a national basis, all Republican roads lead to the Negro voter. The latest development is the African trip of Robert Taft Jr., who would have been elected in the close Ohio U.S. Senate race last year if he hadn't done so badly in Cleveland's Negro wards. Taft took only 11 per cent in some, compared to his late father's 25-30 per cent range in the same places.

Intrestingly, Rep. Frances P. Bolton (R., Ohio), who has made a specialty of African affairs and had financed the African pavilion at the New York World's Fair, carried Negro wards in her Cleveland congressional district by 40 per cent.

Taft, a future GOP presidential possibility, is making the African journey to visit his son, Robert Taft III, a Peace Corps teacher in Tanzania. But there is abvious politics in the trip, as there was in the spur of the moment decision of Mrs. William Scranton, wife of the GOP Pennsylvania governor, to call a Negro girl from the crowd to ride in her lap the full length of the Inaugural parade here recently.

The Democratic National Committee is doing a minimum of meddling in Dixie affairs, recognizing outside interference is political poison. But the Southern Democrat knows where he can go for money.

Promise Help

As one top Democrat in party headquarters here phrased it colorfully: "We're not telling anybody what to do, but we've got the buttons, marbles and chalk to help our people."

No longer will Rep. Otto Passman (D., La.), belligerent foe of foreign aid, be able to control the foreign aid appropriations subcommittee he heads.

Two of Passman's Democratic allies on his subcommittee did not return to the House this year. Two others, Reps. George W. Andrews (D., Ala.) and John J. Flynt (D., Ga.) left for other subcommittees.

With the four gone, the Passman subcommittee was cut down in size and three Democrats who don't lose their heads when the words "foreign aid" are mentioned were appointed in their places.

The new members: Reps. Julia B. Hansen (D., Wash.), Jeffrey Cohelan (D., Cal.), Clarence D. Long (D., Md.).

L E

REPORT OF THE HOUSING SUB-COMMITTEE OF THE
GLENN MEMORIAL COMMISSION ON CHRISTIAN SOCIAL CONCERNS

Spring 1965

Because of general concern with the responsibilities of Glenn members, both as Christians and as residents of DeKalb County, the Commission on Christian Social Concerns created a sub-committee to lead a study of the housing needs of our Negro citizens.

The sub-committee consisted of Mrs. Mary Kate Duskin, Dr. Marion T. Clark, and Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar (chairman).

Three programs were brought to the full Commission. In February, a presentation by Mr. Glenn Bennett, director of the Metropolitan Planning Commission, assisted by a member of his staff. In March, a presentation by the Reverend Joseph L. Griggs of the Gordon Street Presbyterian Church, discussing the Sewell Road situation. In April, a presentation by Mrs. Frances Pauley, director of the Georgia Council on Human Relations, discussing the Kirkwood situation.

From these discussions, the sub-committee has assembled the following conclusions to help the Commission and the church in further thought.

Some Background Statistics For Considering the Housing Needs of Negroes

Population*

	Atlanta			Metropolitan Atlanta			DeKalb County		
Year	White	Negro	% Negro	White	Negro	% Negro	White	Negro	% Negro
1900	54,100	35,700	40	142,500	72,000	34	14,100	7,000	33
1910	102,900	51,900	34	204,200	87,200	30	19,500	8,400	30
1920	137,800	62,800	31	266,500	100,700	27	34,200	9,900	23
1930	180,300	90,100	34	348,800	130,200	27	58,200	12,100	17
1940	197,700	104,600	35	409,100	149,700	27	73,000	14,000	16
1950	209,900	121,400	37	554,300	172,700	24	122,000	14,300	11
1960	300,600	186,300	38	785,300	231,600	23	234,400	22,400	9
1964 (est)	298,900	207,300	41	889,200	253,800	22	271,200	29,800	10

*Source: U. S. Census; Metropolitan Planning Commission

These figures point to several important trends:

1. Although the number of Negroes in the Atlanta Metropolitan area has more than tripled since 1900, there has been a steady decline in their percentage of the total population: 1/3 of the people of the area were Negro in 1900; only 1/5 are today.

2. Within the city of Atlanta, on the other hand, the percentage has been increasing since 1920. In fact, since 1960 the white population of the city has apparently declined.

3. Although the Negro population of DeKalb County has quadrupled since 1900, there has been a drastic fall-off in percentage, from 1/3 to 1/10. However, since 1960, and for the first time this century, there has been a small up-turn, from 9% to 10%. This we know is due to the Kirkwood transition, which represents also the first in-migration of middle-class Negroes to the county.

NEGRO HOME OWNERS
DEKALB COUNTY*

	Homestead Exemptions
1940	430
1942	442
1944	442
1946	486
1947	692
1949	754
1951	1142
1953	1224
1955	1228
1958	1102
1961	1923
1963	1877

*Source: Ga. Department of Revenue, Statistical Report

FARM ACREAGE OPERATED BY
NEGROES IN DEKALB COUNTY*

	Owned	Partly Owned	Total
1934	1482	447	1929
1940	1804	64	1868
1950	1299	256	1555
1954	638	34	672
1959	304	0	304

*Source: U. S. Census of Agriculture

Some Guideline Considerations Affecting the Housing Needs for Negroes

1. Several factors combine at the present time to induce residential shifts of Negroes in the Atlanta area. Among these are:

   (a) Dislocations caused by urban renewal and other re-building and growth projects;

   (b) Increased income of Negroes, encouraging more to seek better accommodations for their families; e.g.:

MEDIAN FAMILY INCOME*

	ATLANTA			METROPOLITAN ATLANTA			DEKALB COUNTY		
	All Families	White	Negro	All Families	White	Negro	All Families	White	Negro
1949	$2664	$3811	$1427	$2936	$3618	$1413	$3539	$3807	$1286
1959	5029	6212	3069	5758	6414	3033	6873	7188	2823

*Source: U. S. Census, 1950 and 1960.

   (c) Increased educational levels of Negroes, encouraging more to seek better accommodations for their families, e.g.:

MEDIAN SCHOOL YEARS COMPLETED
PERSONS OVER 25*

	METROPOLITAN ATLANTA			DEKALB COUNTY		
	All Persons	White	Negro	All Persons	White	Negro
1950	9.6	10.7	6.4	11.4	12.0	5.5
1960	10.8	11.6	7.6	12.3	12.8	6.7

*Source: U. S. Census, 1950 and 1960.

   (d) The stimulus of the civil rights campaign;

(e) The spread of "fair-employment," bringing Negro professionals and technicians to outlying installations such as Lockheed and the Communicable Disease Center, and, in time, to such installations as Emory University, the new VA Hospital, the Doraville General Motors plant, and the new office park on the Northeast Expressway;

(f) The federal requirement of teacher integration under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act will presumably result in the non-racial assignment of teachers who will presumably wish to live close to their schools;

(g) Negro parents, as do white parents, choose neighborhoods so far as possible that have good schools.

2. Few truly integrated neighborhoods exist, North or South. (Recall the discussion of the Sewell Road area by the Rev. Griggs.)

3. The usual pattern of housing change has been for an entire neighborhood to pass from white to Negro occupancy in a relatively short time (or, through means such as urban renewal, for the reverse to occur; we do not have data, but quite possibly more Negroes in the Atlanta area have been displaced recently than whites have been displaced by Negro "invasions"). Once transition from white to Negro occupancy starts, it is hastened by the policies and practices of realtors and lending firms. It is also expedited by the decision of churches to sell and move and by decisions affecting public schools. (Recall the discussion of the Kirkwood area by Mrs. Pauley.)

4. The frequent pattern is that the first whites to sell get prices for their houses higher than previous market value. Prices frequently fall as the transition progresses, and frequently panic selling begins. Usually, once a transition begins, no whites buy into the neighborhood.

5. The practically inevitable outcome of this process is that the "inner city" will become predominantly Negro. This has already occurred in Washington, despite the fact that the percentage of Negroes who live in the entire Washington metropolitan area is declining.

6. A few neighborhoods, including some that are middle-class and upper middle-class, of the North have accepted small numbers of Negro residents, and remained stable neighborhoods. The spread, North and South, of this practice, enabling Negroes to scatter freely throughout the metropolitan area is, given the needs and pressures for more and better housing by Negroes, the only likely alternative to neighborhood-by-neighborhood transition.

NEGRO VOTE --- FULTON COUNTY

		Weltner	Mackay
1A	210	240	—
1B	450	—	375
1C	2300	1920	—
1D	5	—	5
1E	600	—	425
1F	400	300	
1G	0	—	0
1H	850	—	700
3A	560	480	—
3B	2825	2550	—
3C	1950	1850	—
3D	5	5	—
3E	3990	3550	—
3F	130	110	—
3G	50	40	—
3H	2260	1955	—
3I	0	0	—
3J	380	330	—
3K	1625	1465	—
3L	2600	2150	—
3M	180	155	—
3N	1745	1615	—
4A	30	25	—
4B	900	725	—
4C	300	—	350
4D	0	0	—
4E	125	110	—
4F	75	—	80
4G	50	45	
4H	350	—	330
4I	3030	—	2700
4J	300	—	275
5A	10	5	—
5B	5	5	—

Precinct	Johnson	Weltner	Mackay
5C	15	15	—
5D	10	15	—
5E	150	—	160
5F	0	0	—
5G	5	5	—
5H	0	0	—
5I	0	—	0
6-A	5	—	5
6B	15	—	15
6C	0	—	0
6D	10	—	10
6E/F	10	—	10
6H	2270	—	2200
6I	2870	—	2680
7A	3955	3750	—
7B	2800	2700	—
7C	5	5	—
7D	2390	1955	—
7E	1200	1150	—
7F	0	0	—
7G	170	150	—
7H	75	80	—
7I	90	85	—
8A	20	20	—
8B	40	30	5
8C	90	85	—
8D	5	10	—
Alpharetta	35	30	—
College Pk	450	375	—
Fairburn	190	175	—
Palmetto	115	110	—
Red Oak	50	45	—
Roswell	80	75	—
Sandtown	30	25	—

Negro Vote in Fulton County, page 2

Precinct	Johnson	Weltner	Mackay
Union City	110	95	—
Utoy Spgs	120	110	—
East Point	500	475	—
Rest of Fulton	40	35	—
TOTALS	46,200	31,235	10,325

MAX. NEGRO VOTE:

PRESIDENTIAL RACE -- 46,200

NEGRO VOTE IN

CONGRESS. RACES -- 41,555

In FULTON COUNTY, Presidential Race:

TOTAL LBJ VOTE = 96,930 = 57.2%
TOTAL BMG VOTE = 72,460 = 42.8%
TOTAL PRES VOTE = 169,390 = 100.0%

TOTAL LBJ VOTE = 96,930 = 100.0%
NEGRO LBJ VOTE = 46,200 = 47.6%
WHITE LBJ VOTE = 50,730 = 52.4%

[Assuming 800 Negro Votes for Goldwater, Negro Vote TOTAL = 47,000.]
[Then, total WHITE VOTE in Presidential Race = 122,390]

TOTAL WHITE VOTE = 122,390 = 100.0%
LBJ WHITE VOTE = 50,730 = 41.4%
BMG WHITE VOTE = 71,660 = 58.6%

In Congressional Races:

Mackay vs. Pickett:

TOTAL FULTON VOTE = 32,209 = 100.0%
MACKAY = 20,879 = 66.8%
PICKETT = 11,330 = 37.2%

TOTAL MACKAY VOTE = 20,879 = 100.0%
NEGRO MACKAY VOTE = 10,325 = 49.5%
WHITE MACKAY VOTE = 10,554 = 50.5%

Weltner Vs. O'Callaghan:

TOTAL FULTON VOTE = 114,786 = 100.0%
WELTNER = 62,508 = 54.5%
O'CALLAGHAN = 52,278 = 45.5%

TOTAL WELTNER VOTE = 62,508 = 100.0%
NEGRO WELTNER VOTE = 31,235 = 50.0%
WHITE WELTNER VOTE = 31,273 = 50.0+%

Interpretations – Presidential Race:

Although more than half (52.4%) of Johnson's votes in Fulton were white votes, Johnson received only 41.4% of the total white vote in Fulton. That is, Goldwater carried the Fulton white vote by nearly 3 to 2.

Interpretations – Congressional Races:

The major question to be answered is the number of Negro votes going to Pickett and O'Callaghan. There is evidence that each received a few Negro votes. (Just how many is a good question!)

In Fulton, Mackay received virtually all of the Negro vote and nearly half (about 10,550 of 21,300) of the white vote.

However, in the Fifth District, Weltner received much less than half of the white vote. In fact, only about half of Weltner's vote was white. Assuming A MAXIMUM of 478 Negro votes for O'Callaghan, the white vote would have divided this way:

WHITE VOTE FOR WELTNER ----	31,273	= 37.8%
WHITE VOTE FOR O'CALLAGHAN --	51,500	= 62.2%
TOTAL WHITE VOTE ---	82,773	= 100.0%

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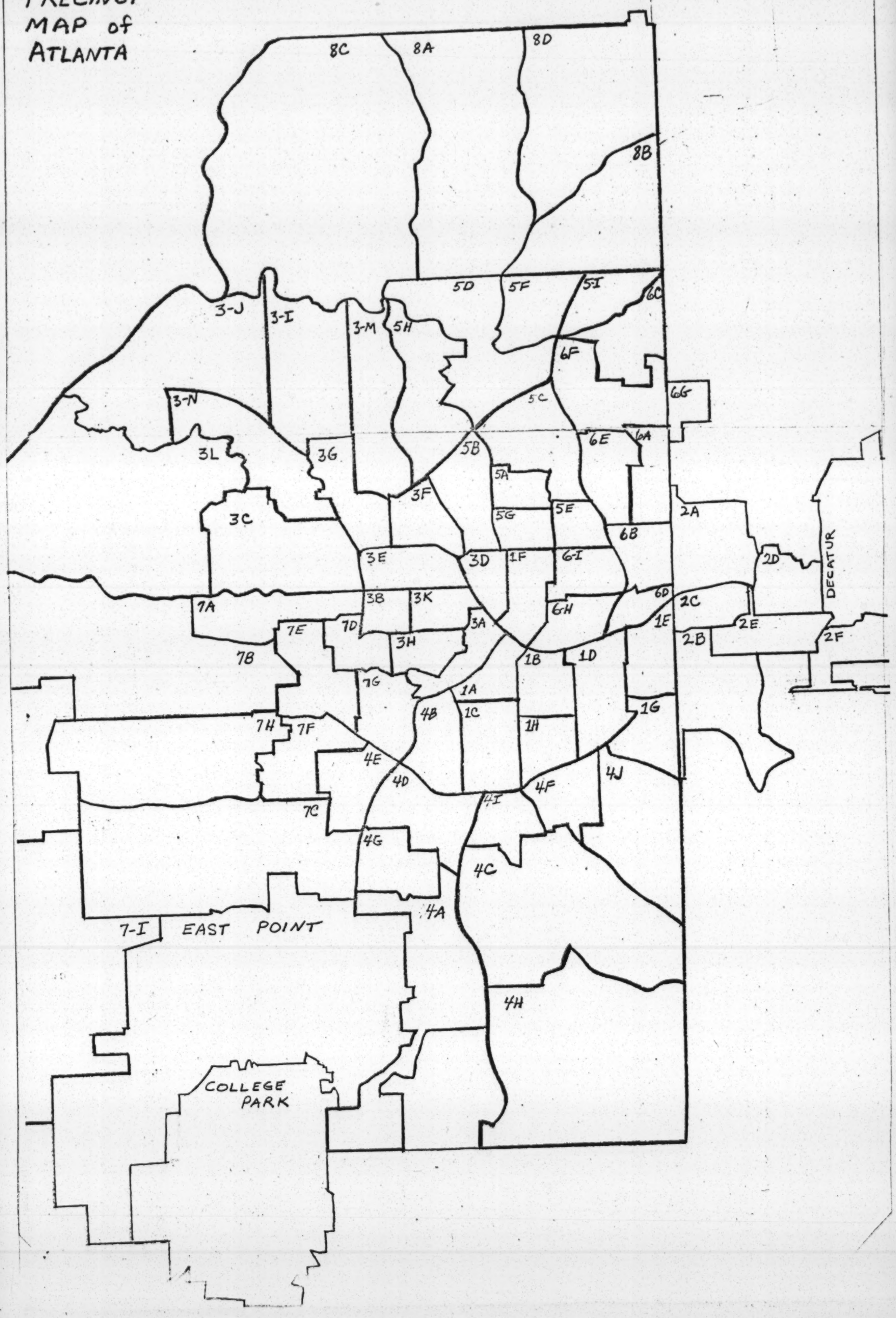
PRECINCT MAP of ATLANTA



Precinct	Total	Pye	Webb	Hollowell
5C	1198	58	39	3
5D	2059	57	42	1
5E	545	56	33	11
5F	1329	62	36	2
5G	544	57	40	2
5H	990	70	28	2
5I	435	56	42	2
6A	149	63	35	2
6B	875	70	28	2
6C	520	57	41	2
6D	292	79	19	2
6E	1034	68	30	2
6F	1392	52	46	2
6H	1321	2	32	66
6I	1714	2	37	61
7A	2578	1	34	65
7B	2100	5	35	60
7C	1758	78	21	1
7D	1790	1	40	59
7E	1656	31	28	41
7F	1308	80	19	1
7G	674	63	27	10
7H	1645	75	22	3
7I	1326	75	21	4
8A	1847	56	42	2
8B	1827	62	36	2
8C	2023	51	46	3
8D	2119	59	40	1
EAST POINT	6554	71	24	5
COLL PARK	1959	64	21	15
HAPEVILLE	1581	76	22	2
REST OF FULTON	7923	65	30	5

TOTAL VOTE:
86,669

Pye – 46%
Webb – 30%
Hollowell – 24%

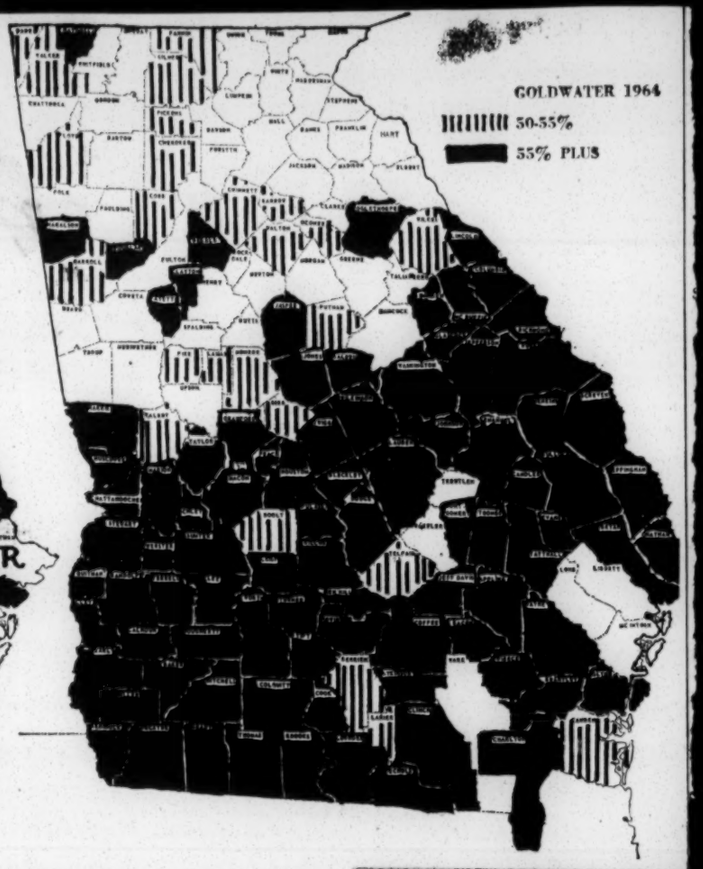
Precinct	Total	Pye	Webb	Hollowell
7E	1413	76	21	1
7F	1218	62	38	
7G	598	51	49	
7H	1552	54	46	
*7I (over)				
8A	1754	39	61	
8B	1447	39	61	
8C	1916	34	66	
8D	2057	40	60	
E. Point	6148	59	41	
Coll. Pk.	1792	52	48	
Hapeville	1466	59	41	
Rest of Fulton	7586	52	48	
TOTAL VOTE:				
E. Point	6148	3600	2548	
Coll. Pk	1792	931	861	
Hapeville	1466	866	600	
Rest of Fulton Cty	7586	3947	3639	

TOTAL VOTE – 55,666

Webb – 61%
Pye – 39%

Precinct	Total	Percent Pye	Percent Well	Percent Hall
1A	142	20	30	50
1B	577	33	36	31
1C	1356	2	30	68
1D	516	80	18	2
1E	501	30	30	40
1F	454	22	37	41
1G	666	79	20	1
1H	856	26	27	47
3A	383	3	29	68
3B	1973	1	33	66
3C	1334	17	27	56
3D	260	71	26	3
3E	2350	7	33	60
3F	310	60	23	17
3G	149	66	20	14
3H	1695	3	35	62
3I	246	71	25	4
3J	687	50	21	29
3K	1089	1	35	64
3L	2070	8	28	64
3M	631	58	25	16
3N	1003	1	23	76
4A	767	77	20	3
4B	939	26	26	49
4C	1905	73	18	9
4D	815	80	19	1
4E	741	70	23	7
4F	332	72	17	11
4G	822	75	22	3
4H	1093	56	26	18
4I	2052	2	21	77
4J	638	55	20	25
5A	646	64	33	3
5B	530	74	22	4

Precinct	Total	Pyne	Well-ma
1A	107	19	81
1C	940	7	93
1E	358	23	77
3A	288	8	92
3B	1453	5	95
3C	1058	21	79
3D	222	54	46
3E	1513	7	93
3F	242	56	44
3G	129	62	38
3H	1244	5	95
3I	232	52	48
3J	594	42	58
3K	779	6	94
3L	1645	13	87
3M	571	48	52
3N	701	8	92
4A	707	19	81
7I	1216	57	43
7D	1448	6	94
7C	1663	58	42
7B	1713	9	91
7A	1979	6	94
5H	935	54	46
5G	510	39	61
5F	1112	44	56
5D	1923	35	65
5C	1147	37	63
5B	514	58	42



Maps Compare Marvin Griffin's 1962 Vote With Goldwater's In 1964

CIVIL RIGHTS THE KEY ISSUE

Goldwater Vote Followed the Griffin Pattern

By BRUCE GALPHIN

AuH20 '64 was a winning political formula in Georgia. Why?

Was the special ingredient GOP? Has the Republican party become a permanent force in Georgia?

Or was the Goldwater margin made up of MD—those Mad Democrats Sen. Herman Talmadge talked about?

An analysis of final returns gives a pretty clear answer. It should provide little cheer either for regular Republicans or the present Democratic leadership.

The victory equation goes something like this:

SMG+GOP-FL—AuH20 '64

Translation: S. Marvin Griffin's 1962 vote, plus the traditional Republican vote, minus the "frontlash" vote of anti-Goldwater Republicans, equals the 1964 Goldwater victory in Georgia.

There is a striking parallel between the counties which Griffin carried in 1962 and those which supported Goldwater in 1964. The pattern shows clearly in the accompanying maps.

But Griffin took only 40.2 per cent of the vote two years ago, whereas Goldwater won with about 54 per cent. Where did the difference come from?

To a large extent, it came from the base the Republican party already had in presidential elections. For instance, although Gov. Carl Sanders won handily over Griffin in most big-city counties, Richard Nixon in 1960 carried the governor's home county of Richmond (Augusta), as well as Chatham (Savannah) and Muscogee (Columbus). The 1960 Republican campaign also did well in Dougherty (Albany) and DeKalb, both of which went to Goldwater this year.

Any generalization such as this has its soft spots and exceptions. Not everyone who voted for Goldwater was either a Marvin Griffin segregationist

A News Analysis

or already a Republican. The GOP standard-bearer doubtless attracted other votes because of his economic views, for instance, or his foreign policy militancy.

But the results do confirm what was said so often during the campaign: that the key issue was civil rights. The bulk of Goldwater's Georgia support came from racially sensitive voters who supplied the backbone of Griffin's 1962 race.

A look at the exceptions is revealing:

THE BIG CITIES — With the exception of Fulton, most of the large urban counties went for Goldwater. The previously existing Republican strength may help explain part of this shift. But it also includes "backlash" —voters who are less liberal than before on the race issue.

In the suburbs of Atlanta and other cities, the backlash probably includes those who moved out of the city because of the changing racial characteristics of their old neighborhoods.

The backlash also includes businessmen angry at the restrictions on property and business contained in the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

THE FRONTLASH — Some former Republicans switched to President Johnson in 1964. This group includes almost all erstwhile Republican Negro voters, and a goodly number of white Republicans in the north Georgia mountains. Towns and Whitfield, for instance, voted for Nixon in 1960 and Johnson in 1964. Long, with a heavy concentration of Negro voters, made a similar switch.

STRONG ORGANIZATION AND INFLUENTIAL LEADERS — Counties like Ware bucked the Goldwater tide because of strong organization. In others, like Treutlen, voters apparently still follow the leadership of one or a few political figures (the Gillis family in Treutlen). But in others which backed Sanders in 1962, old-line leaders remained silent or switched to Goldwater.

What does all this mean for the future of Georgia politics?

Republicans this year put together a winning coalition of party faithful and segregationists. But will it hold together in a non-presidential year, or with a more liberal Republican at the head of the ticket?

For Sanders-type Democrats, the results are disturbing, too. A coalition of Republicans and moderate Democrats won the governorship in 1962, but what if the GOP begins putting up its own candidate for governor?

At this point, the best guess seems to be that the hard-core segregationist vote is "floating" now. Where it will land remains to be seen.

Rev. Nastich, Serb Bishop, Dies As a Prisoner

BELGRADE, Yugoslavia (AP)—The Rev. Varnava Nastich, vicarian bishop of the Serbian Orthodox Church, died Thursday following a heart attack in the monastery Beochin, near here, church sources reported Sunday.

Bishop Nastich, a native of Indiana, has been under virtual house arrest at the monastery for 17 years following troubles with the Communist regime in Yugoslavia.

Memo from **LLOYD ELLIOTT**

To: LWD, PW & WB:

Here's my calculated guess at what happened with the Fulton negro vote.

My calculations agree closely (enough) with those of Bacote and Calhoun (clipping attached) to make us all comfortably certain.

J. E.

Negroes Favor LBJ 99 Pct. In Fulton

By RALEIGH BRYANS

How effectively President Johnson took the Negro vote in Atlanta and Fulton County is shown by voting analyses made since election day by two expert Negro observers.

The two, Dr. C. A. Bacote and J. H. Calhoun, agree that President Johnson got better than 99 per cent of the Negro vote in Fulton — or more than 49,000 Negro votes all told.

Dr. Bacote is an Atlanta University professor and a member

NEWS ANALYSIS

of the Fulton Democratic Executive Committee. Mr. Calhoun is a Republican Party leader in the Negro community.

FIGURING HOW Negroes vote in any local election is an inexact science, first, because there are no all-Negro precincts, and second, because there are many mixed white and Negro precincts.

Dr. Bacote and Mr. Calhoun do what many others do with varying success: They take the returns in predominantly Negro precincts and project overall estimates on the basis of these.

Dr. Bacote, for his analysis of this election, selected 10 precincts whose combined Negro registration represents 50.7 per cent of the total Negro registration in the county.

These precincts are 3A, 3B 3E, 3H, 3K, 3N, 6H, 6I, 7A and 7D.

In these, the aggregate Negro registration is 31,302; the aggregate white registration, 373 Countywide, the Negro registration is 61,692.

These precints gave the Johnson ticket 24,588 votes. Dr. Bacote's estimate is accomplished by multiplying this by two. The resulting figure is 49,-176.

MR. CALHOUN USES 12 selected precincts in his calculations. These are 1C, 3A, 3B, 3E, 3H, 3K, 3N, 4I, 6H, 6I, 7A and 7D. The aggregate registration is 38,135 Negroes, 572 whites. The Negro registration in the 12 precincts is 61.7 per cent of the countywide total of 61,692.

The estimates of Dr. Bacote and Mr. Calhoun differ in small respects.

Dr. Bacote figures that, overall, 79.3 per cent of the Negro registration voted in the presidential election. Mr. Calhoun figures that 78.1 per cent did so.

Mr. Calhoun calculates the total Negro vote in the presidential race was 49,005; Dr. Bacote's estimate of the Johnson vote is, as stated above, 49,176.

DR. BACOTE INDICATES that 99.3 per cent of the Negroes voting in the presidential race voted for Johnson. Mr. Calhoun's figure is 99.1 per cent.

MR. CALHOUN'S analysis goes beyond the presidential election and touches on several others.

In the 5th District Congressional race, he figures 19,339 Negroes voted for Democrat Charles Weltner in nine of the 12 sample precincts, to 263 for Republican L. J. O'Callaghan.

"This is in contrast to a similar tabulation in 1962 when the same two men contested for the position," he observes. "Then, O'Callaghan received one-third of the votes cast by Negroes."

★★★

'KINFOLKS' TAG ERROR

Voted for LBJ, Henry Demos Say

By JOE DABNEY
Atlanta Journal State News Editor

Democrats of Henry County—where President Johnson's ancestors lived before the Civil War—want the President to know that their county went for LBJ, not for Goldwater as the final printed tabulations Sunday indicated.

The correct figures showed Johnson with 3,583 votes to Goldwater's 3,127—not 3,725.

"We were kinda proud of the fact that we went Democratic," said George C. Alexander of McDonough, "particularly since the President's great-grandfather was sheriff of this county in the early 1800's."

Another Democratic leader in Henry County, attorney Ernest M. Smith, chairman of the county's Democratic committee, said that when the first printed returns showed Goldwater taking the county, "we felt like someone was sending in the figures prematurely. Then they kept on getting mixed up. A good many people were disturbed." (The tabulation printed in The Sunday Journal-Constitution was compiled by United Press International from an official canvass by the secretary of state's office. An apparent typographical error was made in transmitting the fig-

JAMES B. TODD OF Stockbridge, chairman of the Henry County Goldwater drive, pointed out that it was the heavy Johnson plurality in McDonough which gave the President the edge in the county's total vote. In McDonough, with a heavy Negro vote, the President received a 700-vote margin over the Republican nominee.

Todd said that the county had approximately 1,500 Negro voters registered which went overwhelmingly for the President.

As to the role of the Johnson ancestors here, Todd he didn't believe it had any effect on the vote. "I didn't hear anything about it in the campaign," he said.

The President's great-grandfather, Jesse Johnson, served as sheriff of Henry County and later as justice of the inferior court in McDonough. The Johnsons left Georgia around 1838, moving to Texas.

JESSE JOHNSON had married a Greene County girl — Lucy Webb Barnett — in 1817, and Greene County, by a coincidence, went for President Johnson, 2,698 to 1,093 for Goldwater.

But in Oglethorpe County, where the whole Johnson clan got its start in Georgia, the voters rejected LBJ, giving Goldwater 1,126 votes to Johnson's 864. The little town of Maxey's ancestral homeplace of the President, went 50 to 37 for Goldwater. It was Maxey's that the President evenually crossed off his travel itinerary when he visited Georgia last summer on his tour of Appalachia.

Georgia's Vote Listed by Counties

Official tabulation of votes cast in the Nov. 3 election shows that more than a million Georgians exercised the voting privilege and 115 of 159 counties went for Sen. Barry Goldwater.

The vote cast was 1,115,137, by far the biggest ever recorded in the state.

Sen. Goldwater got a vote of 602,381. The vote for President Johnson was 512,756.

Most of the 44 counties that voted Democratic are in North Georgia. Several, like Newton, Liberty and McIntosh, are South Georgia counties with a heavy registration of Negro voters.

THE TOTAL VOTE in the 3rd District congressional race, in which a Republican was elected for the first time since Reconstruction, was 78,838. Howard (Bo) Callaway of Pine Mountain got 45,145 votes to 33,733 for Garland Byrd of Reynolds.

Vote totals in other contested congressional districts are as follows:

First — Rep. Elliott Hagan, Democrat, 65,146; Milton Lent, Independent, 25,006.

Fourth — James A. Mackay, Democrat, 66,488; Roscoe Pickett, Republican, 50,326.

Fifth — Rep. Charles Weltner, Democrat, 65,803; Jim O'Callaghan, Republican, 55,983.

Seventh — Rep. John Davis, Democrat, 69,575; Ed Chapin, Republican, 57,562.

Ninth — Rep. Phil Landrum, Democrat, 59,179; Jack Prince, Republican, 38,608.

Following is a county-by-county breakdown of votes in the presidential election:

	Johnson	Goldwater
Appling	1,562	2,597
Atkinson	811	1,157
Bacon	1,179	2,136
Baker	600	914
Baldwin	2,740	3,430
Banks	1,258	548
Barrow	2,277	2,316
Bartow	4,635	2,813
Ben Hill	1,523	2,089
Berrien	1,304	1,404
Bibb	17,831	19,245
Bleckley	979	2,578
Brantley	909	1,231
Brooks	1,027	2,342
Bryan	857	1,433
Bulloch	2,720	4,823
Burke	1,208	3,034
Butts	1,534	1,261
Calhoun	289	1,066
Camden	1,693	1,802
Candler	795	1,710
Houston	4,258	6,532
Irwin	740	2,017
Jackson	3,948	1,660
Jasper	848	1,075
Jeff Davis	745	1,875
Jefferson	1,253	2,950
Jenkins	908	1,509
Johnson	682	1,940
Jones	1,380	1,805
Lamar	1,548	1,570
Lanier	661	719
Laurens	3,828	5,329

NANA Photo

BACK TO EARTH

Addiebrownhill, Scotland, Nov. 14 — Robert Forth, 10, returns to earth and all is well. Earlier Robert and his playmate, Peter Wood, were playing on a powerline cable close to the ground. Suddenly the cable rose — so fast that neither boy let go in time — and climbed to its normal altitude of about 100 feet in the air, pulled there by a winch. The boys hung there while workmen lowered the line very slowly and 70 minutes later they were safe.

got 45,145 votes to 33,733 for Garland Byrd of Reynolds.

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Bryan	857	1,433
Bulloch	2,720	4,823
Burke	1,208	3,034
Butts	1,534	1,261
Calhoun	289	1,066
Camden	1,693	1,802
Candler	795	1,710
Carroll	4,794	4,984
Catoosa	2,822	4,143
Charlton	574	1,179
Chatham	23,176	33,141
Chata'hchee	191	245
Chattooga	2,563	704
Cherokee	3,189	3,398
Clarke	7,519	4,875
Clay	360	544
Clayton	5,869	10,488
Clinch	706	1,084
Cobb	16,647	20,863
Coffee	2,719	4,392
Colquitt	2,563	6,493
Columbia	1,428	2,575
Cook	1,337	2,058
Coweta	3,712	3,656
Crawford	723	959
Crisp	1,756	3,337
Dade	1,277	1,378
Dawson	932	639
Decatur	2,011	5,060
DeKalb	37,154	49,368
Dodge	2,376	3,285
Dooly	1,471	1,662
Dougherty	5,248	12,776
Douglas	2,501	3,315
Early	771	2,398
Echols	184	399
Effingham	680	2,676
Elbert	3,172	1,887
Emanuel	2,279	3,311
Evans	799	1,572
Fannin	2,834	3,433
Fayette	896	1,349
Floyd	8,750	9,849
Forsyth	1,682	1,471
Franklin	2,753	474
Fulton	93,374	73,160
Gilmer	2,159	2,167
Glascock	134	836
Glynn	5,712	7,341
Gordon	3,560	2,317
Grady	1,887	2,892
Greene	2,698	1,093
Gwinnett	6,705	6,823
Habersham	3,412	1,595
Hall	8,003	4,296
Hancock	1,074	912
Haralson	2,174	3,041
Harris	938	2,165
Hart	3,412	1,166
Heard	1,062	807
Henry	3,583	~~2,728~~ 3,127
Houston	4,258	6,532
Irwin	740	2,017
Jackson	3,948	1,660
Jasper	848	1,075
Jeff Davis	745	1,875
Jefferson	1,253	2,950
Jenkins	908	1,509
Johnson	682	1,940
Jones	1,380	1,805
Lamar	1,548	1,570
Lanier	661	719
Laurens	3,828	5,329
Lee	244	1,041
Liberty	2,155	1,403
Lincoln	353	943
Long	1,327	214
Lowndes	4,363	6,811
Lumpkin	1,189	855
Macon	1,076	1,723
Madison	2,341	1,190
Marion	365	719
McDuffie	1,124	2,657
McIntosh	1,193	795
Meriwether	2,423	2,250
Miller	274	1,658
Mitchell	1,197	3,265
Monroe	1,578	1,655
Montgomery	878	1,409
Morgan	1,654	1,485
Murray	2,352	956
Muscogee	12,446	21,025
Newton	3,260	2,678
Oconee	1,073	1,241
Oglethorpe	864	1,126
Paulding	2,513	1,916
Peach	1,585	1,970
Pickens	1,930	1,955
Pierce	982	1,981
Pike	946	1,064
Polk	4,555	3,282
Pulaski	953	1,768
Putnam	1,018	1,196
Quitman	232	377
Rabun	1,796	387
Randolph	962	1,656
Richmond	13,545	21,481
Rockdale	1,792	1,503
Schley	377	577
Screven	1,446	2,260
Seminole	427	1,294
Spalding	5,466	4,763
Stephens	3,442	1,263
Stewart	373	1,037
Sumter	1,727	3,774
Talbot	627	679
Taliaferro	628	337
Tattnall	1,648	3,264
Taylor	1,097	1,372
Telfair	1,866	1,890
Terrell	569	1,921
Thomas	3,257	6,306
Tift	2,286	4,650
Toombs	1,680	3,543
Towns	1,289	1,140
Truetlen	1,331	722
Troup	6,032	5,277
Turner	719	1,673
Twiggs	786	1,178
Union	2,135	1,473
Upson	3,264	3,041
Walker	5,454	5,963
Walton	953	2,874
Ware	5,159	4,948
Warren	384	1,070
Washington	1,830	2,296
Wayne	2,182	3,619
Webster	144	457
Wheeler	980	849
White	1,520	840
Whitfield	2,758	1,366
Wilcox	900	1,794
Wilkes	1,432	1,652
Wilkinson	963	2,172
Worth	682	3,157
Totals	512,756	602,381

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NANA Photo

BACK TO EARTH

Addiebrownhill, Scotland, Nov. 14 — Robert Forth, 10, returns to earth and all is well. Earlier Robert and his playmate, Peter Wood, were playing on a powerline cable close to the ground. Suddenly the cable rose — so fast that neither boy let go in time — and climbed to its normal altitude of about 100 feet in the air, pulled there by a winch. The boys hung there while workmen lowered the line very slowly and 70 minutes later they were safe.

Wallace Shaken By GOP Surge

By GROVER C. HALL JR.

Editor, The Montgomery Advertiser
Special to The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Nov. 14—Circuit Judge Glen Curlee, of Wetumpka, a Democrat, had seen the handwriting and told the old man who said he was going to vote for Goldwater:

"That's all right. Vote for him, but split your ticket and vote for me."

"The only thing I'm splitting on election day," replied the old man, "is some firewood."

That mood pervaded the state. The result was that, of the 74 Republicans who ran, only 30 lost and these by narrow margins. Five Republican congressmen were elected.

ALABAMA

Surveying the ruins and scenting the future danger from the Repubiican challenge, professional Democrats took fright and in some cases sought to place the blame on Gov. George C. Wallace.

THE FACT IS, Wallace himself was shaken. It was no secret that Wallace wanted Alabama to vote for Goldwater, but he did not want a single Republican elected at the state and county level.

Wallace means to play out his string as a Democrat and sees Republican growth at the state and local level as a handicap to his future election enterprises. Consistently and persistently, Wallace has argued that a two-party system on the state and local level was not desirable for Alabama.

Wallace was nevertheless dismayed by the accusations against him by some professional Democrats. But with uncharacteristic restraint, he kept a stiff upper lip and and waited for his adversaries to become better identified in the public mind.

WALLACE'S BASIC calculation was that almost 70 per cent of the people had voted for Goldwater. He did not believe that these voters would take kindly to rebukes from Democratic officeholders.

Wallace reasoned that if Democratic politicians wanted to make an issue of it, it would be them against him and the people.

He privately reasoned that the politician most burdened by troubles was Sen. Sparkman, who is up for reelection in 1966. Sparkman had said before the election that the party would be reorganized with or without Wallace, but he failed even to carry his own county against Goldwater.

Sparkman will have opposition in the Democratic primary and in the general election, probably from GOP Congressman-elect Jim Martin, of Gadsden.

CLASSICS

Interesting House Race Results Show Incumbents Paid Dearly

By MARGARET SHANNON

Washington.

ONE OF the big issues in Georgia's 4th Congressional District race was the Becker school prayer amendment. Democratic candidate James A. Mackay was against it; Republican Roscoe Pickett was for it. Mr. Mackay won.

It may be small comfort for Mr. Pickett, but maybe he can find some consolation in the fact that the author of the amendment, Rep. Frank J. Becker, a New York Republican with six terms in Congress, also was defeated.

House races produced some of the most interesting results of the election. For instance, they broke up the only mother-son team in Congress. Mrs. Frances P. Bolton, an Ohio Republican, won re-election in her district. But her son, Oliver, running for Ohio's congressman-at-large seat, was defeated.

STARTLING

What happened in Alabama, where Republicans won five of the eight House seats, all previously held by Democrats, was startling, but no more so than what happened in Iowa. Iowa had six Republicans and one Democrat in the House; next year it will have six Democrats and one Republican.

The only Republican to survive in the Iowa delegation was Rep. H. R. Gross, often referred to as the House gadfly. His sour voice probably will continue to sound out in the same old way, objecting to almost everything.

One of the Iowa Republicans retired, but the others sought re-election. Seniority apparently did not do them much good. The defeated congressmen included Rep. Fred Schwengel, who has served five terms; Rep. James E. Bromwell, two terms; Rep. John H. Kyl, two and a half terms, and Rep. Ben F. Jensen, 13 terms.

Margaret Shannon is The Atlanta Journal's Washington correspondent.

When the voters go on a tear, as they did in Iowa and Alabama, there seems to be very little that the incumbents can do about it. What happened to the Alabama delegation is a sort of classic case of this.

The toll on incumbents began early. It started when Rep. Albert Rains of Gadsden decided not to seek re-election. Mr. Rains had been in Congress 20 years; he was senior Democrat on the Banking and Currency Committee next to the chairman; he was considered one of the most effective members of the House. But he was not a demagogue nor a racist, and he was not anti-administration. He had personal reasons for wanting to retire, and the George Wallace-Barry Goldwater era seemed a good time for an Alabama Democrat to do so.

Rep. Carl Elliott of Jasper was serving his 16th year in the House. He was on the Rules Committee, a choice spot usually, but, in the circumstances, not for him. He was one of the members added under the Kennedy packing plan aimed at bypassing the committee's reactionary chairman. Mr. Elliott was beaten in the Democratic primary in which all candidates ran at-large.

REDISTRICTED

By the general election, Alabama had redistricted. If it had not, Republicans might have made a clean sweep of the six contested House seats, in view of the Goldwater strength in the state.

Arch conservatism wasn't enough to save Rep. George Grant of Troy, who has been in Congress 28 years and was third senior Democrat on the Agriculture Committee. Rep. Kenneth A. Roberts of Anniston lost the seat he had held 14 years. Rep. George Huddleston Jr. of Birmingham, in Congress 10 years, also was defeated.

Of the three Democrats who survived on the Alabama delegation, only one, Rep. Armistead I. Selden Jr. of Greensboro, had Republican opposition. Rep. George W. Andrews of Union Springs and Rep. Robert E. Jones Jr. of Scottsboro were unopposed in the general election. Mr. Jones has served 18 years; Mr. Andrews, 16, and Mr. Selden, 12.

Would anybody like to bet on whether Iowa's six new Democratic congressmen can do more for their state than Alabama's five new Republicans can for theirs?

Washington.

THE NEW catalogue of next year's things is just out, and it's enough to make a person give up and resign himself to being passe.

Extremism, the frug, the watusi, the swim, pop art, black humor, the Beatles, drinks on the rocks—these are just a few of this year's things that have been dropped or modified so radically that the 1965 versions will be barely recognizable.

FEATURE

The new dances will be the swarm and the smoke. The smoke will be a relief to older people who want to stay with it. Danced barefoot, its basic motion is achieved by pretending to walk on a bed of live coals while holding lighted cigarettes in both hands, inhaling them alternately and blowing the smoke over your partner's ear.

As for the swarm—well, the important feature is that partners dancing the swarm never rejoin each other again after

Tabulation Of Weltner, Lowe Contest

The following is the vote by precincts in the Democratic primary in the [illegible] Congressional District:

ATLANTA Ward Precinct	WELTNER	LOWE
1-A	87	20
1-C	870	70
1-F	276	82
3-A	264	24
3-B	1,387	66
3-C	838	220
3-D	103	119
3-E	1,469	104
3-F	106	136
3-G	49	80
3-H	1,176	68
3-I	111	121
3-J	343	251
3-K	735	44
3-L	1,429	216
3-M	299	272
3-N	642	59
4-A	276	435
4-B	553	212
4-D	267	491
4-E	292	392
4-G	328	438
5-A	221	390
5-B	218	296
5-C	717	430
5-D	1,250	673
5-F	714	558
5-G	319	201
5-H	457	478
7-A	1,869	110
8-A	1,070	684
7-I	525	691
7-B	1,554	159
7-C	695	968
7-D	1,366	82
7-E	1,043	370
7-F	468	750
7-G	293	305
7-H	711	841
8-A		
8-B-40	888	559
8-C	1,260	656
8-D	1,230	827
FULTON		
Alpharetta	182	294
Big Creek	37	49
Buckhead	711	556
Campbellton	18	35
Coll. Park	861	931
Double Branch	35	86
E. Point 91A	467	669
E. Point 91B	511	717
E. Point 92A	365	599
E. Point 92B	483	709
E. Point 93A	310	[illegible]
E. Point 93B	270	[illegible]
E. Point 94	142	[illegible]
Fairburn	237	[illegible]
Goodes	43	44
Grogans	65	78
Hapeville	600	[illegible]
Little River	51	[illegible]
Newtown	42	[illegible]
Oak Grove	1,174	971
Old First	61	[illegible]
Old Ninth	42	122
Palmetto	97	[illegible]
Red Oak	172	344
Rivertown	13	[illegible]
Roswell	319	[illegible]
Sandtown	99	[illegible]
Union	21	[illegible]
Union City	102	[illegible]
Utoy Springs	110	[illegible]
Totals	36,379	[illegible]

FULTON COUNTY'S PRECINCTS POLLING PLACES, DISTRICTS

Here are the precincts and polling places in Fulton County (outside the city of Atlanta) in Wednesday's primaries.

VOTING DISTRICTS		SEN. DIST.	CODE NUMBER	
Alpharetta	N	40	02	Health Center
Big Creek	N	40	03	Ocee Community House
Buckhead	N	40	05	Liberty Guinn School, Long Island Drive, NW
Campbellton	SW	34	06	Cedar Grove School
College Park		E-35 W-34	07	Auditorium
Double Branch	N	40	08	Courthouse, Freemansville
East Point		34	91A	Sumner Park
East Point		34	91B	Headland High School
East Point		34	92A	City Auditorium
East Point		34	92B	Fire Station No. 4, Ben Hill Road
East Point		35	93A	Russell High School
East Point		35	93B	Brookdale Park
East Point		35	94	Community House
Fairburn	SW	34	10	City Hall
Goodes	SW	34	11	Rico School
Grogans	N	40	12	Morgan Falls School
Hapeville		35	13	Recreation Building
Little River	N	40	14	Crabapple Community House
Newtown	N	40	15	Newtown Community Club
Oak Grove	N	40	16	Hammond School, 300 Johnson Ferry Road, NW
Old First	N	40	17	Warsaw School
Old Ninth	SW	34	18	Cliftondale School
Palmetto	SW	34	19	Community House
Red Oak	SW	34	21	Health Center
Rivertown	N	34	22	Caldwell's Store, Rivertown and Cedar Grove
Roswell	N	40	23	Roswell City Hall
Sandtown	SW	34	24	Sandtown School, 5320 Campbellton Road, SW
Union	SW	34	25	Union Civic House
Union City	SW	34	26	City Hall, Next to Woman's Club
Utoy Springs	SW	34-38	27	Utoy Springs School

O'Callaghan, Savage Race By Precincts

The following is the vote by precincts in the Republican primary in the Fifth Congressional District:

ATLANTA Ward Precinct	O'CALLAGHAN	SAVAGE
1-A	3	3
1-C	4	1
1-F	18	7
3-A	44	36
3-B	5	6
3-C	31	22
3-D	24	24
3-E	18	3
3-F	23	16
3-G	10	7
3-H	10	4
3-I	24	22
3-J	84	40
3-K		
3-L	39	26
3-M	66	39
3-N		
4-A	78	47
4-B	25	12
4-D	48	44
4-E	63	44
4-G	52	31
5-A	32	52
5-B	42	44
5-C	84	86
5-D	276	200
5-F	128	105
5-G	28	20
5-H	113	99
7-A	10	2
7-B	23	14
7-C	138	129
7-D	13	4
7-E	51	33
7-F	57	49
7-G	42	27
7-H	127	89
7-I	161	139
8-A	274	179
8-B-40	165	128
8-C	242	164
8-D	290	184
FULTON		
Alpharetta	25	13
Big Creek	5	4
Buckhead	238	191
Campbellton	3	10
Coll. Park	144	148
Double Branch	6	5
E. Point 91A	102	98
E. Point 91B	116	84
E. Point 92A	81	59
E. Point 92B	128	128
E. Point 93A	44	36
E. Point 93B	65	53
E. Point 94	24	19
Fairburn	47	21
Goodes	5	3
Grogans	5	2
Hapeville	84	83
Little River	6	5
Newtown	7	5
Oak Grove	389	221
Old First	1	1
Old Ninth	10	23
Palmetto	13	11
Red Oak	43	29
Rivertown	4	1
Roswell	62	42
Sandtown	36	29
Union	6	4
Union City	16	8
Utoy Springs	26	16
Totals	4,180	3,084

O'Callaghan And Savage: The Tally

The following is the vote by precincts in the Republican primary in the Fifth Congressional District:

ATLANTA Ward Precinct	O'CALLAGHAN	SAVAGE
1-A	3	3
1-C	4	1
1-F	18	7
3-A	44	36
3-B	5	6
3-C	31	22
3-D	24	24
3-E	18	3
3-F	23	16
3-G	10	7
3-H	10	4
3-I	24	22
3-J	84	40
3-K		
3-L	39	26
3-M	66	39
3-N		
4-A	78	47
4-B	25	12
4-D	48	44
4-E	63	44
4-G	52	31
5-A	32	52
5-B	42	44
5-C	84	86
5-D	276	200
5-F		
5-G	28	20
5-H	113	99
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7-B	23	14
7-C	138	129
7-D	13	4
7-E	51	33
7-F	57	49
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7-H	127	89
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FULTON		
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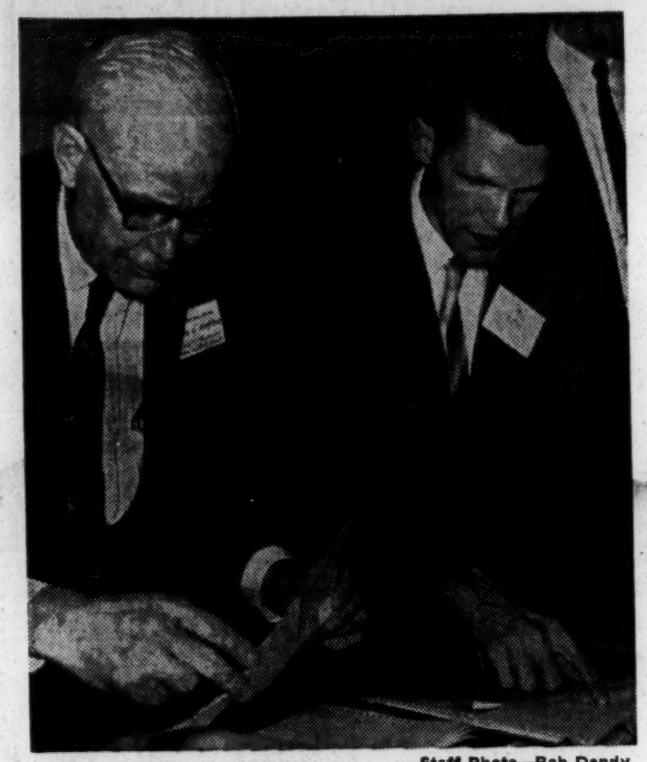
Old Ninth	10	23
Palmetto	13	11
Red Oak	43	29
Rivertown	4	1
Roswell	62	42
Sandtown	36	29
Union	6	4
Union City	16	8
Utoy Springs	26	16
Totals	4,180	3,084

Most Fulton Incumbents Win



Staff Photo—Bob Dendy

THEY HELP PROCESS NEW VOTOMATIC CARDS
John Thompson (L) and John Yates Check Statistics

By RALEIGH BRYANS

With one exception, incumbent Fulton County legislators, whether Democratic or Republican, won renomination in the primaries Wednesday.

The somewhat surprising exception was State Sen. Oby Brewer Sr., a widely admired civic leader who represents the 39th State Senatorial District.

Sen. Brewer fell victim to a heavy Negro registration in his district and a strong Negro challenger, attorney Horace T. Ward.

THE OTHER seven Democratic incumbents who faced opposition in their primary were renominated, though some of them had chilling challenges from candidates who opposed them.

Sen. Frank Coggin, for example, the incumbent in the 35th District and also mayor of Hapeville, narrowly defeated his opponent, Calvin Craig, who is a Ku Klux Klan grand dragon.

And Sen. Joe Salome, the incumbent in the 36th District, got by with none too many votes to spare to defeat his challenger, Jack L. Stephens.

In the Republican primary, incumbent Sen. Dan MacIntyre and eight other GOP newcomers were blessed with renomination by virtue of having no opponents.

There was just one legislative contest in the Republican primary and it proved a squeaky one that could be decided by the as yet untallied absentee votes.

Unofficial returns from regular polling places gave Republican Guy Hill a two-vote lead over his opponent, Fletcher Thompson, in a 34th Senatorial District contest.

The ninth of the Democratic incumbents, State Rep. Jack Paul Etheridge, was unopposed, hence won automatic renomination.

The result of the two primaries is that there will be contests for all 10 of the Fulton legislative posts in the general election this November.

THE PRIMARIES produced 10 Democratic and 10 Republican nominees.

Official returns in both the Democratic and Republican primaries were to be tabulated during Thursday morning at the Fulton County Courthouse.

Unofficial and possibly incomplete returns gave this picture in each of the Democratic contests:

For state senator from the 34th District—Incumbent Charlie Brown, 9,355; Dan W. Blanton, 3,931.

For state senator from the 35th District—Incumbent Sen. Coggin, 3,584; Mr. Craig, 3,034.

For state senator from the 36th District—Incumbent Sen. Salome, 3,878; Mr. Stephens, 3,478.

For state senator from the 37th District—Incumbent James P. Wesberry Jr., 6,258; Mrs. Marguerite E. Schott, 2,326.

For state senator from the 38th District—Incumbent Leroy Johnson, 12,476; Ed Barfield, 1,895.

For state senator from the 39th District—Incumbent Sen. Brewer, 3,376; Mr. Ward, 4,693.

For state representative—Incumbent Wilson Brooks, 34,002; Mrs. Anna Lee Porter, 25,882.

For state representative—Incumbent Ralph McClelland, 35,839; James B. Pilcher, 19,877.

The unofficial and possibly incomplete result in the GOP contest between Mr. Hill and Mr. Thompson was Mr. Hill, 1,027, Mr. Thompson, 1,025.

Also nominated without opposition in the Democratic primary was John Wilcox, candidate for state senator from the 40th District.

NOMINATED without opposition in the Republican primary in addition to Sen. MacIntyre, were Harold E. Pharr, candidate for State Senate from the 35th District; Ralph B. Matthews, candidate for State Senate, 36th District; George C. Lundquist, candidate for State Senate, 37th District; Dr. Roy C. Bell, candidate for State Senate, 38th District; Robert J. Shaw, candidate for State Senate, 39th District; Scott Walters Jr., candidate for state representative to oppose Democrat Wilson Brooks; Thomas J. Barnette, candidate for state representative to oppose Democrat Jack Etheridge; William N. Little Jr., candidate for state representative to oppose Ralph McClelland, and James Edwin Pryor, candidate for sheriff.

Several county government officials who had no opponents also were nominated in the Democratic primary.

They were Charles A. Wofford, judge of Criminal Court; William E. Spence, candidate for the vacancy created by retirement of Criminal Court Sol. John I. Kelley; J. W. Simmons, incumbent clerk of Superior Court; Judge Eugene Gunby, county ordinary; Paul D. West, school superintendent; John L. Respess Jr., candidate for coroner, and Joe W. Steed Jr., candidate for surveyor.

Staff Photo—Ken Patterson

C. O. EMMERICH (L) APPEARS CONFIDENT AS VOTES ARE TABULATED
This Was His Reaction as One of Early Precincts Reported

XERO COPY

Presidential Ballot Breaks Vote Records

Washington (AP) — Records fell left and right as more Americans than ever before voted for President on Nov. 3—and gave the winner unprecedented ballot support.

The Associated Press tabulation of official returns in 50 states and the District of Columbia showed these popular vote total:

President Johnson: 43,126,218 (61 percent).

Sen. Barry Goldwater: 27,174,898 (38.5 percent).

Others: 320,363 (.5 percent).

Among the records established by the election:

• A new high total presidential vote of 70,621,479, some 1.8 million more than the previous high of 68.8 million set in 1960.

• A new high vote for one candidate — Mr. Johnson's total Sfar surpassed the 35.5 million popular votes Republican Dwight D. Eisenhower racked up in 1956.

• Greatest percentage of the total vote. Mr. Johnson, with 61.0 percent of the total presidential vote, bettered the 60-plus percent marks of Democrat Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1936 and Warren G. Harding in 1920.

• Greatest margin—Mr. Johnson, in beating Goldwater by slightly fewer than 16 million votes, eclipsed the 11.1 million-vote margin Roosevelt posted over Republican Af Landon in 1936.

The popular vote figures underscored the scope of Mr. Johnson's victory where it really counts — in the electoral college.

The college, which meets Monday, is expected to cast 486 votes for the President, 52 for the Republican nominee from Arizona. Mr. Johnson carried 44 states and the District of Columbia.

The final popular vote for president, including the state-by-state vote for Mr. Johnson, Goldwater and other candidates, and the percentage of the presidential vote each received:

State	Total Pres. Vote	Johnson	Pct.	Goldwater	Pct.	Other	Pct.
Ala. (A)	689,817	.....	....	479,085	69.5	210,732	30.5
Alaska	67,259	44,329	65.9	22,930	34.1	.....	..
Ariz.	480,783	237,765	49.5	242,536	50.4	482	.1
Ark.	560,426	314,197	56.1	243,264	43.4	2,965	.5
Cal.	7,050,985	4,171,877	59.2	2,879,108	40.8	.....	..
Colo.	772,749	476,024	61.6	296,725	38.4	.....	..
Conn.	1,218,578	826,269	67.8	390,996	32.1	1,313	.1
Del.	201,334	122,704	60.9	78,093	38.8	537	.3
D.C.	198,597	169,796	85.5	28,801	14.5	.....	..
Fla.	1,854,481	948,540	51.1	905,941	48.9	.....	..
Ga.	1,139,157	522,557	45.9	616,600	54.1	.....	..
Hawaii	207,271	163,249	78.8	44,022	21.2	.....	..
Idaho	292,477	148,920	50.9	143,557	49.1	.....	..
Ill.	4,702,779	2,796,833	59.5	1,905,946	40.5	.....	..
Ind.	2,091,606	1,170,848	56.0	911,118	43.6	9,640	.4
Iowa	1,184,539	733,030	61.9	449,148	37.9	2.361	.2
Kan.	857,901	464,028	54.1	386,579	45.1	7,294	.8
Ky.	1,046,132	669,659	64.0	372,977	35.7	3,496	.3
La.	896,293	387,068	43.2	509,225	56.8	.....	..
Maine	380,965	262,264	68.8	118,701	31.2	.....	..
Md.	1,116,407	730,912	65.5	385,945	34.5	.....	..
Mass.	2,344,798	1,786,422	76.2	549,727	23.4	8,649	.4
Mich.	3,203,102	2,136,615	66.7	1,060,152	33.1	6,335	.2
Minn.	1,554,462	991,117	63.8	559,624	36.0	3,721	.2
Miss.	409,038	52,591	12.9	356,447	87.1	.....	..
Mo.	1,817,879	1,164,344	64.0	653,535	36.0	.....	..
Mont.	278,628	164,246	58.9	113,032	40.6	1,350	.5
Neb.	584,154	307,307	52.6	276,847	47.4	.....	..
Nev.	135,433	79,339	58.6	56,094	41.4	.....	..
N. H.	286.094	182,065	63.6	104,029	36.4	.....	..
N. J.	2,846,770	1,867,671	65.6	963,843	33.9	15,256	.5
N. M.	327,647	194,017	59.2	131,838	40.2	1,792	.6
N. Y.	7,166,015	4,913,156	68.6	2,243,559	31.3	9,300	.1
N. C.	1,424,983	800,139	56.2	624,844	43.8	.....	..
N. D.	258,389	149,784	58.0	108,207	41.9	398	.1
Ohio	3,969,196	2,498,331	62.9	1,470,865	37.1	.....	..
Okla.	932,499	519,834	55.7	412,665	44.3	.....	..
Ore.	783,796	501,017	63.9	282,779	36.1	.....	..
Pa.	4,818,668	3,130,228	65.0	1,672,892	34.7	15,548	.3
R. I.	390,078	315,463	80.9	74,615	19.1	.....	..
S. C.	524,748	215,700	41.1	309,048	58.9	.....	..
S. D.	293,118	163,010	55.6	130,108	44.4	.....	..
Tenn.	1,144,046	635,047	55.5	508,965	44.5	34	..
Texas	2,626,811	1,663,185	63.3	958,566	36.5	5,060	.2
Utah	400,310	219,628	54.9	180,682	45.1	.....	..
Vt.	163,069	108,127	66.3	54,942	33.7	.....	..
Va.	1,042,267	558,038	53.5	481,334	46.2	2,895	.3
Wash.	1,258,374	779,699	62.0	470,366	37.4	8,309	.6
W. Va.	792,040	538,087	67.9	253,953	32.1	.....	..
Wis.	1,691,815	1,050,424	62.1	638,495	37.7	2,896	.2
Wyo.	142,716	80,718	56.5	61,998	43.5	.....	..
Totals	70,621,479	43,126,218	61.0	27,174,898	38.5	320,363	.5

Note: (A)—Alabama—No Democratic electors pledged to Mr. Johnson were on the ballot. Figures represent vote for highest Republican elector and highest unpledged Democratic elector.

(B) New York—Johnson total includes 342,432 Liberal Party votes.

Block Year Fresno County

Block	Value	Labor	Mining	Block	Value	Labor	Mining
1A	240	240	—	5C	15	15	—
1B	450	—	375	5D	10	15	—
1C	2300	1920	—	5E	150	—	160
1D	5	—	5	5F	0	0	—
1E	600	—	425	5G	5	5	—
1F	400	300		5H		0	—
1G	0	—	0	5I	0	—	0
1H	850	—	700	6A	5	—	5
1A	560	480	—	6B	15		15
3B	2825	2550	—	6C	5		0
3C	1950	1850	—	6D	10	—	10
3D	5	5	—	6E	10	—	10
3E	3910	3580	—	6H	2510	—	2[illegible]
3F	130	110	—	6I	2610	—	2610
3G	50	40	—	7A	[illegible]	3750	—
3H	2940	1750	—	7B	2800	2100	—
3I	0	0	—	7C	5	[illegible]	—
3J	380	330	—	7D	370	[illegible]	—
3K	1625	1445	—	7E	1200	1150	—
3L	2600	2150	—	7F	0	0	—
3M	180	155	—	7G	170	150	—
3N	145	115	—	7H	75	80	—
4A	50	25	—	7I	20	25	—
4B	900	725	—	8A	20	30	—
4C	300	—	350	8B	40	30	5
4D		0	—	8C	20	25	—
4E	125	110	—	8D	5	10	—
4F	75	—	80	[illegible]	35	30	—
4G	50	45		Cal. Pk.	450	375	—
4H	350	—	320	Fairview	190	115	—
4I	3050	—	2750	[illegible]	115	110	—
4J	300	—	275	[illegible]	50	45	—
5A	10	5	—	[illegible]	80	75	—
5B	5	5	—	[illegible]	30	25	—

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

I've already commented. HCF

HCF comments?

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
INCORPORATED
Twenty South Twelfth Street, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania
LOcust 3-9372

HENRY J. CADBURY
Chairman

CLARENCE E. PICKETT
Executive Secretary Emeritus

COLIN W. BELL
Executive Secretary

PR

February 23, 1960

Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Neil Tarplee was in Philadelphia not long ago. We had a chance to discuss the April meeting of the Southern Interagency Conference. We feel that this meeting would be an opportunity for a thorough discussion of the situation so far as school desegregation is concerned and of the possible crises for which we should be prepared in September.

We would very much welcome your ideas about how this discussion can most fruitfully be planned. We have two general suggestions around which we feel the discussion could be planned:

1. Legal Aspects. Would this be a good time to have an analysis of the legal problems involved in dealing with token desegregation, closed schools, progress in the most resistant areas, etc.? We are thinking of inviting Thurgood Marshall and Marion Wright.

2. Community Analysis. What would you think of selecting four to six significant southern communities for a report and analysis in depth? Our reporting on communities has been very superficial and has not represented the knowledge which has been accumulated by social scientists and agency staff workers. What would you think of asking for several papers on cities at various stages in which an attempt would be made to present what has really gone on and why? The cities could be chosen for many points of view. Even though there has been no movement in New Orleans, I would like to invite Dan Thompson to tell us about his study of the power structure and its communication with Negro leadership because of the bearing this has on the prospects for integration in that city.

This discussion on school desegregation would probably take up most of the first day if we did it right. We could make a special effort to get agencies to send their workers from communities on which we want to focus special attention. We would probably want to bring our representative from Little Rock, for example. Let me have your reactions as soon as possible. If you like the idea, what recommendations would you have for the cities to be included?

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Jean

Jean Fairfax
National Representative for
Southern Programs

JF:mt

March 1, 1960

Via Air Mail

Miss Jean Fairfax
American Friends Service Committee
20 South 12th Street
Philadelphia 3, Pennsylvania

Dear Jean:

I am glad that you are trying to think through an effective inter-agency meeting for April. I think one of our problems in the past has been that very little advance thought is given to the meetings.

I have some reservations, however, concerning some of the specific thoughts you put forth. I would question the primary emphasis on school desegregation at a time when the sit-down demonstrations are at the center of developments in our field. It would seem to me to be more useful at this particular time to concentrate on some consideration of the facts and significance for the future of this kind of activity. This could be achieved, I think, by one or two reports from cities most involved which could be given by some of our professionals from Tennessee and North Carolina.

I have some misgivings about inviting in very many persons outside the group for the reading of papers, etc. I think most of us are exposed to enough formal workshop experiences that we might not welcome this kind of approach to the meeting. You mentioned inviting a number of outside persons. I think one or two of these would be sufficient at any one meeting and that they should generally be agency professional types.

As the inter-agency meeting has developed, it has been primarily a means for communication and planned co-ordination among the members. I would not favor trying

to completely change this emphasis. I think what is needed is adequate agenda planning, certain members assigned in advance to make reports and lead discussion on certain topics, and most of all, a firm and skillful chairman. A discussion of the legal aspects would certainly be useful. I think that one attorney would be sufficient to help with this topic.

I believe the discussion of the sit-down situation might well focus around the cities of Nashville, Chattanooga, and Greensboro, and we could make sure in advance that persons from these cities are with us for the occasion.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Field Director

PMR/sm

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
INCORPORATED
Twenty South Twelfth Street, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania
LOcust 3-9372

HENRY J. CADBURY
Chairman

CLARENCE E. PICKETT
Executive Secretary Emeritus

COLIN W. BELL
Executive Secretary

March 8, 1960

Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Since Neil Tarplee and I discussed the agenda for the April Interagency Conference meeting, the sit-down demonstrations have indeed become the most important development on the southern scene. I certainly agree with you that the participants in our April meeting will want a thorough discussion of these demonstrations and hope we can prepare for a thorough and analytical presentation of the subject. With events moving so rapidly and with new communities coming into the picture almost every day, it will be difficult to plan too far in advance of the meeting. Perhaps by the end of this month we will know the communities on which we should concentrate and can make sure that agency representatives who understand the developments will be with us at Penn Center.

These developments may mean that we should approach the subject of school desegregation from a different angle. Perhaps the legal aspects of extending desegregation are less important from the standpoint of strategy than a ground swell of frustration and determination from the Negro community which these demonstrations express.

Let's keep our ears to the ground and noses to the grindstone (lovely posture) and confer again at the end of the month. We would still have three weeks to get announcements out to our colleagues and to invite any consultants whose insights would be useful.

Sincerely,

Jean

Jean Fairfax
National Representative for
Southern Programs

JF:mt

cc: Cornelius Tarplee

PR

March 9, 1960

Courtney Siceloff
Penn Community Center
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Courtney:

For several reasons the American Friends Service Committee is reconsidering the plan to have a consultation this month on what we have been discovering this year in our special program in Louisiana and Mississippi. We are now thinking in terms of combining it with the April meeting of the Southern Interagency Conference. Some of the regular participants at the interagency meetings would be interested in this consultation and other persons whom we might wish to invite for our meeting would benefit from the total conference experience.

Would it be convenient for the Penn Center to have a small group either preceding or following the Southern Interagency Conference? We are not sure now whether we would prefer sessions Wednesday night, April 20 and the following morning or Friday afternoon and evening. Would it make any difference to you so far as your schedule is concerned? Are there factors relating to transportation which should be kept in mind?

We are thinking in terms of about twelve to fifteen people. We would like to send out the invitation next week and look forward to an early reply from you.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Jean Fairfax
National Representative
for Southern Programs

JF:mt

cc: Harold Fleming
Alice Spearman
John Yungblut

Rec'd 3/18/60

HAROLD FLEMING

Invitations have gone to the following people for the Consultation on Work in Louisiana and Mississippi, directed by John Yungblut, to be held at Penn Community Center, Frogmore, South Carolina.

Ella Baker, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, 208 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia
Ed Brown, The United Church, 41 Exchange Place Atlanta 3, Georgia
Rev. Malcolm Calhoun, Presbyterian Building 8 North Sixth Street, Richmond, Virginia
Will D. Campbell, National Council of Churches, P. O. Box 1083, Nashville, Tenn.
A. E. Cox, National Council of Churches, 933 Chambliss Road, Memphis 16, Tenn.
Constance Curry, United States National Student Association, 41 Exchange Place, S.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
Madgar Evers, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People,
1072 Lynch Street, Jackson 2, Mississippi
Jean Fairfax, American Friends Service Committee, Philadelphia, Pa.
Harold Fleming, Southern Regional Council 63 Auburn Avenue N. E., Atlanta, Georgia
Eleanor French, United Church Women, 175 Fifth Avenue, New York City
Garnet Guild, American Friends Service Committee, Austin, Texas
Florence C. Harris, Southern Regional Office, Y. W. C. A., 41 Exchange Place, S.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
Ruth Hughes,
Rosetta Gardner
Frances Moser, Southern Regional Office Y. W. C. A. 41 Exchange Place, S. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
Ruby Hurley, N. A. A. C. P., 859½ Hunter Street, N. W., Atlanta, Georgia
Rev. A. C. Miller, Southern Baptist Convention, 161 Eighth Street, North
Nashville, Tennessee
Barbara W. Moffett, American Friends Service Committee, Philadelphia, Pa.
John Morsell, N. A. A. C. P., 20 West Fortieth Street, New York 18, New York
Benjamin Muse, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia
Paul Rilling, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia
Irving Schulman, Anti Defamation League, 606 Common Street
New Orleans, Louisiana
Alice N. Spearman, The South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1400 Main Street, Columbia, South Carolina
Thelma Stevens, The Methodist Church, Women's Division of Christian Service
150 Fifth Avenue, New York 11, New York
Galen Weaver, The United Church, 287 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, New York
John Yungblut, American Friends Service Committee, Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Dear Harold,

Would you and Paul Rilling discuss which of you could participate in this gathering? We'll send you a list of persons whom we are inviting and hope some individuals will come who usually do not attend the S.I.C. Sure.

Jean

March 14, 1960

Benjamin Muse
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Friend:

Now that we are about half way through our program year, the American Friends Service Committee is eager to discuss with other agencies what we are discovering in our special community relations project in Louisiana and Mississippi. John Yungblut, the director of this project, has been traveling extensively in these two states in an effort to assess present race relations and the roles which various individuals would be willing to take in improving them. We welcome an opportunity to compare our findings with those of other organizations.

We have decided to have a consultation on the potential for human relations programing in Louisiana and Mississippi with the hope that an interagency discussion at this time would not only help AFSC as we plan for the rest of this year but might stimulate fresh thinking in all of our agencies about possible future activities.

The consultation will be held in conjunction with the April meeting of the Southern Interagency Conference which will be held at Penn Community Center, Frogmore, South Carolina. Our meeting will begin with supper on Wednesday, April 20 and continue until lunch the following day. The SIC meetings will start with a Thursday afternoon session, April 12 and will end Friday afternoon.

We hope you will be able to attend this consultation and look forward to your contribution to it. Will you let me know as soon as possible whether you can come?

Cordially,

Jean Fairfax
National Representative for
Southern Programs

JF:mt

cc: Harold Fleming

March 23, 1960

Miss Jean Fairfax
American Friends Service Committee
20 South 12th Street
Philadelphia 3, Pennsylvania

Dear Jean:

I will plan to attend your preliminary meeting at Frogmore beginning April 20. Harold will not be able to get down until the next day.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Field Director

PMR/sm

Memorandum

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
INCORPORATED
20 SOUTH TWELFTH ST., PHILADELPHIA 7, PA.

Date March 24, 1960

To: Paul Dilling, Cornelius Tarplee

From: Jean Fairfax

Subject: SOUTHERN INTERAGENCY CONFERENCE

Let's start thinking about the best way of reporting on and analyzing the sit-down demonstrations. Whom have you heard (other than yourselves, of course) who has done a good job of interpretation? What aspects must we be sure to cover and whom should we ask to do so? How important is the legal aspect of future developments? Should we invite someone to handle this part of the subject?

I agree with you, Paul, that we do not want to make these interagency sessions into conferences overstuffed with speeches but I think we need the advice and opinions of experts in certain fields from time to time. How would you two feel about getting someone from the staff of the Legal Defense and Education Fund to discuss the legal questions involved in the demonstrations. There are a number of outfits raising money for defense but LDEF is probably in the best position to carry cases to the Supreme Court, if necessary. If we had a representative with us, we could also get some predictions about the future of cases involving school desegregation.

Paul, what else is happening around the South which should be discussed?

May I have your reactions next week? Early in April we should line up people to take on various assignments.

JF:mt

C
O
P
Y

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL

PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH

P. O. Box 853
Lynchburg, Virginia
March 28, 1960

Miss Jean Fairfax
American Friends Service Committee
20 South 12th Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Jean:

Thanks for the memorandum in regard to the Interagency meeting at Penn Community Center. I certainly agree with you about having a few well informed authorities present to give us concise analyses of what is going on in various areas. In my last trip to the South I visited Montgomery and Tallahassee and was quite impressed with the work and the ability of several people. One person who did a great job and certainly needs a lot of moral backing and deserves considerable notice is the Rev. Robert DuBose of Montgomery. As you know, he was one of the leaders of the protest movement there and the conference might like to hear from him. If so, I believe that we can arrange to have him meet John Morris in Atlanta and come over for the meeting. There is a Mr. Haley on the faculty of Florida A. & M. whose first name slips me. He is a CORE representative and did a magnificent job in Tallahassee. He is sensitive, articulate, and dedicated. Another person who has done an outstanding job is the Rev. Harcourt Waller, who is the Episcopal Student Chaplain at Florida State University. If there is any place in the South in which our churches established what might be called a beachhead, it is what Harcourt Waller has done in Tallahassee. If he came to Penn Community Center, he would be able to do so, I think, at his own expense.

My suggestion would be that we have two or three people such as I have mentioned who would be able to give clear cut, concise and accurate descriptions of what took place in these trouble spots. It would appear to me that if our group at the interagency conference could hear these people tell their story in 20 to 30 minutes each and then spend time "hearing them" and asking them questions, that this would be most effective. If this were then followed up with analyses of resources and plans, techniques and strategies for defense, it would at least from my point of view, be the most helpful possible thing we could do.

Let me know if you want me to get in touch with Waller or DuBose. Probably CORE could best get in touch with Mr. Haley.

Sincerely,

Neil (Signed)
Cornelius C. Tarplee

Memorandum

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
INCORPORATED
20 SOUTH TWELFTH ST., PHILADELPHIA 7, PA.

Date

To: Paul Reeling

From: Sean Faunfary

Subject:

Did Neil send you a copy of this letter? Would appreciate your reaction and others by Friday. Thanks.

Sean

MEMORANDUM April 5, 1960

To: Jean Fairfax
From: Paul Rilling

Re: Inter-Agency Meeting

The Atlanta agency people met here recently to share some thinking about the format of the next inter-agency meeting. The meeting was requested by Art Levin and it was our thought that some pooling of thoughts on agenda items, etc, would be helpful to you.

The following agenda items were suggested as timely:

1. Some reporting on work and planning in connection with rural areas. This would include a report from you or John Yungblut and also one from Courtney Siceloff concerning their projected rural planning conference.

2. A discussion of the next round of school desegregation from the standpoint of strategy approaches and new tactics that may be emerging. This might well include a specific look at the current Georgia crisis and some comments about New Orleans, Houston, Dallas. There are several of us who could handle the reporting on this. Art Levin or I could easily do it and John Yungblut might add comments on New Orleans.

3. Anti-Semitism and particularly the recent Gadsden bombing incident. Art Levin could report.

4. Some comment on the recent White House Conference and its influence on human relations concerns. Harold Fleming could report.

5. A progress report on Prince Edward County developments, which I trust you could handle.

6. Possibly, some analysis of crucial Civil Rights legislation, if any, by that time. I don't know who is best qualified to handle this, perhaps Harold.

7. Information report on student group activities in the field of human relations. This could be handled by Connie Curry and could include reports on demonstrations and student government groups and also mention the student conferences which have been or will be held by then.

8. And last of course, an analysis of the current sit-in situation from the point of its long range impact, its strategy implications, agency roles in relation to it, the value of bi-racial negotiating committees, etc.

Again, Jean, the Atlanta group continues to hold firm in respect to the importation of outside authorities. It was the general feeling here that those of us who will be present are sufficiently informed to handle such a discussion and perhaps are as well informed as any who could be imported. Connie Curry as you know has been rather closely involved with three or four of the states. I have been in close touch with the developments in three or four of them. I am sure AFSC personnel in High Point will be in good shape to report on North Carolina and I will be highly surprised if Ruby Hurley has not had first-hand information here and there. You see our point. There was some feeling that a legal analysis could be helpful, but the majority felt that this could be handled through Ruby Hurley rather than running up the expense of bringing a lawyer from a far away point.

You, of course, as chairman, are responsible for the meeting and can, I think, ask whom you please, but this is the feeling of the Atlanta group with which I am in agreement.

PMR/sm

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
INCORPORATED
Twenty South Twelfth Street, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania
LOcust 3-9372

HENRY J. CADBURY
Honorary Chairman
HAROLD EVANS
Chairman
CLARENCE E. PICKETT
Executive Secretary Emeritus
COLIN W. BELL
Executive Secretary

HCF
SM

July 28, 1960

Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Wade Mackie reports that the events in New Orleans are stimulating concern in Baton Rouge for public education. Wade is devoting his efforts toward setting up a group which will pave the way for peaceful school desegregation and is eager to have whatever guidance and materials we can provide. He particularly wants information about communities which were able to develop effective action groups which were prepared to go all the way in their support of the Supreme Court decision and the moral basis for desegregation. Wade wants to avoid the problem which is so apparent in New Orleans where some genuine liberals feel themselves trapped in an organization which is afraid to handle the question of desegregation forthrightly.

He would appreciate it if you would send him samples of literature which might be used in a program which would touch many segments of the community.

Thanks.

Sincerely,

Jean

Jean Fairfax
National Representative for
Southern Programs

JF:mt

cc: Wade Mackie

PR - Can the TCHR do anything on this? H.

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
INCORPORATED
160 North Fifteenth Street, Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania
LOcust 3-9372

HAROLD EVANS
Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY
Honorary Chairman
CLARENCE E. PICKETT
Executive Secretary Emeritus
COLIN W. BELL
Executive Secretary

RECEIVED
OCT 25 1960

RECEIVED
OCT 1960

October 21, 1960

Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

John McFerren of Fayette County, Tennessee, was in our office last week to tell us of the continuing economic reprisals which Negroes are suffering because of their efforts to register and vote.

Do you know whether the Department of Justice is still watching developments in this County? What can be done to prevent further reprisals?

We suggested to John McFerren that he should get in touch with John Hope and have written John to do what he can to help. It occurred to me that you might want to confer with the Department of Justice about its possible future role in this situation.

Sincerely,

Jean Fairfax ab

Jean Fairfax
National Representative for
Southern Programs

JF:ab

cc: Barbara Moffett
Wil Hartzler

October 28, 1960

Miss Jean Fairfax
American Friends Service Committee
160 North 15th Street
Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania

Dear Jean:

Harold and I have discussed your letter of October 21 concerning Fayette County, Tennessee. There was a report on Fayette and Haywood Counties at the recent annual meeting of the Tennessee Council. The new director, Miss Katherine Jones, plans to make some personal visits to the area. In case you want to contact her, her address is 2001 Division Street, Nashville.

The NAACP has a full time man in the area (Mr. W. C. Patton) and I talked with him several weeks ago. He indicated that the Justice Department is still involved in Fayette County and that voting registration has been proceeding regularly since the Justice Department became interested. The NAACP has been working closely with this situation, is apparently in regular contact with the Department of Justice, and has provided considerable assistance to victims of economic reprisals.

I think that any of us who want to be of additional assistance should work through Mr. Patton and NAACP channels in Tennessee.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
INCORPORATED
160 North Fifteenth Street, Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania
LOcust 3-9372

HAROLD EVANS
Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY
Honorary Chairman
CLARENCE E. PICKETT
Executive Secretary Emeritus
COLIN W. BELL
Executive Secretary

January 24, 1961

Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 So. Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Recently, you told me that a group of Unitarians in Atlanta had approached you for advise and suggestions on getting a merit employment program under way. Could you give me more information about these individuals? What is your judgment about how much they are prepared to do? Are they in touch with other individuals and groups in Atlanta with similar concerns?

John Hope and I are trying to get information about citizens' groups in the South which are interested in promoting merit employment. Within the last year there certainly has been an increase in interest and activity in the Atlanta area. Whatever information you can give us about these groups and the individuals who are taking leadership in these efforts would be helpful.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Jean

Jean Fairfax
National Representative
Southern Programs

JF:mt

January 27, 1961

Miss Jean Fairfax
American Friends Service Committee
160 North Fifteenth Street
Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania

Dear Jean:

The group that has expressed a concern about the merit employment problem in Atlanta is headed by Dr. Gerald Reed, a local white dentist. The concern apparently arose from recent discussions in the public affairs committee of the Unitarian Church. I believe that at this point the group consists simply of three or four white individuals, professional men and educators, who wish to explore what can be done. They will be meeting next week with representatives of other groups which have been related to this problem. They plan to write directly to you in support of the AFSC project idea in the near future.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
INCORPORATED
160 North Fifteenth Street, Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania
LOCUST 3-9372

HAROLD EVANS
Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY
Honorary Chairman
CLARENCE E. PICKETT
Executive Secretary Emeritus
COLIN W. BELL
Executive Secretary

February 23, 1961

Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 South Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Many thanks for the excellent presentation which you made last Saturday at the Student Seminar on Human Relations. The seminar has opened up new opportunities for our Community Relations Program in Prince Edward County. We welcome, of course, the new contacts with the wider student community in Virginia but are even more excited about the new potential for involving white persons in the County with our program.

We just received today the Southern Regional Council's report, "Sanctuaries for Tradition: Virginia's New Private Schools." I am sure that the participants in the seminar would be very much interested in this report. Would you be willing to send each of them a copy? I shall ask Richard Ramsay to send you their names and addresses.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Jean

Jean Fairfax
National Representative
Southern Programs

JF:mt

cc: Richard Ramsay
Constance Curry
Helen Baker

Jean Fairfax

April 17, 1962

Miss Jean Fairfax
National Representative of Southern Programs
American Friends Service Committee
160 North 15th Street
Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania

Dear Jean;

When I saw you recently I meant to call your attention to the situation of Bill Williams, who will be shortly leaving his position as director of the Florida Council on Human Relations. Bill feels that he is in somewhat of a rut and is eager to make a change. He would like to remain in human relations work rather than return to the Methodist ministry. I would strongly urge that you get a file on Bill and see if he might be useful somewhere in the AFSC set-up. Bill is not a strong administrator or fund-raiser, but I believe he has considerable skills in the area of educational work, trouble shooting, negotiation, etc.

We very much enjoyed visiting you in Philadelphia recently and seeing the rather formidable AFSC set-up.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Fielda Activities

PR:mm

Jean Fairfax

May 8, 1962

Miss Jean Fairfax
National Representative
Southern Programs
American Friends Service Committee
160 North Fifteenth Street
Philadelphia 2, Pa.

Dear Jean;

As I indicated to you over the phone, I believe that the ability to effectively render a service is more important than the more bureaucratic abilities connected with writing reports, handling correspondence, et cetera. I must admit that my experience with Bill Williams is somewhat similar to yours. He has not on every occasion responded promptly to correspondence or requests for information.

It must be remembered, of course, that a state director in a one man office is under tremendous time pressure and that Bill has not had a regular secretary during recent months. I have found, too, that he does comply promptly with urgent requests and with such specific requirements as quarterly reports to this office, which are always in on time. In his present position, he has also prepared monthly reports to his board members, which have been generally regular and of good quality.

I think you should consider Bill for community work with the AFSC. I believe that his work in such crisis situations as Jacksonville during the riots in the fall of 1960, and in Daytona Beach prior to school desegregation last fall, demonstrated flexibility and skills of a high order in communication and interpretation.

The ideal place for Bill, I think, would be in a program where his skills could be utilized, but where he is working under administrative supervision. If this

is not possible, I would still have you consider him for a one man, local operation, but with some caution because of the administrative factors we have discussed.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

P.S. We are enclosing a special report on the Jacksonville Riot which Bill prepared in very short order, during the midst of the crisis in that city.

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
INCORPORATED
160 North Fifteenth Street, Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania
LOcust 3-9372

HAROLD EVANS
Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY
Honorary Chairman
CLARENCE E. PICKETT
Executive Secretary Emeritus
COLIN W. BELL
Executive Secretary

April 24, 1962

Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I have sent Bill Williams' name to our personnel office with the suggestion that he should be considered when we have vacancies in our Community Relations Program. I have not had many contacts with Bill but have found him to be knowledgeable and helpful on the few occasions when I have turned to him for information about developments in Florida. However, I have discovered that he does not answer his correspondence promptly or follow through with reasonable dispatch an assignment which he agrees to undertake. This shortcoming, which is related to your comment that he is not a strong administrator, would be a major weakness if it also means that he cannot be counted on to write regular reports, establish long-term and short-term goals for his program and operate generally on a well organized basis. I would welcome your comment before we give Bill any encouragement about the possibility of working with AFSC. Increasingly, as we setup new programs which are not located at the regional office base, we have found that the skills of written communication and organization have become more important.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Jean

Jean Fairfax
National Representative
Southern Programs

JF:mt

cc: Barbara W. Moffett
Catherine Naysmith

JF-

June 11, 1962

Miss Jean Fairfax
American Friends Service Committee
160 N. 15th Street
Philadelphia 2, Pa.

Dear Jean:

You will be interested to know that the granddaughter of Mrs. Luesta Knox, our receptionist, will be working with AFSC in Philadelphia this summer. Her name is Panke Mattox.

Mrs. Knox was for many years the Administrative Secretary of the Georgia Council on Human Relations.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

Jean Fairfax

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
INCORPORATED
160 North Fifteenth Street, Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania
LOcust 3-9372

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Chairman
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CLARENCE E. PICKETT
Executive Secretary Emeritus
COLIN W. BELL
Executive Secretary

June 14, 1962

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Thank you for your note about Panke Mattox. Tell her to get in touch with me as soon as she arrives in Philadelphia. I will be away most of July and would like to meet her before I leave for vacation.

I hope you and Miggy have a terrific trip to Europe. Why not plan to stop in Philadelphia on your return trip to Atlanta? Unless some frightful emergency develops in my favorite county, I shall be here during August.

Sincerely,

Jean

Jean Fairfax
National Representative
for Southern Programs

JF/eb

Memorandum

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
INCORPORATED
20 SOUTH TWELFTH ST., PHILADELPHIA 7, PA.

Date today

To: paul rilling

From: jean fairfax j

Subject: you know what

harold told me when he called the other day that an atlanta group had gotten together to discuss the agenda for the interagency confab. could you let me know by thursday of this week what has been suggested. i may be going to prince edward county for a week beginning friday and want to have the general outline of the agenda decided before i leave, if possible. would you please send me the list of interagency representatives to whom announcements usually go. i may decide to mail the agenda out in advance.

paul anthony is a slob for going to the caribbean during the season. he probably clips coupons and engages in other capitalistic activities which separate him from the masses.

Chairman: BYRON A. HAWORTH Executive Secretary: WILTON E. HARTZLER Treasurer: W. EVAN CECIL

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, Incorporated

Eighteen Eighteen South Main Street, High Point, North Carolina Telephone 2-4025

Monday

Dear Paul,

When I return to Philadelphia at the end of the week, I will check around AFSC for possible contacts in Athens, Dubrovnik and Florence and will write you c/o American Express in Athens.

Have fun and return with lots of <u>imagination</u>, new ideas for Joyce Lixi the Camp Fire Girls.

Sincerely,

Jean

Introduction, copied from April, 1951, New South

YOUR COMMUNITY LOOKS AT ITSELF

EMPHASIS IS ON THE "SELF"

A Home Town Self-Survey is just what the name implies--a local stock-taking with emphasis on the self.

Civic-minded people across the South are discovering that the way to get things done is to quit using the pronouns "they" and "you" and start using "I" and "we." No amount of professional surveying, no amount of advice by visiting experts, can accomplish much. Things start happening when you and other local citizens get together, find the facts, and put them to work.

The effectiveness of that approach has been remarkably demonstrated in Jacksonville, Florida, and Greenville, South Carolina. People in those two cities concluded that their biggest problems were those facing the Negro communities. They recognized that solving those problems wasn't the business of one race, or of one special group, but the whole town's business. In each case, they organized a Steering Committee made up of representatives and influential citizens, including white persons and Negroes, city officials and civic leaders, ministers and church women, labor and business folks doctors, lawyers, and housewives.

With the aid of local volunteers, the Committee itself went out and gathered the facts. Then the Committee made its report to the community--a simple statement, from citizens to citizens, of what conditions were and how they might be improved. Finally, a follow-up group was formed to make the recommendations realities.

The people of Jacksonville and Greenville are proud of their self-surveys, and well they may be. For today they can look around and see the tangible improvements that have resulted--such as better schools, more health facilities, newly paved streets, slum clearance, parks, playgrounds. Most important of all, they can see results in a new quality of understanding, cooperation, and working citizenship which will go on paying dividends for years to come.

The Southern Regional Council is also proud of those successes. For, though the self-surveys were local jobs from start to finish, the Council's Manual for the Home Town Self-Survey and advisory services played a significant part.

During the past few years, the Southern Regional Council has helped to spread the self-survey idea to other Southern towns, where it has proved equally rewarding. This revised edition of the Manual is published in the expectation that many more communities will want to make use of it.

IT'S EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

A self-survey draws its strength from the citizens who take part in it. It will succeed in direct proportion to the interest, initiative, leadership, and hard work contributed by the major segments of the community. In fact, the chief advantage of the method lies in its democratic approach. Working together for common goals can unite people of differing backgrounds, occupations, and everyday interests as nothing else can. Once established, that kind of

Cite Miami study
good job-
Illustrative of what can be pulled out of Census + how it can be

teamwork will benefit your community long after the self-survey is completed.

So the more widely representative your Steering Committee is, the better. If any major group is omitted--whether it be religious, racial, economic, or civic--your self-survey will be seriously weakened.

Your community has its own pattern of civic life which will determine the make-up of the Steering Committee and its various subcommittees. But here are a few "don'ts" that will apply:

DON'T let the self-survey become identified with one particular group; there's no surer way to breed apathy and opposition in the community at large.

DON'T appoint minority-group "representatives" who don't truly represent their groups; nobody will be fooled and many people will be alienated.

DON'T fail to include public officials; their participation and interest are important assets and will do much to assure the success of the follow-up.

DON'T hesitate to add to the Steering Committee individuals who show outstanding leadership after the survey is under way; the initial selection, however, careful, is likely to miss some of the people who can contribute most.

YOU'RE THE DOCTOR

Communities, like people, have their own personalities. And, like people, no two are exactly alike. You can get help in the form of techinical resources, from outside the community. But no one can tell you just what kind of self-survey your town needs. That's a decision for you and your fellow citizens to make.

This Manual is designed as a working document which can be adapted to the particular needs of varying communities. Some towns will want to do a self-survey of the total community--including all or most of the fields outlined in the following pages. Others will want to single out only a few fields which are most in need of improvement.

In the case of Jacksonville and Greenville, the local Steering Committees felt that the whole range of conditions affecting the Negro population needed primary attention. Another city concentrated solely on housing--housing for the entire population, white and Negro.

A second matter for the Steering Committee to decide at the outset is what geographical area the self-survey will cover. If yours is an urban community, the survey may be confined to the city limits, or it may take in part or all of the surrounding county. If your community is rural, the survey may be county-wide, or it may be limited to a few neighborhoods. That must be determined by the make-up of the community: what local government provides most of the public services, how the people of the community make their living, and so on.

Some clerical work and coordination will be needed. Reports must be typed, material mimeographed, publicity releases prepared, and meetings called. An existing office staff which can give part of its time to these duties is a great asset. In Greenville, for example, the Community Council served as the sponsoring agency, contributed personnel for the routine work, and provided a "headquarters" for the self-survey.

Some such arrangement as that, if at all possible, will help your survey to roll more smoothly. Don't forget, though, that the survey belongs, not to just one club or agency, but to the whole community--and don't let the community forget it!

LOOK BEHIND THE FIGURES

How many? What kind? How often? For whom?

Your fact-finding subcommittees will be answering questions of this sort. But your self-survey won't be complete if you stop there. The schedules and questionnaires in this Manual are not meant to dictate all the information you will need; they are merely guides to some of the basic data which you will want to expand.

For one of many possible examples, let's suppose your subcommittee on health finds that the infant death rate is very high. You will have to look behind the figures to find the cause--or, more likely, the causes. Inadequate hospital facilities, shortage of doctors, public ignorance about prenatal care, attendance at births by untrained midwives--any or all of these might be major contributing causes. A thorough survey will dig out the answer.

The strength of your findings and recommendations will depend on how well you interpret the facts and figures that are collected. There are at least four steps to sound interpretation:

1. Subcommittees should make their initial reports as complete as possible. In addition to filling out the questionnaires, they should submit the results of personal observation, interviews, and any other information which will make for fuller understanding.

2. Fact-finders should supplement their own observations by consulting local people who work daily in the particular fields. In the case of infant mortality, for instance, doctors, public health nurses, practicing midwives, and mothers themselves can give the surveyors more insight into the problem.

3. Each subcommittee report should be given careful attention by the Steering Committee. Able persons representing many points of view, their discussions will strengthen the findings and recommendations in each field.

4. Once the reports have been worked over in the Steering Committee, it is a good idea to submit them to the appropriate public and private agencies for corrections and suggestions. You probably won't accept every criticism that is offered, but you will be protected against errors of fact and judgment that might weaken your report once it was made public. At the very least, you will have prepared yourself for the reactions of the groups most directly concerned.

Whatever you decide, you will find appropriate sections in the Manual. The questionnaires and schedules are flexible models which your Committee can alter to fit the structure of your community and the scope of your self-survey.

PAVE THE WAY

It's always good policy to let people know you're coming, and a self-survey is no exception. Your town doubtless has its touchy spots--political factions, civic rivalries, personal feuds, and the like. These are danger points which your self-survey will steer around if possible. But no matter how tactful and nonpartisan your intentions are, your self-survey may arouse suspicions if you fail to lay the proper groundwork.

A safe rule is to spend as much time as necessary getting the community familiar with the self-survey idea and sold on its desirability. Usually the place to start is with the people who make things happen--or keep them from happening--in your town. Many of these key people will be in on the planning from the start as members of the Steering Committee. Others should be approached individually and be acquainted with the methods and aims of the proposed self-survey. That way, when you launch your fact-finding, you won't be faced with opposition born of misunderstanding.

It's a good idea to include the editor or some other appropriate representative of your newspaper at an early stage. He can be of great value to your Committee in working out the initial publicity by which the public will be informed of plans for the survey.

Don't rely wholly on newspaper publicity to get the story out. You can reach a number of people through their organizations, clubs, unions, churches, and so on. These memberships will be of major help later in providing volunteers for the fact-finding.

TEAMWORK IS ONE WORD

The speed and efficiency of your self-survey will depend a lot on how well it is organized. To put it another way, if the team is right the work will get done.

Your Steering Committee, of course, will be the governing body of the self-survey. Its job is to do the overall planning and directing and to approve the final reports and recommendations. But it will probably need help for the fact-finding and detailed work--particularly if your survey takes in more than one field of community life.

The best way to handle the work load is to distribute it to subcommittees, whose chairmen will be members of the Steering Committee; that is, a subcommittee on housing, one on recreation, one on welfare services, and so forth. When large-scale fact-finding is involved, as in housing and transportation, the subcommittee can, in turn, enlist the aid of volunteers to complete the individual schedules. Again, be sure to make the subcommittees representative of the total community, including minority groups. Much depends, too, on the right choice of chairmen; pick people who know the fields their subcommittees are concerned with and who can give the energy and leadership required.

If there is a college or university nearby, don't neglect its resources. There will be people on its faculty--social scientists, statistics experts, journalism teachers, and others--who have skills your need. Students are often the best and most enthusiastic of volunteers.

A word about recommendations: if your data have been well interpreted, many of the recommendations will emerge almost automatically. For example, if you have found the greatest number of infant deaths among low-income families who rely on untrained mid-wives, two recommendations immediately suggest themselves: more free and inexpensive maternity care by hospitals, public health clinics, or private physicians; and training and licensing of such midwives as will be practicing in the community.

It's wise to check all recommendations for feasibility. There may be a legal or technical barrier to the step which seems most naturally to be called for.

The main object of the recommendations is not to point out blame but to get results. They should be honest, but they should also be tactful. Your Steering Committee will want to give painstaking consideration to wording them in such a way as to avoid needless controversy and antagonism. Sometimes, of course, you must choose between trampling on a few toes and being less than honest. That's likely to arise at some point in any self-survey. The only thing to do is state the facts calmly and objectively, with confidence that most people will recognize and respect the undistorted truth.

Recommendations are generally placed at the end of each section, so they can be readily understood in the light of the findings. If you have any doubt about whether the reason for a recommendation is clear, it's best to be absolutely sure. Include a note along with the recommendation, explaining why it is desirable and what its effect will be.

FACTS DON'T SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES

Many a shelf is filled with dusty copies of survey reports made by high-powered professionals. That's where the self-survey is different: it aims to let citizens see for themselves and then tell their fellow citizens about it. The facts are not ends in themselves but means to an end--namely, concrete improvements.

Once your fact-finders have done their job and your Steering Committee has agreed on its recommendations, in one sense the self-survey is just getting started. You are ready then to begin telling the story--as dramatically, as graphically, and as widely as you can.

The first step is to get the findings and recommendations into attractive, readable form, mimeographed or printed, depending on the ~~respirees avao;ab;e/ Upi ,au wamt tp dp as ptjer tpwms aja~~ resources available. You may want to do as other towns have done--prepare two versions of the final report. One, the "official" report, will include all the subcommittee reports in full, plus any charts, tables, and supporting documents that are relevant. The other, the "popular" version, will aim more at brevity, simplicity, and eye-catching arrangement.

The popular version is the one you will want to get broadly distributed, and its effectiveness will depend on how readily the average citizen will pick it up and read it. He probably won't be interested in long statistical tables and wordy analysis. But he will be interested in photographs, drawings, illustrated charts, and punchy text that show him quickly and clearly how the survey's findings affect him and what he can do about it. There may be someone in your town--an advertising or newspaper person, perhaps--who is skilled in bringing facts and figures to life. If not, the Southern Regional Council will be glad to help you plan your publication.

At this point, again, the newspapers can be invaluable. They

may be willing to run the final report in serial form--or, at any rate, a summary of it. They certainly will open their news columns to statements by prominent citizens endorsing the survey's results and calling for community support of the recommendations. Favorable editorials and photographs can also help stimulate public interest.

Keep in mind, however, that a daily newspaper is turned out at top speed by many hands; inaccuracies and damaging emphases can slip in very easily. To avoid that, cooperate closely with the reporter. If you are giving him complicated information, it's best to reduce it to writing, as short and clear as possible. Invite him to check back with you or some other informed person if questions arise while he is writing his story.

If your town has a radio station, publicity through that medium is equally desirable.

Take your story to the civic clubs and other organizations which have regular meetings. One city set up a speakers' bureau made up of leading citizens who had participated in the survey. The PTA wanted to hear about education, the Chamber of Commerce about industry and employment, the Council of Church Women about law enforcement, the Lions Club about all those subjects and more.

These are only a few of the ways to get your town to sit up and take notice of the survey's results. Church services, town meetings, and neighborhood get-togethers are some of the others. Whatever the methods available in your community, use them often and use them well.

THE PROOF OF THE PUDDING...

If your survey has had the right kind of participation, results will start coming in even before the fact-finding is completed. Officials begin to view shortcomings in public services in a new light; commercial agencies serving the public begin to see themselves as others see them; civic groups become aware of needs that never seemed important before.

These by-products of the fact-finding method are all to the good. But they shouldn't be allowed to take the steam out of the follow-up. An effective self-survey will go on producitng results for years, provided interest and leadership are kept alive. Organized activity is the only way to guarantee that. The final act of the Steering Committee should always be the establishment of a Follow-up Committee which will meet regularly, keep the recommendations before the public, and work with established groups on specific projects.

The logical people to serve on the Follow-up Committee are those who have shown the most interest and ability in the course of the self-survey. Often the simplest thing to do is to convert the Steering Committee itself into such a body. In any case, it is essential to keep enough of the original leadership active to preserve continuity and know-how.

Two years after its self-survey was completed, the Jacksonville Follow-Up Committee was still keeping tabs on progress and reporting to the public. And it was able to point to over sixty-five impressive achievements which grew, directly or indirectly, from the survey. Since then the list has grown even longer.

That's a remarkable record, but it's within reach of any community willing to roll up its sleeves and go to work.

GETTING PROFESSIONAL ADVISORY HELP

Although your survey should remain a local undertaking all the way through, it can probably benefit from the advice of persons trained in community organization and experienced in the self-survey method.

The Southern Reigonal Council is glad to assist local groups planning to undertake a self-survey. You can call on the Council for--

Additional copies of this Manual, at a minimum price necessary to pay for publication and handling. You will need mimeographed copies of the questionnaires and schedules for the fact-finding of your survey. (Feel free to reproduce or modify any parts of the Manual.)

Visit by a trained staff member, if your group will bear the cost of the visit. The Council's representative will meet with your Steering Committee or other appropriate persons, advise on fact-finding procedures and interpretation of data, and pass on to you the experience of other communities.

Advice by mail. The Southern Regional Council will answer your requests for information, materials, or advice. Whenever possible, the Council will put you in touch with persons in your area who may also be able to help.

SOS of CPE

DO YOU KNOW THE LAW ABOUT SCHOOLS?

In this time of questioning, the League of Women Voters of Georgia, a non-partisan organization, believes that you can best find the answers for yourself if you know the facts.

Basic to your consideration are these long-standing provisions of the Federal Constitution:

WITH REGARD TO CITIZENSHIP--

"All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge and privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States ...."

U. S. Constitution Art. XIV, Sec.1

WHEN LAWS CONFLICT------

"This Constitution, and the Laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all Treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the Supreme Law of the Land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Consitution or Laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding."

U. S. Consitution, Art. Vl, Sec. 2

"The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the Members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial Officers, both of the United States, and of the several states, shall be bound by Oath or Affirmation, to support this Constitution."

U. S. Constitution, Art. Vl, Sec. 3

WHAT DOES THE SUPREME COURT SAY?

"We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. Therefore, we hold that the plaintiffs and others similarly situated for whom the actions have been brought are, by reason of the segregation complained of, deprived of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment."

Brown v. Board of Education, May 17, 1954

Fourteenth Amendment

". . . No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

"Full implementation of these constitutional principles may require solution of varied local school problems. School authorities have the primary responsibility for elucidating, assessing, and solving these problems; courts will have to consider whether the action of school authorities constitutes good faith implementation of the governing constitutional principles .....

"While giving weight to these public and private considerations, the courts will require that the defendants make a prompt and reasonable start toward full compliance with our May 17, 1954 ruling ....."

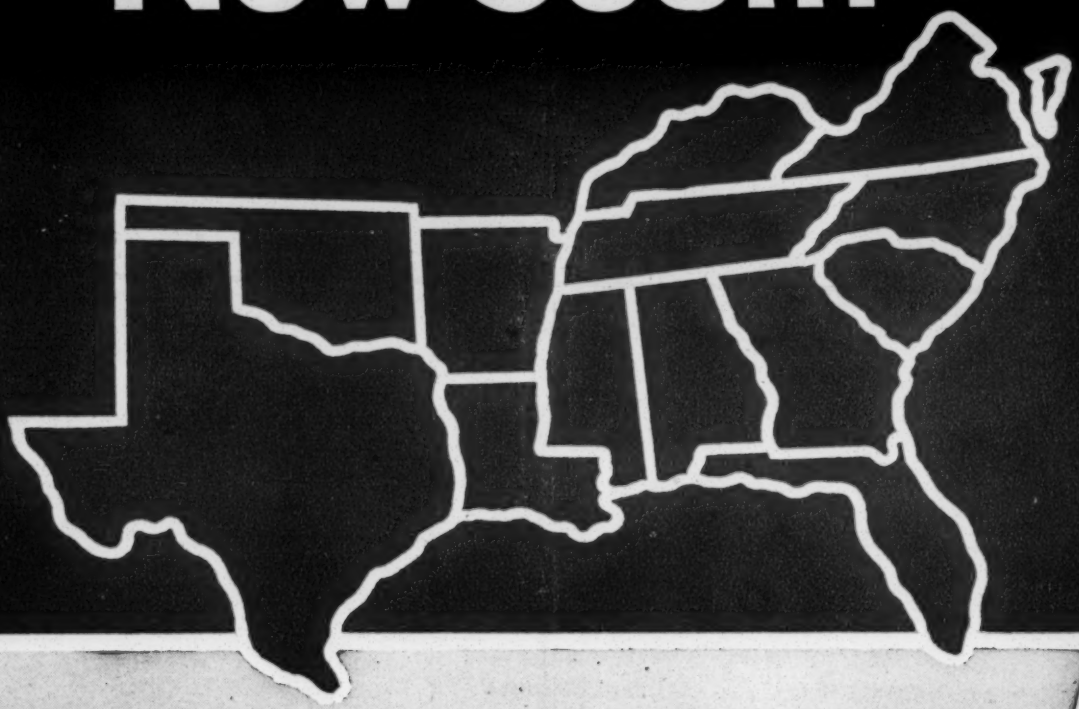
Brown v. Board of Education, May 31, 1955

WHAT DO FEDERAL COURT RULINGS FOLLOWING THE MAY, 1954 DECISIONS SAY?

The courts have begun the long process of clarifying the constitutionality of plans to evade desegregation by various methods, including school closing. Summaries of decisions pertinent to present Georgia law are:

WITH REGARD TO WITHHOLDING OF STATE FUNDS: In Borders v. Rippy on July 23, 1957, 247 Fed. (2nd) 368, of the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals held that the fact that a school district will be deprived of state funds if it complies with an integration order does not relieve the court of its duty to apply the law of the land as set forth in the School Segregation Cases, nor does it relieve the school board of its duty to comply with the court order.

New South



- Responsible Persons
- Integration and Public Morals
  Marion A. Wright
- Unquote

NOVEMBER / 1957

Published by
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta 3, Georgia

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NOVEMBER, 1957

Volume 12 **Number 11**

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Subscription rate . . . . . $2.00 a year

New South is published monthly except August by Southern Regional Council, Inc., 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta, Georgia. Single copies may be purchased at twenty cents each; quantity rates on request.

New South Notes

"Responsible persons should not be silent." This long has been the thesis of *New South* and *New South* contributors. Now a group of Atlanta ministers have combined efforts to release a statement concerning their convictions. The first principle for use in race relations suggested by the ministers is "Freedom of speech must at all costs be preserved." The ministers are emphatic in their belief that responsible community leaders should not be silent concerning their conviction.

The ministers add five additional principles that they believe to be of "basic importance for our thought and conduct" in relations in the South today. The statement, reprinted in these pages, is well worth reading and distributing among the "responsible" persons in the South today.

Mr. Marion A. Wright, retiring president of the Southern Regional Council, recently talked to a group of persons in Charlotte, North Carolina, concerning "Integration and Public Morals." In the speech, Mr. Wright also set forth principles that should govern actions of Southern persons in this time of crisis.

Mr. Wright discusses these principles in the light of the recent events in Little Rock, Arkansas; Nashville, Tennessee; and Winston-Salem, Charlotte, and Greensboro, North Carolina. With particular emphasis on recent desegregation action in Charlotte, Mr. Wright discusses the role of a given community and what it may mean for the future of the community.

We think both the Atlanta ministers and Mr. Wright are on sound ground with their listing and discussion of principles and public morals.

Responsible Persons Should Not Be Silent

Statement

By

Atlanta Ministers

These are days of tremendous political and social tensions throughout our entire world, but particularly in our nation and beloved Southland. The issues which we face are not simple, nor can they be resolved overnight. Because the questions which confront us are in so many respects moral and spiritual as well as political, it is appropriate and necessary that men who occupy places of responsibility in the churches should not be silent concerning their convictions.

The signers of this statement are all ministers of the Gospel, but we speak also as citizens of Georgia and of the United States of America. We are all Southerners, either by birth or by choice, and speak as men who love the South, who seek to understand its problems, and who are vitally concerned for its welfare. In preparing this statement we have acted as individuals, and represent no one but ourselves. At the same time we believe that the sentiments which we express are shared by a multitude of our fellow-citizens, who are deeply troubled by our present situation and who know that hatred, defiance and violence are not the answer to our problems, but who have been without a voice and have found no way to make their influence effective.

In presenting our views for the consideration of others we can only speak in a spirit of deep humility and of penitence for our own failures. We cannot claim that the problem of racial relationships has been solved even in the churches which we serve, and we are conscious that our own example in the matter of brotherhood and neighborliness has been all too imperfect. We do not pretend to know all the answers. We *are* of one mind, however,

Responsible

(Continued)

in believing that Christian people have an especial responsibility for the solution of our racial problems and that if, as Christians, we sincerely seek to understand and apply the teachings of our Lord and Master we shall assuredly find the answer.

We do not believe that the South is more to blame for the difficulties which we face than are other areas of our nation. The presence of the Negro in America is the result of the infamous slave traffic — an evil for which the North was as much responsible, as the South. We are also conscious that racial injustice and violence are not confined to our section and that racial problems have by no means been solved anywhere in our nation. Two wrongs, however, do not make a right. The failures of others are not a justification for our own shortcomings, nor can their unjust criticisms excuse us for a failure to do our duty in the sight of God. Our one concern must be to know and to do that which is right.

We believe that the difficulties before us have been greatly increased by extreme attitudes and statements on both sides. The use of the word "Integration" in connection with our schools and other areas of life has been unfortunate, since to many that term has become synonymous with amalgamation. We do not believe in the amalagamation of the races, nor do we feel that it is favored by right thinking members of either race. We do believe that all Americans, whether black or white, have a right to the full privileges of first class citizenship. To suggest that a recognition of the rights of Negroes to the full privileges of American citizenship, and to such necessary contacts as might follow would inevitably result in intermarriage is to cast as serious and unjustified an aspersion upon the White race as upon the Negro race. Believing as we do in the desirability of preserving the integrity of both races through the free choice of both, we would emphasize the following principles which we hold to be of basic importance for our thought and conduct:

1. FREEDOM OF SPEECH MUST AT ALL COSTS BE PRESERVED. "Truth is mighty and will prevail." No minister, editor, teacher, state employee, business man or other citizen should be penalized for expressing himself freely, so long as he does so with due regard to the rights of others. Any position which cannot stand upon its own merits and which can only be maintained by silencing all who hold contrary convictions, is a position which can not permanently endure.
2. AS AMERICANS AND AS CHRISTIANS WE HAVE AN OBLIGATION TO OBEY THE LAW. This does not mean that all loyal citizens need approve the 1954 decision of the Supreme Court with reference to segregation in the public schools. Those who feel that this decision was in error have every right to work for an alteration in the decree, either through a further change in the Supreme Court's interpretation of the law, or through

an amendment to the Constitution of the United States. It does mean that we have no right to defy the constituted authority in the government of our nation. Assuredly also it means that resorts to violence and to economic reprisals as a means to avoid the granting of legal rights to other citizens are never justified.

3. THE PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM MUST NOT BE DESTROYED. It is an institution essential to the preservation and development of our democracy. To sacrifice that system in order to avoid obedience to the decree of the Supreme Court would be to inflict tremendous loss upon multitudes of children, whose whole lives would be impoverished as a result of such action. It would also mean the economic, intellectual and cultural impoverishment of our section, and would be a blow to the welfare of our nation as a whole.

4. HATRED AND SCORN FOR THOSE OF ANOTHER RACE, OR FOR THOSE WHO HOLD A POSITION DIFFERENT FROM OUR OWN, CAN NEVER BE JUSTIFIED. It is only as we approach our problems in a spirit of mutual respect, of charity, and of good will that we can hope to understand one another, and to find the way to a cooperative solution of our problems. God is no respecter of persons, every human personality is precious in His sight. No policy which seeks to keep any man from developing fully every capacity of body, mind, and of spirit can be justified in the light of Scripture. This is the message of the Hebrew prophets as it is of Christ and His disciples. We shall solve our difficulties when we learn to walk in obedience to the Golden Rule: "Therefore, all things, whatsoever you would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them, for this is the law and the prophets."

5. COMMUNICATION BETWEEN RESPONSIBLE LEADERS OF THE RACES MUST BE MAINTAINED. One of the tragedies of our present situation is found in the fact that there is so little real discussion of the issues except within the separate racial groups. Under such circumstances it is inevitable that misunderstandings will continue and that suspicion and distrust will be encouraged. One of the reasons that extreme measures have been so often proposed or adopted by groups within both races is found in the fact that those who are most concerned have seldom faced the issues in a situation where there could be a free exchange of ideas. We believe that a willingness on the part of white leaders to talk with the leaders of the Negro race, and to understand what those leaders are really seeking for their people is necessary and desirable. An expressed willingness on our part to recognize their needs, and to see that they are granted their full rights as American citizens, might well lead to a cooperative approach to the problem which would provide equal rights and yet maintain the integrity of both races upon a basis of mutual esteem and of free choice rather than of force.

Responsible

(Continued)

6. OUR DIFFICULTIES CANNOT BE SOLVED IN OUR OWN STRENGTH OR IN HUMAN WISDOM. It is appropriate, therefore, that we approach our task in a spirit of humility, of penitence, and of prayer. It is necessary that we pray earnestly and consistently that God will give us wisdom to understand His will; that He will grant us the courage and faith to follow the guidance of His Spirit.

To such prayer and obedience we would dedicate ourselves and summon all men of good will.

Wallace M. Alston, Charles L. Allen, Thomas Anderson, Raymond J. Ball, Wade H. Boggs, Jack Bozeman, Lee Branham, W. C. Budd, A. L. Burgreen, Robert W. Burns, C. W. Carpenter, Randolph R. Claiborne, Jr., Lamar Clements, Samuel T. Cobb, E. Dudley Colhoun, Vance Daniel, Eugene Drinkard, Edward Driscoll, L. B. Ellington, D. J. Evans, Harry Fifield, Emmett Floyd, Austin Ford, J. T. Ford, Thomas A. Fry, Jr., John Garber, Arthur Vann Gibson, Victor A. Greene, Joseph L. Griggs, Thomas Hagood, Alfred Hardman, Dick H. Hall, Jr., Claud M. Haynes, W. I. Howell, Herbert Hyde, Bevil Jones, Dow Kirkpatrick, Robert E. Kribbs, Edward Lantz, Robert E. Lee, Fitzhugh M. Legerton, John Blix Lind, Nat G. Long, James D. Matthews, Roy O. McClain, Harrison McMains, W. Robert Mill, Harold W. Minor, Jr., Harry L. Mitcham, Walter Murphy, William E. Newton, Stuart Oglesby, Robert Ozment, Roy Pettway, J. Davison Philips, Paul Renz, J. McDowell Richards, Frank M. Ross, E. D. Rudisill, Lester Rumble, Hugh Saussy, Jr., Charles F. Schwab, O. Norman Shands, Rembert Sisson, W. Thomas Smith, Wilson Sneed, R. H. Stewart, Monroe F. Swilley, Jr., James W. Sosebee, W. Earl Strickland, Harry Tisdale, Herman L. Turner, L. F. VanLandingham, Wendell Wellman, Albert Wells, Charles L. Widney, Allison Williams, Eugene T. Wilson, John Womack, Milton L. Wood.

"....The issue is that every Southern Governor has stated publicly that racial tension in the South is not hurting the current drive for new industry. This of course is begging the question. When you have to assure yourself that a condition is not doing HARM, it is the beginning of a downward spiral. The more pertinent question would be; 'Is the present resistance to the Supreme Court decision HELPING us get new industry?' Try to ask that question of yourself and double your money back if you do not laugh out loud."—Harry Golden, Editor, *Carolina Israelite.*

Integration and Public Morals*

By Marion A. Wright

Retiring President

of

Southern Regional Council

I am sure you will appreciate my dilemma. For a week now I have been thinking about what might properly be said to Charlotte people concerning the integration of their schools. I read all the papers. I listened to all the broadcasts. There have been times within the past week when I felt great pride in what was happening here. That came one night as I heard a Voice of America broadcast to Asia. The Voice contrasted Charlotte with Little Rock, explaining that the real sentiment of this country was expressed here. There have been times when I felt shame, as I know you have. What may the Voice of America now say to Asians? How may it gloss over the dark truth?

Well, as the young people would put it, tonight we are all crazy, mixed-up kids. We may feel slight pride—though I am not sure why—but a sense of shame overwhelms us. We may as well be honest. North Carolina has failed Dorothy Counts as Alabama failed Autherine Lucy. They are both casualties of men's blind and unreasoning prejudices. Those prejudices have taken root and flourished because we who don't share them have failed. We did not fail this week or last week. We failed years ago, in our homes, our schools, our churches, in our contacts with people on the street, in all that we said and did — in not removing the scales from men's eyes, in not living up to our proud pretensions about equality before the law.

It would be highly presumptuous of me to attempt a post mortem. That would seem to be the first order of business for this city. In my ignorance of local conditions I may only add to confusion. Of one thing, however, we may be sure. Integration will not fail. The small and precarious bridgehead it holds in this city at the moment will be

**Speech presented at Charlotte, N. C.*

Public Morals

(Continued)

expanded. The question is whether or not Charlotte has irretrievably sacrificed its leadership among the cities of the South.

With the hot news of the hour beating in upon us, it seems almost academic to deal in generalities, to discuss principles rather than people and events. But we must realize that people come and go. New actors mount the stage. Events are transitory. Tomorrow and the next day there will be new headlines. People and events have significance only because they are involved with principles. Principles abide. So let us discuss them.

One of the cliches we hear most often is that the world is growing smaller. What we really mean is that the community is growing larger—not that the world is narrowing and contracting but that the community is expanding in significance and importance to the point that whatever it says and does—or even thinks—has impact and repercussion throughout the world. A boy named Emmett Till is foully murdered in Mississippi. The shot that blew out his brains is heard round the world. The city of Louisville, with dignity, firmness and rare statesmanship, integrates its schools. That incident too, makes headlines in Bombay and Cairo and Shanghai. No longer in public affairs is anything done in a dark corner; no longer is action undetected or its full significance unappreciated.

So, the eyes of the world are upon Charlotte.

It is well that a forum be provided for presentation of the affirmative side of the integration issue. The negative lacks neither facilities nor spokesmen. Has it not occurred to you as being somewhat unfortunate that discussion of an issue which is of deep concern to parents, teachers and sociologists and which has such pronounced moral and ethical overtones should have been left almost exclusively to the politicians? That the forum should have been, not the school, the Parent-Teacher Association or the church, but the hustings?

Reasons

Now, there are two reasons why it would seem that the politicians should have no monopoly of discussion of this issue.

In the first place, they have a vested interest in the issue. For as long as any of us here can remember there have been in the South a substantial number of them—few in North Carolina—who have risen to power and retained it by exploiting the race question. In an earlier time when they were bolder and more forthright their shibboleth was white supremacy. More recently they have gone respectable. They no longer use the term. Instead they preach a paternalistic and trusteeship doctrine which must be fully as offensive to our Negro citizens as the ancient militance. They assume to play God to the Negro—tell him in effect, "we are your best friends and we will give you what is good for you." The basic assumption of the paternalistic school is still the innate superiority of the white man.

Such men, happily decreasing in number and influence under the impact of events, have, as I have said, a vested interest in keeping the segregation issue alive. Deprive them of it and their mental bankruptcy would be exposed. We exclude men who have an interest in a lawsuit from serving upon juries because their judgment may not be trusted where their interests are involved. The application to the political school under consideration is too obvious to require expression.

There is another reason why the opinions of political leaders have no peculiar sanctity. It is a field beyond their special competence. If the question involved were entirely political in nature, one might concede the expert qualifications of such leaders. But we are here dealing with a profoundly moral issue. There are involved our sense of fair play, the right of every child to be taught as and where other children are taught, the degree to which we live up to our expressed beliefs in the equality of men before the law, the obligation of men to discharge the citizen's first duty of observing the law.

Ruses

With due deference, I see nothing in the careers of such men to give them authority superior to our own in the field of morals.What is it that they recommend?

They recommend that we *appear* to be following the mandate of the Supreme Court without actually doing so. They recommend stratagems, ruses, wiles, which everyone knows to be dishonest. They pretend to de-centralize the schools, so that there is no apparent state control, necessitating a separate suit against each district rather than one against the state, while setting up Advisory Boards which issue confidential suggestions to school boards that they not comply with law.

In the bright lexicon of genuine statesmanship there is no such word as evasion. In the bright lexicon of honor there is no such word as misrepresentation. Of course, public ethics and morals lag behind individual ethics and morals.

Church

Now, I am usually on the receiving end of admonitions given in church. These verbal chastisements have done me no harm, and—who knows?—may have done me good, even if the results are not apparent. I am sure you will not begrudge me this rare opportunity to strike back. With a feeling almost of awe at my presumption, I venture a few timid words on one duty of a church.

One problem of our times is to close this gap between private and public morals. Certainly, there should be no lowering of individual standards — they are low enough already. But is there any doubt that our public standards may stand a little elevation? I do not want any fuzziness to tincture what I say. I am speaking definitely about the integration of our schools.

More than three years have elapsed since a court, composed of white men, chosen by white men, construing a constitution written by white men, held that segregation in our public schools was unlawful. While in many areas of

Public Morals

(Continued)

the South there has been ungrudging compliance with that decision, the course followed elsewhere is not a cause for pride. In the face of an issue and at a time when men should think deeply, speak frankly, act honorably, to what have we been subjected?

There have been two facets to our public policy. One is puerile attacks upon members of the Court and the NAACP, as though the dilemma which now confronts us might never have arisen but for some unholy conspiracy between the two. This blindly overlooks the fact that what has happened in the South is merely part of a world movement for full and complete emancipation of colored peoples. If our leaders feel that they may beat back this upsurge of democratic spirit, I suggest they get brooms, go to Wilmington and try sweeping back the tide. No one of us is going to be dragged, even kicking and screaming, back into the 18th century.

Other Facet

The other facet consists of the evasion and subterfuge I have mentioned. It would be an exercise in morbidity to catalog these accomplished and proposed maneuvers. Suffice it to say that the objective of all of them is to abet and encourage the citizen to fail in his first duty—observe the law.

My thesis is that presentation of these schemes to the public presents also a moral issue to the church. The church, by silence and inaction, by remaining supine, may condone, if not approve, such policy. If religion is actually to be a force in the lives of men, it cannot retreat when confronted by a moral crisis. To do so is to abdicate its authority in the field of ethics. When, later, it seeks to set up standards of conduct in other fields, it may be reminded of its failure in this particular area. More, it will be haunted and its effectiveness blunted by its own consciousness of failure.

Martyrs

Let me be quick to say that already this crisis has produced its own ecclesiastical martyrs. They have not met death or imprisonment. We are a little too subtle and refined for that. But ministers have been assaulted. Others have had their homes and churches bombed. Still others have been relieved of their pastorates. These men are the heroes of this age. Long after some of our public figures have been forgotten, the South, white and Negro, will still pay tribute to Rev. Martin Luther King.

Now, our political leaders without exception deplore violence such as this. They have no truck with the Ku Klux Klan. But my contention is that they set in motion forces which bred the Klan and the very violence they now condem. What they advocate, in essence, is disrespect for law. They choose to limit such advocacy to one law—that relating to the public schools. But when you enter the area of disrespect there is no such thing as a limited infection. It spreads. What right have they to tell me what laws I shall ob-

serve? They choose to flout school law. I may with as much right choose to flout the law which protects life and property of the man who disagrees with me. They seek to get results by chicanery. Men less subtle and sophisticated may perforce get their results by violence. There may be more than a thread of connection between what governors and senators say and what men in Mississippi did to Emmett Till.

Certain governors, following the Supreme Court decisions, announce that a segregated school system must be preserved. They employ all of their cunning to develop methods—private schools with state subsidy, tuition grants, pupil assignment acts, local control, complicated legal steps to be taken by aggrieved parties, re-districting and all the rest of a list of odorous maneuvers. One by one these devices come before the court and are branded for what they are—transparent frauds.

Violence

When cunning and what passes for intelligence have failed, what is an *untutored* citizen to do? Well, he has his fists, doesn't he? He has dynamite. He has bombs. He has torches. There rings in his ears the voice of authority telling him segregation must be preserved. So he uses the only tools he knows.

Then how crocodile are the tears of the governor who weeps at violence!

Charlotte and North Carolina have been saved the orgies of violence which have gripped Little Rock and Nashville and other cities only because the citizens here have sufficient intelligence and force of character and loyalty to the Constitution to resist the appeals of demagogues.

I am sure, too, that these politicians could not have foreseen that their advocacy should have led to a state of public mind which would in certain parts of the South result in substantial curtailment of the right of free speech and opinion. Certainly from this blight, North Carolina is far more free than most Southern states. But let us indulge in no vainglory. It can happen here—and will, unless we are vigilant. Teacher's oaths, requirement that they list their organizations, the proscribing of the NAACP, boycott of advocates of law observance, withdrawal of adertising from certain newspapers—all these present an imminent peril. They flow directly from the germinal idea of evading the law of the land.

There is no more alarming phenomenon of this age than this mass effort to control what men shall publicly say or print. Opinion is the life blood of democracy. Upon its free expression democracy thrives and grows. You will not have sound opinion unless men may freely express and exchange views—test them in the market place. Thought itself is actually inhibited where it cannot be freely expressed. For, where all *seem* to be thinking alike no one is *actually* thinking at all.

So, we observe elsewhere the already achieved results of the official policy of evading the law—results which I am sure were not in contemplation of those who fashioned the policy. Legal chicanery and subterfuge have sired economic boycott, suppression of thought, and raw violence.

I ask you, as reasonable men and

Public Morals

(Continued)

women, if other results are not in prospect unless the policy is reversed. Thus far, the legal subterfuges relate only to integration of our schools; boycott, suppression of thought aid violence are directed only against advocates of compliance with school law. Will they stop there? If the rights of one minority group may be thus assailed, what about the rights of others? The Jews, the Catholics, the labor unions—any group that doesn't have the power of government in its hands? The rights of none of us are safe unless the rights of all are safe.

Present Policy

I have been at some pains to point out where we have drifted under our present policy and whither we tend. Always the point must be conceded that, in comparison with certain other states, North Carolina has high standards of respectability. The hysteria and violence found elsewhere have *so far* not gripped this commonwealth.

Now, in recent weeks one event has occurred in North Carolina which demonstrates, in a small way, at least, the growing resolution of our people to act honorably and decently. I refer, of course, to the action of school boards of Charlotte, Greensboro and Winston-Salem. I am quite frank in saying that the action was of a more limited nature than some might have thought possible. But what one of us can say what he would have done if he had been a member of the board? Certainly, the pressure upon the boards to continue to drift must have been considerable. Certainly, moral courage was required to resist that pressure. And that is a quality sufficiently rare to deserve the commendation and gratitude of all good citizens. It has been heartening to those of us out in the provinces of North Carolina to observe that, almost without exception, from all responsible quarters, commendation and gratitude have been expressed. Here, at least, the strident accents of the John Kaspers have fallen upon deaf ears.

Practically all of us have come to agree, I think, that the shabbiest and sorriest figure of our times is the man who would drive lines of cleavage among men. We need not walls to separate men from each other but bridges to connect, not sundering but unifying influences. The greatest public servant of our day is the one who breaks down artificial barriers with which men have sought to create the illusion of their superiority to other men.

No one of us may be a Ghandi or a Schweitzer. We lack their mental and spiritual endowments. But everyone of us, to the limits of such endowments as he has, may, on this continent, in North Carolina—yes, in Charlotte—, partake of the spirit of these men, spend his life to the same noble purposes.

What may we do? It is easy enough to entertain great sentiments. Translating those sentiments into wise deeds presents our practical problem. Answers will suggest themselves to each individual. I propose only the more obvious.

The first goes to our states of mind. We should constantly remind ourselves

that the Negro parent is knocking on our school doors only because he wants his child to have the best this city offers for the education of his children. I think we should greatly resent having someone else tell us we don't know what is good for our children. We should reject the easy hypothesis that the Negro child is better off in his own school. The courts say that is not true. Every student of human behavior says it is not true.

The one lay organization concerned with our schools is the Parent-Teacher Association. There should be no segregation in such groups. If revision of by-laws is necessary to accomplish integration, they should be revised. At any rate, simple democracy requires that the voices of all of us should be equally heard, the influence of all of us be equally felt, in improving the standards of education.

The same reasons require that there should be Negro representation on boards of trustees and all other official bodies concerned with our schools. This should be no mere token or nominal representation. Thc appointees should be able and vigorous exponents of the Negro point-of-view. The comfortable assumptions—hangover from slavery days—that we know what is best for the Negro and are qualified to act as trustees for him must be tossed out the window. All of our history has demonstrated their falsity.

We must bear in mind that the Negro children who attend, or will attend, white schools are exercising rights guaranteed to them by the Constitution. Everyone deserves protection in the exercise of his rights. We should inform our police officials that they have our full support in guarding the persons and property of Negro children and parents involved, and that they will be held accountable for failure to do so.

Law Enforement

Parenthetically, let me concede that you are in much better position than I to appraise the conduct of your law enforcement officers. But from my remote observation post, the impression was acquired that they reflected great credit on your city. Promptness and firmness upon the part of police offcers are cardinal factors in the school situation.

We should realize, too, that the one or two Negro children in white schools are under emotional stress. They are in a strange environment with few, if any, friends enduring the same ordeal. They experience the loneliness of all pioneers. White parents may mitigate the rigors of the experiment, reduce its bruises and abrasions, by counselling their children to show courtesy to, and deal generously with, the brave child of another color.

The white mother, feeling that she makes some sacrifice, undergoes some disagreeable experience, in sending her child to a school attended also by a Negro child, should reflect for a moment upon the anguish of the Negro mother. Sometimes she walks through hostile groups to reach the steps of the school —at actual risk of physical violence. Always she hands over her child to a white faculty and into an association bewilderingly unfamiliar, if not resentful and challenging. Only the profound-

Public Morals —
(Continued)

est maternal instincts and limitless ambition for her child sustain her in that hour.

Out of the welter of last week's events we caught for a moment the image of a white woman taking a small Negro girl by the hand and leading her to a taxi, telling the angry crowd all that was important to a mother "she's just a little girl."

One knew in that instant that integration will not fail. The bravery and courage and noble ambition of Negro mothers and their children are matched by the tenderness and compassion of white mothers. They are matched also by the nobility of the white girls who took the new girl by the hand and gave her welcome. Such are the permanent, the irresistible, forces.

The churches play a crucial role. Their own racial barriers must be lowered if they are to assume leadership in this new adventure in brotherhood. The pious resolution, adopted at some convention, while excellent as a proclamation of principle, is not enough. The doors of the church should be swung wide, not merely cracked an inch. It should not be necessary for a Negro minister to go from Charlotte to Quebec in order to preach the gospel of Jesus Christ to white people.

Finally, none of us should approach this great social experience negatively, in the frame of mind that this is the law and we shall make the best of a bad bargain. It is the law and a good bargain to boot. In the discussion the emphasis has been placed upon the injuries inflicted upon the Negro by our segregation system. They are considerable and grievous. But the whites have suffered too.

If segregation, as the court has said, has engendered feelings of inferiority in the Negro, it has also engendered feelings of superiority in the white man. These feelings of superiority, resting upon no solid base, tend to make us arrogant and proud. We suffer from delusions of grandeur. Arrogance and pride are not virtues. Indeed, we are not told that the arrogant shall inherit the earth. We are not told that humility goeth before destruction.

Moreover, as a society we have not permitted the Negro to pull his share of the load. We have assigned him to menial tasks and resolutely barred his advancement. Hence, the more skilled, the more intelligent, the ablest, migrate. This waste of Negro potential places extra burdens upon the whites. If there is actually "a white man's burden," it is a burden of his own creation.

All of us in North Carolina have come to take great pride in Charlotte. We take your papers. We listen to your radio. We look at your TV. The commercial, industrial and financial primacy of your city is assured. No one minimizes the importance of such achievement. Thus, the achievements of a certain rich young ruler were beyond cavil.

Success in the great experiment here and now undertaken would be the brightest jewel in your crown. Less resolute communities would be heartened by your example. So you may lead this great state into the way of full and complete democracy.

. . . Unquote

"How shall we commend democracy to the acceptance of other peoples if we disgrace our own by proving that it is, after all, no protection to the weak?"

Woodrow Wilson

• • •

"If everyone would take a good look at the pictures of Lew (Burdette, white pitcher for Milwaukee Braves) and Wes (Covington, Negro leftfielder for Milwaukee) with their arms around each other, they would forget all the integration trouble."

Mrs. S. L. Burdette
of Nitro, West Virginia,
as quoted by the United Press

• • •

"In the main, law and equity stand in the forefront of the moral forces which our two countries (England and the United States) have in common, and rank with our common language in that store of bonds of unity on which I firmly believe our life and destiny depend. It has been pointed out that the 5th and 14th amendments of the American Constitution are an echo of the Magna Carta."

Winston Churchill
as quoted by the Associated Press

• • •

"We must rededicate ourselves to the fact that freedom is not real unless it is universal, and that those who defend liberty and justice anywhere defend it everywhere."

E. Smythe Gambrell
Atlanta Lawyer
quoted in the ATLANTA JOURNAL

"Your (Gov. Leroy Collins of Florida) leadership (in race relations) is helping provide a type of industrial climate which will assure continued economic progress and opportunity for the people of your state."

C. O. Wanvig
President, Globe-Union, Inc.
on occasion of announcing the
erection of million dollar
plan in Tampa

• • •

"I am one of those who believe that the Atlanta method (in race relations) . . . is the one which is going to have the greatest success in evolving the new Southern way of life, which in many respects may not be so different from the old one but in all events will have removed from it the stigma of legal inferiority."

Robert L. Sommerville
President, Atlanta Transit System
as quoted in THE REPORTER

• • •

"The course of justice in Little Rock is strange indeed. While the white supremacist hoodlums who disgraced America so many weeks ago proceed about their business, Little Rock police are arresting the NAACP leaders who led the resistance against the racists."

Editorial Excerpt
From the
NEW YORK POST

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Minister's Statements:

Gainesville - May '58 NS
Grey

Dallas - June 58 "
aqua -

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Houston - Dec. '57
Purple

Atlanta - Resp. Persons -
Grey - Green Nov. 57

Richmond - April 57
Green -

Out of Conviction -
Ala 2nd Statement

Obedience to Law - Dec. 1958 -
Statement by Methodist Conf.
of Bishops -

March 61
March 57

Closing

PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Would Constitute

CATASTROPHE!

The undersigned physicians, acting as individuals, and representing no official organization, believe that the closing of the public schools in Atlanta and in Georgia would constitute a major catastrophe that would result in irreparable damage to the children of our city and state. We believe that closing the public schools would materially interfere with the supply of essential scientific personnel and would ultimately damage the health services of this region. We also recognize the far-reaching consequences to the spiritual, moral and economic welfare of our community.

We respectfully urge all of the people, and particularly the city and state, business, professional and political leaders to take whatever legal steps are necessary to prevent the closing of our public schools.

We, as individuals, further state our willingness to cooperate with other state and local citizens in a concerted effort to solve the problems arising out of the effort to maintain the public schools.

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Harold W. Adams
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The original signers of this statement, on December 21, 1958, numbered 419. Since then, additional doctors have asked to be added to the list. These doctors are listed alphabetically with the original signers.

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

Monday, December 1, 1958 Page 4

Emory Professors Plead for Schools

"Although private schools contribute greatly to education for democracy, both history and contemporary experience clearly indicate that the major portion of the educational load can be adequately borne only by the public school system."

This quote is from a statement by 250 full-time faculty members of a private school, Emory University, published yesterday. In a sense this appeal is fully as significant as that of 312 Atlanta ministers a week ago. It expresses again the growing concern of all citizens about the prospect of closed schools.

The document was signed by approximately 95 per cent of members of the faculties of the graduate school and of the college of arts and sciences at Emory, minus about 20 individuals absent from the campus on other duties. Acting on their own initiative from a realization of the consequences which would result from closing the schools, they appeal to Georgians to save, strengthen, and improve them.

As we have said here a number of times the state of Georgia may take the route of closed schools. If we so choose, however, the people of the state should be informed fully of the price they must pay. This the Emory professors point out in unmistakable terms:

"Every citizen should realize that even a partial interruption during one year of schooling will result in a decrease during the following years of the services of trained specialists such as physicians, dentists, nurses, county agricultural agents, engineers, lawyers, librarians, clergymen and teachers. If such an interruption continues even for a few years, the services of an entire generation in such professions and skills will be lost; and this will amount to nothing less that willful discrimination by the people of this region against themselves and their own children."

They warn us, too, of the economic consequences in pointing out that "many industries will not find it possible to remain in any section where there are no stable public educational facilities" and that "new business and industries will be reluctant to come to such a section."

They point out also that, in our challenge from the Russians, to close the public schools in any city, county, state or region of America is to play directly into the hands of communism.

The big issue, then, is not to close the schools but to find a way to preserve public education. If an outside agency can succeed in forcing us to commit partial suicide, the damage to the state will be permanent.

All thoughtful citizens can but be grateful to the Emory professors for speaking out. As educators these men know full well that all Georgia will suffer greatly if the schools are closed. The biggest challenge still is finding a way to prevent it.

We the undersigned

. . .who are full-time members of the faculties of Emory University, are opposed to the closing of the public schools in any section of the United States. We wish to point out the irreparable damage that will result from the closing of public schools, not only to the people of any particular community, but also to the state and nation at large.

Every citizen should realize that even a partial interruption during one year of schooling will result in a decrease during the following years of the services of trained specialists such as physicians, dentists, nurses, county agricultural agents, engineers, scientists, lawyers, librarians, clergymen and teachers. If such an interruption continues for even a few years, the services of an entire generation in such professions and skills will be lost; and this will amount to nothing less than wilfull discrimination by the people of this region against themselves and their own children.

WE AS CITIZENS should also realize that many industries will not find it possible to remain in any section where there are no stable public educational facilities for children of employees and no adequate supply of high school and college graduates for these industries. Furthermore, new businesses and industries will be reluctant to come to such a section. This is bound to have an unfavorable effect on the economic welfare of the state and all its citizens.

Those of us who are educators are seriously concerned with the consequences of Russia's systematic attempt to overtake us educationally, an attempt that has been alarmingly successful, as recent events have indicated. We cannot afford the folly of a weakened educational system, and we can even less afford no education at all. To close the public schools in any city, county, state, or region of America at this critical stage of world history is to play directly into the hands of communism.

EVEN APART from such considerations, an interruption in public school education would detract disastrously from its role in providing our children with a comprehension of the natural world around them, in appreciation of the heritage of civilized men and an understanding of the society in which they must live.

Although private schools contribute greatly to education for democracy, both history and contemporary experience clearly indicate that the major portion of the educational load can be adequately borne only by the public school system. We therefore earnestly appeal to our fellow citizens not to allow the closing of our schools, but to save them, strengthen them and improve them.

The Executive Committee of the United Churchwomen of Georgia have reprinted this thoughtful statement by responsible educators for the consideration of all who share a concern for the future because of the moral and practical crisis faced by our state regarding public schools.

'Out of Conviction'

A SECOND STATEMENT

on the

SOUTH'S RACIAL CRISIS

signed by 312 Ministers
of
Greater Atlanta

Printed by
GEORGIA COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

THE SECOND STATEMENT

Three hundred and twelve Ministers and Rabbis of the Greater Atlanta area, acting as individual citizens issued a statement on November 22nd, 1958, calling for the preservation of the public school system. Sixteen different denominations are represented among the signers. The text of the statement follows:

On November 3, 1957, a statement dealing with the racial crisis in the South, and signed by eighty Atlanta ministers, was released for publication. The fact that this statement, often referred to as "The Atlanta Manifesto", received widespread publicity through the secular and religious press, radio, and television, not only in the South but across the nation and abroad, was an eloquent commentary upon the nature of the crisis in which we are involved and upon the failure of many of our leaders to confront the problems of our day in a spirit of realism.

Six principles set forth in this statement as essential to the solution of our problem may be summarized as follows:

1. Freedom of speech must at all costs be preserved.

2. As Americans and as religious leaders, we have an obligation to obey the law.

3. The Public School System must not be destroyed.

4. Hatred and scorn for those of another race, or for those who hold a position different from our own, can never be justified.

5. Communication between responsible leaders of the races must be maintained.

6. Our difficulties cannot be solved in our own strength or in human wisdom but only through prayer and in obedience to the will of God.

The months which have elapsed since the signing of that statement have been a period of deepening danger. The events of the recent past have been such as to call for growing concern on the part of all responsible citizens. In the light of these events, we are more convinced than ever of the fundamental truth of these six principles. It is abundantly clear that they cannot be ignored with impunity.

Because of our involvement in this situation, as citizens and religious leaders, it has seemed to many Atlanta clergymen that some further statement on their part is appropriate. Out of that conviction comes this second statement. Once more we speak as individual citizens of Georgia and of the United States, having authority to represent no one other than ourselves. Once more we speak in humility and penitence. At the same time, we speak out of the deep conviction of our souls as to what is right. We believe some facts are now so clear as to throw additional light upon the problems which confront us.

I. It is clearer now than ever before that, at all costs, freedom of speech must be preserved. During the year which has past, it has not become easier to speak the truth concerning our situation. There are still forces which seek to deny freedom of thought and of expression to all who do not insist upon maintaining a rigid pattern of segregation. Economic reprisals, social ostracism, and even physical violence are constant threats to those who do not conform. Such threats strike at the very heart of democracy. As we insist upon the right of honest conviction — whether right or wrong — to be heard, we would pay tribute to the courageous individuals and groups in various walks of life who have insisted that our problem must be faced in a spirit of realism, of sanity, and of good will.

II. It is clearer now than ever before that we must obey the law. Those who insist that the decision of the Supreme Court on segregation in the public schools has no binding force do great injury to our people. The Supreme Court's interpretation of the Constitution has the effect of law in our country. It is possible for that Court to err, just as it is possible for Congress to enact bad laws. The citizens of our country have the right to work through legal processes to secure the correction of judicial errors or the repeal of undesirable legislation. They do not have the right to defy laws simply because they personally hold them to be unwise or harmful. A policy of obeying only those laws or those rulings of the Court with which we agree leads inevitably to anarchy. It is time for us to face up to the fact that, under the ruling of the Supreme Court, made in the discharge of its constitutional authority, enforced segregation in the public schools is now without support in, and contrary to, national law. At times in her history the Church has opposed civil law in the name of the claims of the higher laws of God. However, we believe that the Constitution of the United States in its provisions for human rights is in accord with Divine Law, and we must, therefore, learn to live with and under the law.

We do not believe in the wisdom of massive integration and are sincerely opposed to the amalgamation of the races. We reaffirm our conviction that the integrity of each race should be maintained on a basis of mutual esteem and free choice, rather than of force. There are some areas in which some integration in schools at this time would be possible without insurmountable difficulty, as has already been demonstrated in certain sections of the South; while there are other areas where such integration would involve needless hardship and grave danger. We have the hope that, if our leaders will offer evidence of good faith toward providing constitutional rights for all citizens, the federal government will be willing to leave the working out of details in local hands. We believe it is possible, under the ruling of the Supreme Court, for States to take reasonable steps to comply with the law of the land and at the same time give due consideration to local situations and avoid an indiscriminate desegregation of the public schools.

III. It is clearer now than ever before that the Public School System must be preserved. Many of our people have been led to believe that through some ficticious legal device we could close our public schools and still provide for public education through tax funds. Recent developments in Arkansas and Virginia serve to make it abundantly clear that any such hope is based solely upon wishful thinking. The choice which confronts us now is either the end of an enforced segregation in public schools or no public schools whatever. We are alarmed to note that many political leaders are apparently willing to offer no better solution than the closing of public schools and the destruction of public education in order to maintain what has been inappropriately described as "our sacred way of life". It is inconceivable that the South should deliberately destroy its dearly bought system of public education. The results of such action in the impoverishment of countless lives, in the loss to our section, even from a purely economic, ,viewpoint would be a tragedy of the first magnitude. It is not likely that the South would ever recover fully from the consequences of such action. Obviously, the closing of the public schools means a small and favored portion of our youth would be educated in private institutions, while the great majority, White and Negro, would recieve no school training worthy of the name. No democratic society can tolerate that situation, nor do we believe our citizens wish to sacrifice the welfare of our youth.

In this connection we would voice an emphatic protest against any suggestion that church property be used as a means of circumventing the law of the nation. The churches and synagogues owe a tremendous debt to the State and this we believe they would gladly repay in any legitimate way possible. There are times when the educational equipment of the churches should be offered to supplement the public school buildings in providing space for our growing school population, provided that the separation of Church and State shall always be recognized and maintained in such an agreement. We concur that churches and synagogues have the right, as they have always had, to engage as they may deem wise in educational enterprise in the interest of their constituencies. We believe, however, their facilities should not be offered nor demanded as a means for defying the constituted authority of our national government.

IV. It is clearer now than ever before that hatred and scorn for those of another race, or for those who hold a position different from our own can never be justified. All hatred between races and groups within society carries with it the constant threat of violence and bloodshed, as has been evidenced by the bombing of churches, synagogues, and schools even while this statement was being prepared. Defiance of one law leads to disrespect for all law. We would call upon our political leaders scrupulously to avoid the type of inflammatory utterance which has characterized too many public pronouncements in recent months and to exert an influence for sanity, for justice, and for kindness. We believe that multitudes of voters in the South as in all America are far more prepared to respond to and support fair-minded and statesmanlike attitudes and policies in political life than these men have realized. In any event, political power is by no means so important as to justify its attainment by the sacrifice of justice, of kindness, and of truth, and by the unleashing of these emotions which threaten the very life of our people.

V. It is clearer now than ever before that communication between responsible leaders of the races must be maintained. The time of danger is also the time of opportunity. It may well be that we are passing through that darkest hour which comes just before the dawn. Never has there been greater need than now for men of good will in both races to voice their convictions, to exert their influence, and to maintain open lines of communication. We are heartened by the intelligent concern and struggle of an increasing number of groups who are facing the issue and its implications. We are likewise heartened by the constructive results which are coming from those lines of communication which do exist between the races.

VI. It is clearer now than ever before that our difficulties cannot be solved in our own strength or in human wisdom but only through prayer, obedience to God, and under His blessing. The situation which confronts us is one which calls for sincere penitence, for earnest prayer, for clear thought, and for courageous action.

o

Believing sincerely in the principles set forth in this statement, we therefore propose the following practical steps:

1. We appeal to our churches and synagogues to encourage and promote within their fellowship a free and intelligent discussion of the issues we confront. We believe such discussion should and would give careful consideration to the moral, spiritual, and legal aspects of the crisis we face in our beloved Southland.

2. We appeal to our community and state leaders to give their most creative thought to maintaining a sound public school plan. Such plan must be consistant with the law of the land, respect and preserve the rights of all citizens, and assure the preservation of our system of public education.

3. We request the appointment of a Citizens'Commission to preserve the harmony of our community. The public officials of our city have earned the tribute of the nation for their refusal to condone violence and their efforts to realize worthy race relations. We believe that in the future the need will be great for the support of calm, intelligent public opinion. Atlanta possesses business, civic, educational, legal, political, and religious leadership of the quality to afford this support. We therefore request that representatives of this leadership from the races involved be formed into a Citizens' Commission to advise and assist in maintaining harmony and good will among all our citizens.

Every section of our state also possesses the same able leadership. We therefore believe that the appointment of a similar Citizens' Commission by the state administration would serve to preserve harmony among the citizens of Georgia.

o

We call upon all citizens to unite with us in dedicating ourselves to the solution of our problems humbly, patiently, in a spirit of realism, and with God's help.

Signed by:

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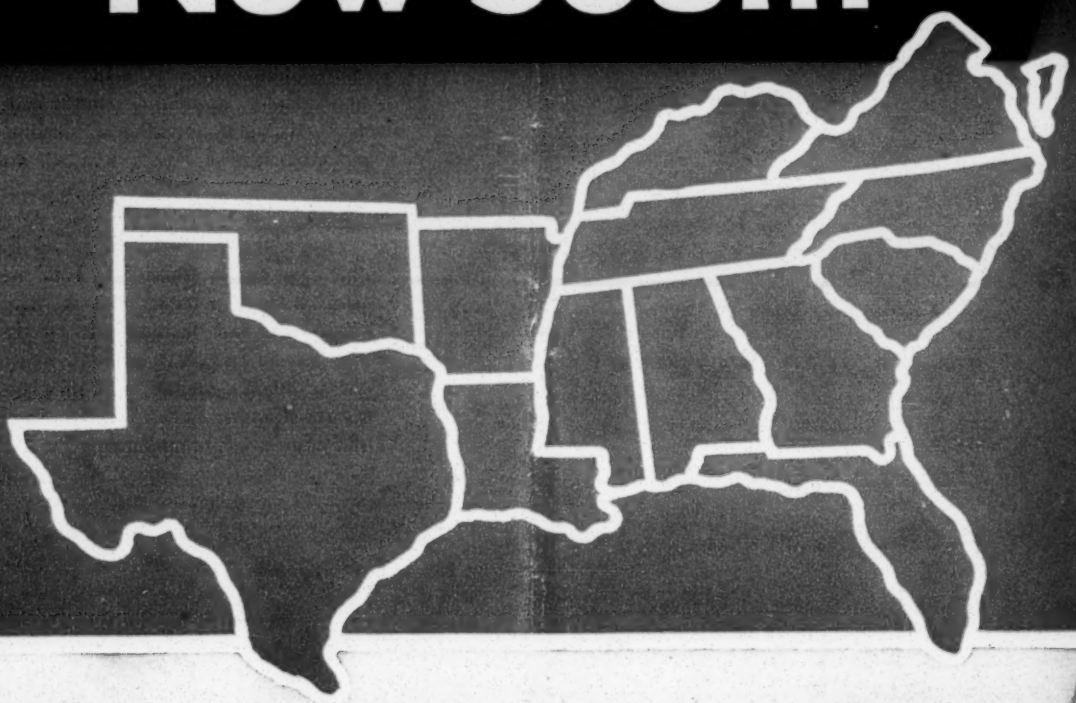

- Obedience to Law
- Meet, Know, and Listen
- Root Out Bitterness
- Give Positive Witness

DECEMBER / 1958

Published by

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta 3, Georgia

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DECEMBER, 1958

Volume 13 **Number 12**

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Subscription rate . . . . . $2.00 a year

New South is published monthly except August by Southern Regional Council, Inc., 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta, Georgia. Single copies may be purchased at twenty cents each; quantity rates on request.

New South Notes

Increasingly, religious leaders, as individuals and groups, are speaking out on the question of desegregation and on racial problems in general. Several years ago, *New South* published in a special edition statements of individual church bodies in which they called on persons of good will to work toward an orderly solution to our racial problems.

As desegregation moves nearer to the deep South, there has been increased racial tension; and so, once again, religious leaders are speaking out in an effort to help solve the problem evolving from the segregation controversy. *New South* in this issue reprints statements by the bishops from three leading church groups and reports on statements from two religious bodies.

On November 13, 1958, the Methodist Council of Bishops issued another statement on the race crisis. In this statement, the bishops review earlier statements and renew their plea for all citizens to obey the law.

On October 17, 1958, a pastoral letter from the Protestant Episcopal Bishops was read in the bishops' assembly. The letter, among other things, lists five truths as they see them and calls upon the church membership to seek communication in an effort to solve our current problems.

The third statement, which in tone is in keeping with the other two, is by the Catholic Bishops of the United States and was released November 14, 1958.

The other statements reported on in this issue came from the Eighth Assembly of the United Church Women and from the National Council of Churches.

Obedience to Law*

The Methodist Council of Bishops

In November, 1954, the Bishops in their message to the Church gave formal support to the decision of the Supreme Court of May 17, 1954, abolishing segregation in the public-school system. In that statement, we affirmed that the ruling of the High Court was in keeping with the attitude of the Methodist Church as expressed in its official pronouncements, both in the Social Creed and in the episcopal address of 1952. These pronouncements were affirmed in the general conference of 1956.

In addition, the general conference of 1956, apparently anticipating the difficulties which would be involved in the enforcement of the decisions, approved the following statement with respect to the decisions of the Supreme Court relative to segregation:

"The decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States relative to segregation make necessary far-reaching and often difficult community adjustments throughout the nation. We call upon our people to effect these adjustments in all good faith, with brotherliness and patience. In doing this, all racial groups must be willing to admit their imperfections and seek to correct them. Let these things, however, be done in love, lest the cause of Christ suffer at our hands."

We reaffirm our support of the Supreme Court in the decisions relative to segregation in the public-school system, and earnestly urge all our people to accept the rulings of the courts in good faith. We seek with the guidance of the Holy Spirit to create that kind of social climate which will work toward the elimination of friction between any and all racial groups and ultimately achieve the realization of Christian brotherhood in all community relationships — North and South and everywhere in the world.

We heartily commend those lay people, pastors and Bishops who have demonstrated Christian courage in critical areas. In these days of extreme tensions we commend our people who, while not always sharing the same attitudes on integration, are determined to demonstrate in their own lives the qualities of understanding, tolerance and brotherhood.

We are disturbed by a growing disregard of law evidenced by the bombing of synagogues, churches, schools and even private dwellings. We would remind our people that equal justice can be had only under law. To obey the law only when it suits us is to invite others to do likewise, and that ultimately leads to anarchy.

We, therefore, call upon our people to treat obedience to and respect for law as a Christian moral obligation, and to see to it that, if and when any law needs to be revised, strengthened or eliminated, it be done not by resort to force or violence but by legally established legislative procedure.

**Issued November 13, 1958*

Meet, Know, and Listen

Pastoral Letter from Protestant Episcopal Bishops

October 17, 1958

This letter is written against the background of our unforgettable experience at the recent Lambeth Conference. For forty days we had once again the privilege of meeting with Bishops of the Anglican Communion from many parts of the world. We came from every continent, were members of every race and many nations, and revealed in our fellowship—not only the encouraging growth of our communion—but also that it is part of the Holy Catholic Church which includes members of every race and nation. We saw anew, against the background of the world's terrible divisions, the oneness of mankind in Christ; we saw that "in Christ there is no East or West"; we saw that only a world body, freed from the passions and enmities that divide men, can bring a healing and reconciling word to our world. The Lambeth Conference was a symbol of that unity toward which the whole world groans and travails.

The most urgent and frightening fact in our world is the terrible divisiveness setting men against men—rival nationalisms, opposing philosophies, competing economic systems, and fierce racial tensions. An old order is struggling in pain to be born. In this fierce competition and contest for one solution or another all mankind is swept along. As we dealt with these divisions in our Lambeth deliberations we recognized the stubborn depths of the problem, the passionate fears and resentments that divide men.

We recognized that we in America share this common world problem; for America is divided, not only by deep racial tensions, but by the breakdown of communication between those of different convictions, sometimes even between clergy and people. Since wholeness is health; since division is sorrow

and sickness; since in this terrible world division can mean death, we write to you on the subject of unity and reconciliation. We do so with a great sense of urgency, not to tell you what to do in your specific situations, but rather to share with you five great truths that will help us all to act more truly wherever we may be.

First, even if no report had been issued by Lambeth, it would still have been a notable experience; for at the conference we lived with one another under the same roof, broke bread together, prayed beside one another and knelt side by side at the Holy Communion. We enjoyed the deepest fellowship.

In our world's travail toward unity we would remind you that there is nothing that can take the place of this face-to-face meeting, this deep fellowship, this communion of souls. It is tragically easy to treat other people as "things" and without personal acquaintance to forget that all mankind desires, needs, hopes and fears the same things. The meeting of others is a creative experience, giving to each the knowledge of our common humanity, lifting us out of our private worlds, giving us the humbling knowledge that often our proudest thoughts are not true but the slanted thinking of our particular group, and thus making us more open to God's purposes for us.

Because real meeting elevates the soul and purifies the mind, we ask you, as Christian people, amid all the tensions and visions of our world, to meet and know and listen to your brethren of other races and groups. It was Archbishop William Temple who said that if any man thinks in terms of the common good and seeks the common good, he is a converted man, but such thinking and acting can come only as we rise above our particular groups by a first hand knowledge of, and deep fellowship with, those who are our Brethren in Christ. It was not simply Lambeth which represented mankind; our own Episcopal Church has within its fellowship rich and poor, white and Negro, Orientals, Indians, and Latin Americans. Meet and know your brethren in Christ.

Government

Second, since Lambeth Palace is close to the Houses of Parliament, many of us were led to reflect anew on the meaning of law and government. In Christian thought government is a structure appointed by God for the common good. Its function and responsibility is to care for the outer order and framework of our common life. All of us need to be protected. We need the orderly and impartial administration of justice for the protection of our property, our safety, and our hard-won rights.

St. Paul recognized this when he appealed to Caesar, and when in the Epistle to the Romans he wrote. "The powers that be are ordained by God." The law is a minister of God for good. It is God's instrument. It makes civilized life possible, and enables us to live together in peace. It restrains our selfishness and wildness, and, while it cannot change our hearts, it does provide the indispensable outer framework of our unity.

The people of this land do not need to be reminded at this moment of the evils of tyranny, but we do need to be

Meet

(Continued)

reminded now of the evils of anarchy. Anarchy, the absence of law and order, is a greater evil than tyranny, and leads to tyranny. Anarchy is the absence of order; tyranny is an order of sorts.

It is for this reason that Christians are taught to honor government and to pray for "all Christian rulers, that they may truly and impartially administer justice, to the punishment of wickedness and vice." Without that outer framework of order no unity is possible, and any man who seeks to undermine the rule of impartial justice is inviting disaster for the nation. It is only for the gravest and clearest principle of conscience relating to a serious moral issue that one may contemplate civil disobedience. And, because all order is at stake, such disobedience can only be justified when it is based on a higher ethical principle than the law represents. Never is it right when the disobedience is the expression of a lower ethical standard than the law would enforce. We call upon you, therefore, at this time to honor and obey the laws of this land.

Judgment

Third, we saw vividly at Lambeth the judgment of God upon all our divisions and conflicts. This judgment is a great fact that concerns us all and because of which we all will suffer. The judgment of God—what is it? It is not some extraneous power falling upon us with no relationship to our behavior. It is not the capricious will of any arbitrary tyrant. It is not the opinion of bishops. It is not a quotation from the Bible.

God's judgment is the response of a just God to the offenses of mankind against His living will. It is the inevitable result we bring upon ourselves when we move against the grain of His universe. It is the inevitable result of our inner contradictions. It is God frustrating our purposes when we oppose His will. This judgment is as real as God is, and as powerful, for it is God himself seeing our sins and acting in history to accomplish His will in spite of our sins. You will find the judgment of God reported in your daily newspaper, in the event of history, in the clash and contradiction of rival ambitions and fears, in the hatred and suspicion we earn when we fail to deal justly with those with whom we share this narrow world.

Majority

We must remember that the majority of mankind belongs to the colored races, and that the American racial problem is discussed the world over. Much of the goodwill which early missionaries gained has been lost. Much of the goodwill which our nation once enjoyed has been lost. If America continues to lose friends as others become convinced that we do not mean what we say about justice and equality, the reason will be obvious. The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether. These judgments are the plain cost we pay in God's universe for not practicing what we preach, and for not being ready to grant to others the opportunity and equality we cherish for ourselves.

Two strong motives, therefore, should drive us to our duty. One is the love for all men which the Holy Spirit pours into our hearts, the divine spirit that

urges us toward unity. But if our hearts are sometimes dull, let us then do the will of God because the fear of His judgment grips our hearts. "Imprint upon our hearts," says the prayer book, "such a dread of Thy judgments, and such a grateful sense of Thy goodness to us, as may make us both afraid and ashamed to offend Thee." This is God's world, and He punishes us together as we move against His will. If Africa and Asia should turn finally against us, it could well be because the colored races became convinced they must look elsewhere for justice. It is only when we lift our eyes from our immediate problems to see God's reign, His Grace and wrath, that we think and act truly.

Fourth, it must be evident to all that as more than three hundred bishops at Lambeth debated the deepest problems of the day—racial and group tension, nuclear warfare, the problems of the family—that these debates were often charged with the deepest emotion. But our unity was never threatened, because we built—not chiefly on emotion—but on the calm and clear light of reason. Voices were not raised, arguments were never personal, and our fellowship, therefore, was never threatened.

Emotion

The division of the world—national, class, and racial—are always accompanied by deep emotion. But emotion on this subject, as we can observe in many American communities, is deeply divisive. Indeed, in some communities unity is an impossibility because people have in their emotional blocs lost the ability to communicate one with the other. If we build on emotion, the end is conflict.

We need to give a larger place to the liberating, manly, and noble quality of reason. Of course we share with the rest of God's creation on the emotional drives of life—fear, rage and hunger. But part of what the Bible means when it speaks of our being made in God's image is that we can reason. By the calm, impersonal unifying process of shared thought we are set free from the control of passion to find one another and the commonwealth of humanity. If we carefully search for truth, we will be led together to God, who is the source of all truth.

Talk Together

Let us not think that like children we can shout down other people and their wishes and interests. They are not ghosts, nor children to be frightened away. There is only one way for free men to overcome conflict and that is by talking together in reasonable self-control, and thus finding a third way which will lead to peace. Christians who believe in the God Who is the source of all truth ought to be the first ones to claim this privilege of reason.

Therefore, we ask everyone in this nation to keep his voice down, his arguments impersonal, and to recognize "the stubborn depths of the problem, the passionate fears and resentments that divide men." We ask everyone to recognize that reason and not emotion will unite our torn communities, that discussion must be carried on by all without any note of superiority or servility, and that when we confront one another, we are to do so in a brotherly fashion.

Meet

(Continued)

Finally, we speak about the church, to which, by God's mercy, we all belong. We are the church's people; but the church is not ours. It is God's creation, the body of which Jesus Christ is the head and all baptized people are the members. Nobody can destroy it, for it is built on a rock and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. Our Lord Christ is mankind's one true hope of unity, for by one Spirit are we all baptized into one body, whether we be Jews or Gentiles, whether we be bond or free. By His redeeming love Christ has broken down the middle wall of partition between us, and has made us one in Him. And He has given us the honor of sharing that unity, and of continuing his reconciling work. The church, when it truly understands itself, is thus the reconciling community in the life of the national community. And every parish or mission, however small, is the great church at work in its neighborhood, a manifestation at the local level of the all-embracing love of Christ and of the world fellowship re-revealed in part at Lambeth.

In our world, as St. Paul wrote, two spirits contend one with another for the hearts of men. The first spirit is the self-centered spirit of man leading inevitably to hatred and division. The cries of "my class," "my race," "my clan" rend the world community. This is the spirit of the world—the spirit of pride, exclusiveness, and separation. "Now the works of the flesh," says the Apostle are " . . . hatred, variance, emulations, wrath, strife, seditions, heresies."

The other spirit ever guiding the church (as we saw at Lambeth and know from this convention) is the spirit of God drawing men together. It is this Holy Spirit Who leads us to love our brethren, who humbles our spirits as they are convicted of sin, Who leads us to a unity not of our making. This spirit raises us above self to see God's will and plan for all men. It is the spirit of humility, of inclusiveness, and of love ever warring against our hard hearts. In our work of reconciliation we must never think of ourselves as alone, but always as guided and sustained by Christ Himself present and working in our midst. "But the fruit of the spirit," says St. Paul, "is love, joy, peace, longsuffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance. . . . If we live in the spirit, let us walk in the spirit."

We have spoken about five great truths that can help us to see and do God's will wherever we may be—the creative meeting of souls, the sacredness of law, God's judgment on our divisions, the light of reason, and the membership we share together in the church guided by the spirit.

We said at the beginning that we were not attempting to tell anybody what to do in his specific situation. Provided they have a true perspective, we believe that God's children are quite able to make the necessary, creative decisions which are part of our reconciling task. If we suffer in that endeavor, count it always a privilege to suffer for God and His truth.

Care for your souls, brethren, amid the passions and prejudices of our day, and remember that truth alone is strong.

Root Out of Hearts All Bitterness and Hatred

Catholic

Bishops of U. S.

November 14, 1958

Fifteen years ago, when this nation was devoting its energies to a world war designed to maintain human freedom, the Catholic Bishops of the United States issued a prayerful warning to their fellow citizens. We called for the extension of full freedom within the confines of our beloved country. Specifically, we noted the problems faced by Negroes in obtaining the rights that are theirs as Americans. The statement of 1943 said in part:

> In the Providence of God there are among us millions of fellow citizens of the Negro race. We owe to these fellow citizens, who have contributed so largely to the development of our country, and for whose welfare history imposes on us a special obligation of justice, to see that they have in fact the rights which are given them in our Constitution. This means not only political equality but also fair economic and educational opportunities, a just share in public-welfare projects, good housing without exploitation, and a full chance for the social advancement of their race.

In the intervening years, considerable progress was made in achieving these goals. The Negro race, brought to this country in slavery, continued its quiet but determined march toward the goal of equal rights and equal opportunity. During and after the second World War, great and even spectacular advances were made in the obtaining of voting rights, good education, better-paying jobs and adequate housing. Through the efforts of men of good will, of every race and creed and from all parts of the nation, the barriers of prejudice and discrimination were slowly but inevitably eroded.

Hearts

(Continued)

Because this method of quiet conciliation produced such excellent results, we have preferred the path of action to that of exhortation. Unfortunately, however, it appears that, in recent years, the issues have become confused and the march toward justice and equality has been slowed if not halted in some areas. The transcendent moral issues involved have become obscured and possibly forgotten.

Nation Divided

Our nation now stands divided by the problems of compulsory segregation of the races and the opposing demand for racial justice. No region of our land is immune from strife and division resulting from this problem. In one area, the key issue may concern the schools. In another, it may be conflicts over housing. Job discrimination may be the focal point in still other sectors. But all these issues have one main point in common. They reflect the determination of our Negro people, and we hope the overwhelming majority of our white citizens, to see that our colored citizens obtain their full rights as given to them by God, the Creator of all, and guaranteed by the democratic traditions of our nation.

There are many facets to the problems raised by the quest for racial justice. There are issues of law, of history, of economics and of sociology. There are questions of procedure and technique. There are conflicts in cultures. Volumes have been written on each of these phases. Their importance we do not deny. But the time has come, in our considered and prayerful judgment, to cut through the maze of secondary or less-essential issues and to come to the heart of the problem.

The heart of the race question is moral and religious. It concerns the rights of man and our attitude toward our fellow man. If our attitude is governed by the great Christian law of love of neighbor and respect for his rights, then we can work out harmoniously the techniques for making legal, educational, economic and social adjustments. But if our hearts are poisoned by hatred, or even by indifference toward the welfare and rights of our fellow men, then our nation faces a grave internal crisis.

No one who bears the name of Christian can deny the universal love of God for all mankind. When Our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, "took on the form of man" (Phil. 2, 7) and walked among men, He taught as the first two laws of life the love of God and the love of fellow man. "By this shall all men know that you are my disciples, that you have love, one for the other" (John 13, 35). He offered His life in sacrifice for all mankind. His parting mandate to His followers was to "teach all nations" (Matt. 28, 19).

Universal Faith

Our Christian faith is of its nature universal. It knows not the distinctions of race, color, or nationhood. The missionaries of the church have spread throughout the world, visiting with equal impartiality nations such as China and India, whose ancient cultures antedate the coming of the Saviour, and the primitive tribes of the Americas. The

love of Christ and the love of the Christian, knows no bounds. In the words of Pope Pius XII, addressed to American Negro publishers 12 years ago, "All men are brothered in Jesus Christ; for He, through God, became also man, became a member of the human family, a brother of all" (May 27, 1946).

Even those who do not accept our Christian tradition should at least acknowledge that God has implanted in the souls of all men some knowledge of the natural moral law and a respect for its teachings. Reason alone taught philosophers through the ages respect for the sacred dignity of each human being and the fundamental rights of man. Every man has an equal right to life, to justice before the law, to marry and rear a family under human conditions, and to an equitable opportunity to use the goods of this earth for his needs and those of his family.

From these solemn truths, there follow certain conclusions vital for a proper approach to the problems that trouble us today. First, we must repeat the principle—embodied in our Declaration of Independence—that all men are equal in the sight of God. By equal we mean that they are created by God and redeemed by His Divine Son, that they are bound by His Law, and that God desires them as His friends in the eternity of heaven. This fact confers upon all men human dignity and human rights. Men are unequal in talent and achievement. They differ in culture and personal characteristics.

Some are saintly, some seem to be evil, most are men of good will, though beset with human frailty. On the basis of personal differences we may distinguish among our fellow men, remembering always the admonition: "Let him who is without sin . . . cast the first stone . . . " (Jn. 8, 7). But discrimination based on the accidental fact of race or color, and, as such, injurious to human rights regardless of personal qualities or achievements, cannot be reconciled with the truth that God has created all men with equal rights and equal dignity.

Secondly, we are bound to love our fellow man. The Christian love we bespeak is not a matter of emotional likes or dislikes. It is a firm purpose to do good to all men, to the extent that ability and opportunity permit.

Reasons

Among all races and national groups, class distinctions are inevitably made on the basis of like-mindedness or a community of interests. Such distinctions are normal and constitute a universal social phenomenon. They are accidental, however, and are subject to change as conditions change. It is unreasonable and injurious to the rights of others that a factor such as race, by and of itself, should be made a cause of discrimination and a basis for unequal treatment in our mutual relations.

The question then arises: Can enforced segregation be reconciled with the Christian view of our fellow man? In our judgment it cannot, and this for two fundamental reasons.

1. Legal segregation, or any form of compulsory segregation, in itself and by its very nature imposes a stigma of inferiority upon the segregated people. Even if the now-obsolete Court doctrine of "separate but equal" had been carried out to the fullest extent, so that

Hearts

(Continued)

all public and semipublic facilities were, in fact, equal, there is nonetheless the judgment that an entire race, by the sole fact of race and regardless of individual qualities, is not fit to associate on equal terms with members of another race.

We cannot reconcile such a judgment with the Christian view of man's nature and rights. Here again it is appropriate to cite the language of Pope Pius XII: "God did not create a human family made up of segregated, dissociated, mutually independent members. No; He would have them all united by the bond of total love of Him and consequent self-dedication to assisting each other to maintain that bond intact" (Sept. 7, 1956).

Historical Fact

2. It is a matter of historical fact that segregation in our country has led to oppressive conditions and the denial of basic human rights for the Negro. This is evident in the fundamental fields of education, job opportunity and housing. Flowing from these areas of neglect and discrimination are problems of health and the sordid train of evils so often associated with the consequent slum conditions. Surely Pope Pius XII must have had these conditions in mind when he said just two months ago: "It is only too well known, alas, to what excesses pride of race and racial hate can lead. The Church has always been energetically opposed to attempts of genocide or practices arising from what is called the 'color bar' " (Sept. 5, 1958).

One of the tragedies of racial oppression is that the evils we have cited are being used as excuses to continue the very conditions that so strongly fostered such evils. Today we are told that Negroes, Indians and also some Spanish-speaking Americans differ too much in culture and achievements to be assimilated in our schools, factories and neighborhoods. Some decades back the same charge was made against the immigrant: Irish, Jewish, Italian, Polish, Hungarian, German, Russian. In both instances differences were used by some as a basis for discrimination and even for bigoted ill-treatment. The immigrant, fortunately, has achieved his rightful status in the American community. Economic opportunity was wide open and educational equality was not denied to him.

Negro citizens seek these same opportunities. They wish an education that does not carry with it any stigma of inferiority. They wish economic advancement based on merit and skill. They wish their civil rights as American citizens. They wish acceptance based upon proved ability and achievement. No one who truly loves God's children will deny them this opportunity.

Courage

To work for this principle amid passions and misunderstandings will not be easy. It will take courage. But quiet and perservering courage has always been the mark of a true follower of Christ.

We urge that concrete plans in this field be based on prudence. Prudence may be called a virtue that inclines us to view problems in their proper per-

spective. It aids us to use the proper means to secure our aim.

The problems we inherit today are rooted in decades, even centuries, of custom and cultural patterns. Changes in deep-rooted attitudes are not made overnight. When we are confronted with complex and far-reaching evils, it is not a sign of weakness or timidity to distinguish among remedies and reforms. Some changes are more necessary than others. Some are relatively easy to achieve. Others seem impossible at this time. What may succeed in one area may fail in another.

It is a sign of wisdom, rather than weakness, to study carefully the problems we face, to prepare for advances, and to bypass the nonessential if it interferes with essential progress. We may well deplore a gradualism that is merely a cloak for inaction. But we equally deplore rash impetuosity that would sacrifice the achievements of decades in ill-timed and ill-considered ventures. In concrete matters we distinguish between prudence and inaction by asking the question: Are we sincerely and earnestly acting to solve these problems, We distinguish between prudence and rashness by seeking the prayerful and considered judgment of experienced counselors who have achieved success in meeting similar problems.

For this reason we hope and earnestly pray that responsible and sober-minded Americans of all religious faiths, in all areas of our land, will seize the mantle of leadership from the agitator and the racist. It is vital that we act now and act decisively. All must act quietly, courageously and prayerfully before it is too late.

For the welfare of our nation we call upon all to root out from their heart bitterness and hatred. The tasks we face are indeed difficult. But hearts inspired by Christian love will surmount these diffiiculties. Clearly, then, these problems are vital and urgent. May God give this nation the grace to meet the challenge it faces. For the sake of generations of future Americans, and indeed of all humanity, we cannot fail.

A report from the National Council of Churches has asked churches to "express strong support for the implementation of the Supreme Court decision concerning school integration. The report, issued November 28, 1958, is the result of a recent gathering of 600 lay and clergy delegates at the Fifth World Order Study Conference. The conference was sponsored by the National Council.

The report called upon "the churches to give strong support for policies in each state which provide for positive steps toward the integration of schools."

"The churches must begin with themselves. There is a great gulf between what they say on a national or denomination level and what they do or encourage or permit in many communities."

Give Positive Witness

United

Church Women

8th National Assembly

October 30, 1958

As responsible Christians, we claim the right to obey God in the affairs of men. We believe that the moral substance of the Supreme Court decision with regard to integration in the public schools is in accord with Christian concensus and conscience and therefore deserves Christian support. Moreover, we recognize the inescapable fact that in all states of these United States desegration in the various public facilities, including public schools, is the law of the land and ultimately this law must prevail if our nation is to avoid anarchy, loss of self respect, loss of any major claim to moral leadership in world affairs.

We deplore the unchristian acts and attitudes of some of our citizens expressing hatred of certain of our fellow-citizens, but we believe that there are great reservoirs of good will among concerned Christians in our respective communities. Even the present tensions cannot obscure the fact that significant progress has been made in race relations. We recognize that concerned Christians in our communities who made that progress possible continue to be the Christian conscience of their communities. We, in this Assembly, wish to reinforce and undergird their efforts by the following recommendations:

1. That we continue to work toward the elimination of discrimination in housing, public schools, health and recreational facilities, transportation and public accommodations;
2. That we support any effort in our local communities to establish intergroup organizations, interracial councils to work on community problems;
3. That we urge the President of the United States to call a White House Conference on integration as soon as possible;
4. That we in our churches give a positive Christian witness by working with the people in the community in which the church is located; and that we use the church facilities to work toward a more inclusive fellowship rather than lend them to purposes for perpetuating segregation.

. . . Unquote

" . . . the time has come when governmental officials must tell their people the unpleasant truth without equivocation, because, unless the people know the truth and understand the alternatives involved, only anarchy can result. Integration and segregation must cease to be political issues exploited for political gain."

Ralph E. Odum,
Assistant Attorney General,
Florida,
Quoted in U. S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT

• • •

"Teachers are asking me by the dozens, 'What shall we do about next year, Shall we leave the system or the state?' We're going to lose these teachers and the State of Virginia is going to lose them."

J. J. Brewbaker, Superintendent,
Norfolk Public Schools
Quoted in ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

• • •

"There are indications that Virginians in increasing numbers are coming to the realization that massive resistance has run its course and that further reliance upon it is futile. There is developing support for the view that some integration is preferable by far to closed schools and no public education at all . . . "

From an editorial in
ROANOKE (VA.) TIMES

"We believe that a strong and complete public school system is vital to the educational and economic life of Norfolk. It is essential in the attempts of the community to attract and hold business enterprise. It is essential in encouraging families of servicemen, on duty in the area, to live in Norfolk, and to insure that Naval facilities now maintained in Norfolk are not diverted to other areas because Norfolk public schools are closed."

The Norfolk Committee
for Public Schools
From statement of purpose

• • •

"Talking . . . in terms of realities, we should recognize the United States Supreme Court decision can only be changed by the Court, itself, or by a constitutional amendment declaring racial segregation in public schools permissible. And no one seriously expects that either of these things will happen."

Governor Leroy Collins
of Florida
Quoted in WASHINGTON
POST AND TIMES HERALD

• • •

"We unalterably oppose all practices of racial segregation. We withhold permission to use our church buildings as segregated schools in an effort to disobey the mandate of the Supreme Court."

The Evangelical United
Brethren Church
Quoted by ASSOCIATED PRESS

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NAME_____

STREET_____

CITY_____ STATE_____

Research Materials

School Desegregation Dates:

Nashville - Aug. 27, 1957 13 Negro 1st graders registered
Sept. 9, 1956 was the first day of school

Clinton - Aug. 27, 1957

Charlotte, N.C. - Sept., 1957)
) opened and desegregated on the same day by
Winston-Salem, N.C. - Sept., 1957) agreement

Norfolk, Va. - The schools were supposed to open on Sept. 8, the date was postponed to the 22nd and to the 29th when they were finally closed by the governor. They reopned in Feb., 1959.

Charlottesville, Va. - Sept., 1959

Miami, Fla. - Sept., 1959

ELECTIONS AND APPOINTMENTS

1. **Negroes Elected to State Legislative Bodies:**

Maryland - Harry A. Cole, Maryland's first Negro state senator, is elected as a Republican from Baltimore's fourth district, November 1954.

The first Negroes to serve in the Maryland House are elected from Baltimore-- Emory Cole, Republican; Truly Hatchett, Democrat. 1954.

Mrs. Irma G. Dixon was elected to Maryland Legislature, November 1958.

Kentucky - Felix S. Anderson, fourth member of his race to serve in the Kentucky General Assembly, was appointed head of the Committee of Suffrage, Elections, and Appointments in the Kentucky House of Representatives.

Missouri- Leroy Tyrus, James Troupe, Sr., and J. McKinley Neal were elected to the Legislature of the State of Missouri in November 1956.

2. **Negro City Councilmen:**

Arkansas - Fred W. Martin defeated two white candidates to win a city Council seat in Hot Springs from the predominantly Negrosecond ward, November 1954.

A. C. Wallace, Sr. was elected to Alexander City Council, November 1955.

Kentucky - A Negro served as acting mayor in Louisville for the first time when the Board of Aldermen selected Alderman Wm. W. Beckett to act for several days in the absence of the mayor, November 1955.

Maryland - Walter T. Dixon became Baltimore's first Negro councilman in 24 years upon his election in November 1954.

Missouri - Fred Smith was elected to the Sikeston City Council in May 1953.

N. Carolina - Chapel Hill, Hubert Robinson re-elected to Board of Aldermen, 1957.

Durham, R. N. Harris, first Negro elected to city council, 1953; G. S. Steward elected in 1957.

Greensboro, in 1955 Dr. Wm. M. Hampton, having served two terms on city council, did not seek re-election. Waldo C. Falkener was elected 1959.

North Carolina - continued:

Fayetteville, Harry Groves was elected to city council in 1955, the second Negro to serve; the first served from 1949 to 1953.

Kingston, Mrs. J. J. Hannibal was elected to city council in 1959.

Southern Pines, T. T. Morse in 1955 became first Negro to be elected to city council. Felton J. Capel was elected in 1959.

Wilson, Dr. G. K. Butterfield was re-elected to city council in 1955. (First elected 1953).

Winston-Salem, Rev. Wm. Crawford was elected to Board of Aldermen in 1951, re-elected in 1953, and again 1955. The Rev. Kenneth W. Williams is city council member, according to 1959 report.

Tennessee - Nashville, Two Negro councilmen are presently in office in Nashville, Robert C. Lillard and Z. Alexander Looby. (Mr. Looby was first elected in 1951, won re-election in 1955 and 1959.)

Oak Ridge, Washington R. Butler, Jr. was elected fall of 1955. ~~died in 1957 and was replaced by Van Bruckner, also a Negro, in 1957.~~

Texas - Port Arthur, John C. Ford, first Negro councilman, elected fall of 1955; died in 1957 and was replaced by Van Bruckner, also a Negro, in 1957.

Slaton, L. L. Dixon elected to city council, 1960.

West Virginia - The Seventh Ward of the city of Huntington elected the Rev. J. Carl Mitchell to the city council in November 1956.

3. <u>Negro Members of School Boards:</u>

Statewide - Dr. Harold L. Trigg was reappointed to North Carolina State Board of Education in April 1957.

Arkansas - Charles Knott was elected member of Dollarway School Board, 1950-55.

Delaware - Wm. J. Lewis was a member of the Wilmington school board in 1956.

Georgia - Dr. Rufus E. Clement, first elected to the Atlanta School Board in 1953, re-elected in 1957.

W. C. Ervin elected to the Augusta Board of Education in 1952.

Two new positions on the Gainesville Board of Education were created by the city commission in 1954 and Negroes were appointed to fill both places. Appointees were Dr. E. E. Butler and D. S. Lowe, Jr. 1954.

Kentucky - Woodford R. Porter was elected to school board in Louisville, Nov. 1958.

Maryland - Dr. Aris T. Allen was serving on the Anne Arundel County school board in July 1957.

Mrs. Helen Coleman Waters was appointed a member of the Dorchester County school board (Cambridge) by Governor McKeldin, July 1956.

Doswell E. Brooks was appointed a member of the seven-man Prince Georges County Board of Education to fill unexpired term, Dec. 1956.

Missouri - Rev. John T. Hicks was elected to St. Louis Board of Education in 1959.

North Carolina - Chapel Hill, Rev. J. R. Manley elected to school board, 1959.

Durham, R. N. Harris elected in 1958.

Greensboro, City Council reappointed Dr. Wm. M. Hampton in March 1958. Dr. David D. Jones was, prior to his death in 1955, a member of the school board.

Raleigh, F. J. Carnage has been school member since 1949; re-appointed in 1955 and again in 1959.

Rocky Mount, Dr. Joseph W. Parker elected unanimously by city Board of Aldermen in January 1957.

Southern Pines, P. T. York is a member of the Board of Education, 1959.

Winston-Salem, Rev. Wm. R. Crawford was on school board in 1959.

South Carolina - W. T. Wildy is a member of the Beaufort County school board.

Texas - Mrs. Charles E. White was elected to the Houston school board by margin of 6,296 votes, November 1958.

L. Other Appointive or Elective Offices Held by Members of the Negro Race:

Alabama - Two Negroes were elected to county Democratic committee posts in Mobile in 1954.

The first Negro member of the Birmingham Community Council was appointed in May 1954.

Mayor Joseph N. Langan of Mobile appointed a 28 member bi-racial committee on human relations in April 1956. The 15 white and 13 Negro appointees are to work in the fields of housing, health and sanitation, political rights, employment and business, education, and recreation.

Arkansas - Three Negroes wer appointed to the State Democratic Committee in the fall of 1954; three others were named in June 1955.

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4. (Other Appointive or Elective Offices, continued:)

Delaware, Governor J. Caleb Boggs appointed a bi-racial committee of five to work with him on a program of human relations in the state in September 1955.

Florida: Miami, First Negro judge in the South since Reconstruction was appointed in April 1950 (Judge L. E. Thomas). He presided over all-Negro court for 5½ years. Present judge of the city's Negro court is also a Negro, John D. Johnson.

Henry H. Arrington is on Miami Housing Authority. Arrington was dismissed from appointive office of assistant state attorney in 1956.

Georgia: Two Negroes were elected to the Fulton County Executive Committee of the Democratic Party, September 1958: Dr. C. A. Bacote and Mr. J. C. Daugherty.

Kentucky: Senator Earle C. Clements appointed Julius Elliott Price, 17, to the U. S. Military Academy, the first appointment of a Kentucky Negro by a Kentucky congressman. May 1955.

Frankfort--The governor appointed a Negro aide, between 1954-56.

Louisville--Mrs. Frances Parrish is the first Negro to serve as executive supervisor for the city Division of Recreation. Since her appointment she has supervised both white and Negro personnel. 1954-56.

Louisiana: New Orleans--Alexander Lanesuville, Special Assistant in the Office of Veterans Administrator in New Orleans, was appointed and is the first Negro to serve in this capacity in the South. October 1954.

Postmaster General Arthur Summerfield appointed Frank Walker an administrative aide in Postal Transportation; he is first to serve in such a post in the South. Fall 1954.

For the first time in recent history, a Negro was appointed by the District Attorney of New Orleans to serve on his special investigative staff. May 1954.

Mrs. V. B. Hill was elected to the New Orleans Teachers Retirement Fund, 1955.

Gilbert Porterfield was named to congressional staff of Congressman F. Edward Hebert, for "liaison in the area of race relations." December 1954.

Maryland: Baltimore--Mrs. Lena K. Lee became the first Negro appointed by the mayor to the Baltimore Redevelopment Commission, 1955.

Dr. Martin D. Jenkins was appointed a member of the permanent advisory commission on Higher Education (Baltimore) in January 1957.

A Domestic Relations Court was set up in 1955 and George Rosedom, the first Negro appointed an assistant state's attorney (February 1954) was the only member from that office assigned to the court. At the same time, the court appointed two social workers as consultant-advisors, one of them a Negro. 1955.

4. (Other Appointive or Elective Offices, continued:)

Maryland, continued:

Appointment of the first Negro U. S. Deputy Marshall in Maryland, Wm. A. Harris, was announced. 1956.

John Hargrove was appointed Assistant U. S. Attorney. (Between 1954-56)

The appointment of E. Everett Lane as an associate judge of the Peoples' Court of Baltimore City was announced by Governor McKeldin in January 1957 to fill an unexpired term. Term expired 1958.

Governor McKeldin appointed the first Negro, Mrs. Virgie Waters, to the State Board of Hairdressers. 1955.

Governor McKeldin appointed Furman Templeton, director of the Urban League of Baltimore, as the first and only Negro member of the Commission on State Programs, Organizations, and Finance in July 1955.

Missouri: Kansas City--In a city-wide election, Carl R. Johnson was elected municipal judge, the first Negro in the state elected to a judicial position. March 1955.

Jefferson City--Theodore McMillan appointed circuit judge by Governor Donnelly, 1956.

North Carolina: Statewide--Three Negroes were appointed to North Carolina Citizens Committee for Better Schools in March 1957.

Dr. Harold L. Trigg, already on the State Board of Education, was appointed Coordinator of Negro Activities in the State Prison System.

Dr. Murray B. Davis is a member of State Prisons Commission (appointive office).

Gastonia--Nathaniel Barber, first elected city treasurer in 1953, re-elected in 1955 and again in 1957. (Did not run in 1959 due to poor health.)

Mecklenburg County--At least four Negro voting registrars serve in Mecklenburg County, in predominantly Negro precincts.

Lumberton--A Negro was appointed registrar of a voting ward and two Negro elections' managers for the same ward were named by city council in 1959. (Registrar: Rev. Eugene B. Burner; Elections' Managers--Mrs. Bessie Powell, James Graves.)

Wilson--A Negro contractor was named chairman of the Wilson Housing Authority Board in February 1955.

Winston Salem--Leander Hill was appointed a member of the Forsyth County Draft Board in 1955.

Princeville, an all Negro town, has, of course, only Negro public office holders.

4. (Other Appointive or Elective Offices, continued:)

South Carolina: Rock Hill--The first Negro is appointed by the mayor and and city council to the Recreation Commission in May 1955.

M. T. Wildy and the Rev. Mack Sharpe were elected as delegates to the State Democratic Convention in 1958.

Beaufort County--LeRoy Brown elected to Board of Directors, June, 1960.

Tennessee: The city council elected a Negro to the City Planning Commission of Knoxville, August 1955.

Virginia: New Kent County--Samuel Crump is elected to the County Board of Supervisors in October 1955.

Portsmouth--Judge Lawrence I'Anson appointed Talmadge Johnson to the Board of Equalization of Real Estate Assessments for six months. 1955.

Virginia Beach--Nelson H. Davis was appointed deputy sheriff in Princess Anne County on December 30, 1955, the first Negro to hold this office.

Mrs. Alice B. Petty was sworn in as personal property Tax Assessor for Princess Anne County early in January, 1957.

West Virginia: Charleston--Governor William Marland appointed J. Alexander Creasey a member of the Probation and Parole Board in 1953; chairman of the Board in 1955.

Charles Price was appointed a rate analyst by the State Insurance Commissioner in 1955.

Carl Hairston became the first Negro appointed Assistant State Superintendent of Schools. (He had been in the department before but had dealt only with Negro schools; his new appointment removed the racial restriction.) 1955.

ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF CLOSING PUBLIC SCHOOLS

When a community is threatened with the closing of its public schools, it is at first only the parents who feel a direct and immediate concern.

But Little Rock and Norfolk have shown that a school crisis is like a rock thrown in a pond. The spreading circles reach far. A school crisis very soon becomes an economic crisis, and the financial well-being of the entire community is at stake.

As business men, you may be wondering what the impact on New Orleans' economy will be, if our schools fail to open in September.

First of all, the $20,000,000 school construction program, for which the bond issue has been approved, would have to be abandoned if the school system is shut down.

Secondly, the $28,000,000 annual operating expenditures of the Orleans Parish School system would be lost to the community.

And what of school bonds that are now outstanding? Payment would be enforced on these bonds, although the taxpayer would be paying taxes for benefits no longer received.

These results we can foresee plainly.

What will happen to real estate, to small businesses, to retail dollars spent? For these results, we will have to look at the record in two communities that have already been through the fire of school closure.

In Little Rock, the American Association of University Women made a survey of the cost to the Little Rock economy of the school closure.

Seven out of eight real estate dealers said they had been hurt because many people were moving away and few were buying homes.

The owner of one of the leading real estate companies in the city stated: "We have found a great deal of resistance from newcomers to purchasing property in Little Rock, until the school situation has been resolved. The sale of homes is off between 20 and 25 per cent in greater Little Rock for this year (1959) over last. Rentals are off. Two weeks ago we had 20 per cent more vacancies than a year ago."

More than half the business men interviewed said their business had been hurt by the school crisis. On the other hand, two out of three moving companies reported improvement in their business, saying, "We are moving families away faster than ever before."

In the year before the school crisis, the number of new jobs reported in Little Rock was 1,003. In 1958 and 1959, there were no new jobs.

For the whole state of Arkansas, capital expenditures for new plants fell to a figure barely in excess of $25 million in the year following the school closure. Two years earlier, that figure totaled $130 millions.

Virginia tried to evade the federal court ruling in 1958 by massive resistance, that is closing grades of schools under order. At the same time neighboring North Carolina decided to go forward by maintaining public schools and used the Placement Law similar to Louisiana Act of 1958.

Officials of the Norfolk and Western Railway have made a comparative analysis of the economic developments of the two states since the difference policies were put into effect.

Mr. John P. Fishwick, Vice-President, Norfolk and Western Railway, stated:

"Virginia's record in 1958 was particularly discouraging. The Virginia State Department of Conservation and Economic Development has announced that in 1958 sixty-two plants

began operations in Virginia, the second highest for any of the past nine years. But employment by these plants was the lowest for any of the past nine years - a total employment of 1,663. This, I submit, is disappointing progress for a state which has over 3.3 million people, a favorable business climate and so many varied natural resources and attractions for industry.

"Compare, for instance, Virginia's record with that of North Carolina. North Carolina has announced that in 1958 industrial development saw over $250 million invested in 423 new and expanded facilities which created 21,758 new jobs with annual pay rolls amounting to nearly $73 million. Thus, with a population of a little over four million, or 21% more than Virginia, North Carolina's industrial development created over 13 times as many jobs last year as did Virginia's.

"The impact of industrial development can be measured on the basis of a study recently made by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce which showed that 100 new factory workers mean 296 more people, 112 more households, 51 more school children, $590,000 more personal income, $270,000 more bank deposits, 107 more automobiles, 174 more workers employed, four more retail establishments, and $360,000 more retail sales per year.

"The second point in Virginia's industrial development program should be a prompt and sound solution to the school situation based on the principle that excellent free public schools will be maintained. To the extent possible, we must accommodate our solution to the deep feelings of those who live in the areas most critically affected. But, at the same time, we must recognize that most of us hope to give our children a better education and to open the door to greater opportunities than we have had. I think the Perrow Commission report offers the basis for such a solution. While many Virginians will not agree with all its recommendations, I hope we all recognize the truth of this sentence which stood out in its report. The Commission said:

> The culture and the economy of our state are directly geared to the educational attainments of our people."

Mr. Stuart T. Saunders, President, Norfolk and Western Railway, stated:

"The hard fact is that North Crolina is out-competing Virginia for new industries. North Carolina's rate of industrialization in 1958, using annual volumn of manufactured goods as the comparative index, was 15%, compared to 5% for Virginia over the preceding year."

In Norfolk, the city admitted that closed schools were costing the economy of the community $172,000 a month. The business community of Norfolk, which at first maintained a hands-off attitude toward the school question, eventually emerged as a positive force for change. Bank presidents, manufacturers,merchants organized into a "Committee of 100", later the "Committee of 100, Plus 100." These business spokesmen took ads, urging the city council to open public schools as promptly as possible.

In Virginia, representatives for various industries spoke up. An official of General Electric said, "Without the public schools, we cannot attract highly trained engineering and managerial talent, for such people can obtain positions anywhere in the United States. They simply will not join us, unless their children can obtain as good or better education here as elsewhere.....Not only that, but the individuals who are already with us might very well leave, if good education opportunities do not continue to be available."

Also, in Virginia, a spokesman for Babcock and Wilcox said that his firm considered it "obvious that we would have trouble securing and retaining technical personnel if the public schools were closed."

A spokesman for the University of Arkansas Medican Center said that its faculty recruitment program was brought "virtually to a standstill," because the persons approached to join the faculty did not want to bring their families into the Arkansas school situation.

Last year, the Miami News said editorially, "Destruction of the Florida Public School System or any part of it, means just one thing -- economic suicide."

The business editor of the Atlanta Constitution made a state-wide survey last year to see what results business men foresaw if Georgia schools are closed.

He found that Georgia had been dropped from a list of potential plant sites by a major electronics manufacturer, primarily because of the threat of closing public schools.

The manager of a large branch plant said he would hesitate to expand or build a new plant in a state that could be affected by school closing or violence.

Another top industry spokesman said he was concerned about his industry's ability to maintain a competitive position. He said, "We are being turned down by the sort we need most, like the Minnesota engineer who said he must first have assurance of his children's educational future."

In viewing the loss to Georgia's economy, the business editor estimated that school wages and salaries stimulate $300 million a year in economic activity. An additional $5 to $10 million in federal funds flow into the state through school channels. Postponement of graduation or failure to graduate would mean a loss of $100 million a year in earning power, he estimated. And this does not include the incalculable losses to the state in new industries, and the taxes they would bring.

Independent bankers in Florida last year heard the state's assistant attorney-general, R. E. Odum, say: "The liquidation of Florida public school property and its bonded indebtedness would be, in a way, one of the largest bankruptcy proceedings in history, involving well over a billion and a quarter dollars."

In dollars and cents, then, the closing of public schools is an expensive proposition.

And here are some other aspects of the question:

With compulsory attendance laws repealed and schools not available, the labor market will be flooded with unskilled and untrained young people looking for jobs. What machinery does the city have to handle this problem?

Juvenile delinquency can be expected to increase, for no community can absorb large numbers of teenagers in jobs, nor can a city provide recreational facilities to fill daytime hours of so many youngsters.

We all have long known the direct relationship between the economic status of a state or community and the education of its people. It is a matter of record that the per capita income of people who complete the secondary school is about 1/3 more than of those who complete 8 years of elementary school.

In view of the experience of other communities and states, should we think for a moment, "It can't happen here"?

In Little Rock only one high school was closed. In Norfolk only one grade was closed and the results were destructive.

PRESENT LOUISIANA LAWS REQUIRE CLOSING OF ALL NEW ORLEANS PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND LEGISLATION ABOUT TO BE PASSED WOULD REQUIRE CLOSING OF ALL LOUISIANA PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

SHALL WE DROP A BOMB ON OUR OWN ECONOMY?

THE ATLANTA PLAN, AMENDED JANUARY 18, 1960, PROVIDES:

"Whereas, The State Board of Education has not promulgated rules and regulations relative to the placement of students in the schools, and this Board has the inherent power of pupil placement, and more complete regulations are necessary,

"Now therefore: To insure orderly procedures of uniform application for pupil assignment, transfer, and/or placement, and to enable the continuing improvement of the educational advantages offered the following rules and procedure shall be followed:

"(1). In the assignment, transfer or continuance of pupils . . . the following factors and the effects or results thereof shall be considered, with respect to the individual pupil, as well as other relevant matters:

"available room and teaching capacity in the various schools;

"the availability of transportation facilities;

"the effect of the admission of new pupils upon established or proposed academic programs;

"the suitability of established curricula for particular pupils;

"the adequacy of the pupil's academic preparation for admission to a particular school and curriculum;

"the scholastic aptitude and relative intelligence or mental energy or ability of the pupil;

"the psychological qualification of the pupil for the type of teaching and associations involved;

"the possibility or threat of friction or disorder among pupils or others;

"the possibility of breaches of the peace or ill will;

"the effect of admission of the pupil upon the academic progress of other students in a particular school or facility thereof;

"the effect of admission upon prevailing academic standards at a particular school;

"the psychological effect upon the pupil of attendance at a particular school;

"the home environment of the pupil;

"the maintenance or severance of established social and psychological relationships with other pupils and with teachers;

"the choice and interests of the pupil;

"the ability to accept or conform to new and different educational environment;

"the morals, conduct, health and personal standards of the pupil;

"the request or consent of parents or guardians and the reasons assigned therefor."

(2). The City Superintendent of Schools will administer these provisions, subject to the supervision of the Board.

(3). The Superintendent will designate the school to which each child applying for assignment or transfer shall go. "All existing school assignments shall continue without change until or unless transfers are directed or approved by the Superintendent or his duly authorized representative."

(4). Applications for admission, assignment, or transfer and/or placement shall be directed to the Superintendent and delivered to the school principal between May 1st and May 15th.

(5). A separate application must be filed for each child.

(6). Application forms must be filled out and signed by parents or guardians and notarized. The Superintendent may require interviews, tests, and investigation.

(7). Notice of action taken shall be mailed to parents or guardians within thirty days or not later than June 15th and will be final action "unless a hearing before the Board is requested in writing within ten days from the date of mailing such statement."

(8). Parents may file in writing objections to assignment or request transfer to "a designated school or to another school." The Board shall act on same within a reasonable time. A hearing will be begun within twenty days of decision by the Board that a hearing is necessary.

(9). Hearings on requests for transfers shall be conducted by the Board or not less than three of the members of the Board, and decisions "of the members or a majority thereof shall be deemed a final decision by the Board."

(10). Unless postponement is requested by the parents or guardian, the Board will notify them of its decision within ten days after conclusion of the hearings. Every appeal shall be finally concluded by the Board before September 1st. Any person dissatisfied with the final decision of the Board may appeal to the State Board of Education.

(11). The Board may assign certain pupils to vocational or other special schools or terminate their public school enrollment altogether.

(12). "Beginning September 1, 1960, or on September 1, following favorable action by the General Assembly of Georgia, student assignment in the Atlanta Public School System shall be made in accordance with aforesaid rules and regulations and without regard to race or color. For the first school year in which it is effective, the plan shall apply to the students in the 12th grade. Thereafter, in each successive year, the plan shall be expanded to the immediate lower grade; e.g. in 1961-62 grade 11th, in 1962-63 grade 10th, etc., until all grades are included." *

(13). "Nothing contained in this resolution shall prevent the separation of boys and girls in any school or grade or to prevent the assignment of boys and girls to separate schools."

(14). These rules shall be contingent upon the enactment of statutes by the General Assembly of Georgia and shall be submitted to the General Assembly for approval.

* On May 9, 1960 U. S. District Judge Hooper ruled that the Plan of the Atlanta Board of Education for gradual desegregation be put into operation on May 1, 1961. Applications to the twelfth and eleventh grades of the Atlanta Public Schools shall be received from May 1 to May 15.

HFV
FYI

REMARKS DELIVERED DURING THE ANNUAL MEETING
OF THE ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS (as nearly as I
Talladega, February 6, 1960 can remember them)

Paul Rilling

When Jim Brewer came through Atlanta on his way to this meeting, he read a few of the recent newspapers and commented that he felt as though he were watching an old movie on television, so similar were some of the ~~parallels~~ events now going on in Atlanta and the things that occurred in Virginia a year ago. A great deal of trouble and hardship throughout the South could be avoided if we could only learn from the lessons of Little Rock and those of Virginia which ~~Mr.~~ Jim Brewer has just outlined so ably. We seem to learn very slowly, if at all. Most of the symptoms that are present in Georgia today were present in Virginia a year ago and in Little Rock two years ago, the general apathy, the refusal of business leadership to step forward, complacency and rumors that somehow things will work out, that "the Governor has a plan,". Again and again the sad drama repeats itself. In Little Rock, and in Virginia, schoolchildren were locked out of their classrooms. This tragedy too may repeat itself in Atlanta this fall.

Since 1954 the rate of change and progress in the area of school desegregation has been slow and laborious, slower than many of us expected. Many of the more optimistic among us assumed that the clarification of constitutional law by the Supreme Court would have considerable immediate significance. We underestimated the degree to which the federal government, the executive and legislative branches, would remain detached from the fray. We underestimated the power and determination of resistance forces in the South, the demonstrated ability of these forces to monopolize the levers of power and to virtually silence the voices of the liberal white minority.

Progress has gone forward, although too slowly and at considerable cost. With the peaceful desegregation during 1959 of public schools in Little Rock and in several Virginia communities the South has been permanently split and the deep South has been isolated and stands alone. The next round of desegregation will focus on such cities as Atlanta, New Orleans, Dallas, Houston and will have the effect of splitting off the great urban centers of the deep South from the black belt, rural, plantation area of these states. The South has been split. Soon the deep South too. will divide.

A significant sign of the change to come is the reopening of the great debate among the white population of the South. During 1959 the great silence ended. The voice of the white moderate, if ~~the~~ not the liberal is again raised, and with increasingly force. During the final show-down in Little Rock and in Virginia the contest was not between Negro and white but between white and white. Faced with the final ultimate decision involving the continued operation of public schools the white community has openly divided. In Atlanta, Georgia today, stalwart members of the Talmadge organisations are in open disagreement and exchanging epithets on the floor of the legislature.

There are some indications that we do learn from experience, if too little and too slowly. Early in the Virginia crisis, Governor Lindsey Almond said firmly that there would be no Little Rock in Virginia. There was not. In both Little Rock and the Virginia communities the great public push in behalf of public education occurred after the schools were closed. In Atlanta today, for the first time, we have public pressure and organization of white persons mobilising to prevent school closure. You in Alabama will have much experienc to examine, to learn from, when similar crises come home to this state in the years

ahead.

We know now that we cannot expect any voluntary good-faith compliance with constitutional law concerning the school question anywhere below the border states. The pattern that has developed is for each Governor, school board, or what have you, to move only when faced with a final order and then to move ONLY to the limited degree required by the law. Even in situations where public officials may be prepared to move, they tend to wait for final order to give them support in the face of political reprisal.

We also know, however, that if there will be little or no voluntary compliance, neither will there be direct defiance ~~to~~ OF court orders. There has not so far been a single case of outright defiance of federal authority by state or local officials. The emerging pattern throughout the South is to accept court authority and then to resist within the law, to evade the meaning ~~the~~ of the law through compliance with the minimum letter of the law. This is the highly effective strategy of containment and token desegregation.

The experience of Virginia and earlier of Little Rock contain important AND portents for communities further South in the years to come. From this point on we can expect each forward step to be a faltering one, taken with the full assistance of pupil placement provisions, twelve year plans, etc. In all probability each step will be made possible only through the direct pressure of law, and only then if the law is supported by intensive activity on the part of a considerable body of white people working to avoid disruption and to preserve public education.

Once the final court order has come down and the community is faced with the ultimate choice between desegregation ~~of public schools,~~

and the destruction of public schools public opinion can play a highly significant role. In such situations politicians are out on the end of the limb; public pressure can provide a rationale for a change of policy and can help encourage such a change at the same time. It is not coincidental that in both Little Rock and in Virginia the change in school policy was preceded by intensive activity on the part of organized activity by white citizens to reopen public schools with all possible speed, desegregation or no. In Atlanta and Georgia today similar pressure by predominantly white groups is building to encourage a change in Georgia's policy in order to ward off school closing if at all possible.

The success of such "save-the-schools groups" is sufficient so far to indicate that this moderate "third force" of concerned white people can be extremely effective in making possible that next faltering step. Such groups do not share our commitment to the principle of desegregation. They do oppose existing policies of mass resistance. They do favor maintaining public education. And it is becoming increasingly clear that public education can be maintained in the South only through eventual compliance with the constitution as interpreted by the Supreme Court in 1954. These groups are almost always led by rank and file citizens rather than power structure figures. They generally emerge only during the last stages of the legal crisis. They usually are predominantly or completely white. They are often led by liberals but build on a broad base of support by many persons, some of whom are segregationists, agreeing on the need to maintain public schools. They have generally been effective in mobilizing and encouraging other, long-standing groups in the community to take a constructive position on the issue of public schools.

The council on human relations is generally unable to play a direct role during the kind of school crisis through which Virginia passed last year. The decisions to be made are legal and political and we can not be legal and political agents. Ours is the long-range job of building bridges and changing public attitudes. The council on human relations is operating before the emergency public school group comes into being. It will be in existence and working after the emergency is passed and the public school group has disbanded.

The council on human relations can continue to support principle, even in the heat of an emergency. Most of the things that have been done, even in a constructive direction in recent years, have been done for the wrong reasons. In the emergency situation there needs to be some group which can demonstrate interracial cooperation and which can emphasize the more basic issues involved in the emergency, over and above the preservation of public schools. The council on human relations can and has participated in the initiation and support of the public school movements. Leaders of these movements have often come from the ranks of council membership. There is always a considerable overlap of white membership in both the council and the public school groups.

The contribution of the council on human relations becomes increasingly important when the decision for desegregation has been made, when the public school groups begin to splinter apart because of disagreement on next steps. The interracial membership of the council and its contacts across racial lines make it a group of considerable potential in working with the police, school officials, and the parents and students concerned in initiating contacts, encouraging effective preperation, and helping to make desegregation more than a legalistic matter of minimum compliance.

There are many roles to be played as we move forward in the area of school desegregation. We have need of a variety of organizations, each playing the role it can play best. No one organization can play all roles at all times. We must concentrate on what we can do best. We must help others do what they can do better. And always we must remember that our concern is not with schools alone but with the total society and the elimination of discrimination and segregation in that society. We must not allow ourselves to be mesmerized by the school crisis. There are often soft spots where progress can be made IN OTHER FIELDS even in communities most strictly resisting school desegregation.

Reference Material -

ALABAMA: Registered Negro Voters, 1958: 73,272
Source: U.S. News & World Report, 3/28/60

ARKANSAS: Poll Tax Sold, Colored, 1959: 72,604
Source: State Auditor

FLORIDA: Registered Negro Voters; 1960: 163,128 Democrats and Republicans, plus those Negroes included in a total of 15,979 other than Democrats and Republicans, both white and Negro
Source: Official State Source

GEORGIA: Registered Negro Voters, 1958: 161,958*
Source: Secretary of State

LOUISIANA: Registered Negro Voters, 1960: 159,812
Source: Secretary of State

MISSISSIPPI: Registered Negro Voters, 1960: An estimated nearly 25,000
Source; New Orleans Times-Picayune, 10/16/60

NORTH CAROLINA: Registered Non-white Voters, 1958: 172,166
Source: N.C. Advisory Committee to U.S. Commission on Civil Rights

SOUTH CAROLINA: Registered Negro Voters, 1958: 58,122
Source: State Directory

TENNESSEE: Registered Negro Voters, 1958: 185,000
Source: U.S. News & World Report, 3/28/60

TEXAS: Registered Negro voters, 1958: 226,818
Source: U.S. News & World Report, 3/28/60

VIRGINIA: Registered Negro Voters (estimated), ~~1960: 100,100~~ 1961: 105,471.
Source: State Board of Elections

*Includes some Indians.

Cities Where Mediating Committees on Race Relations Have Been Created by the City Government*

FLORIDA
- Auburndale
- Coral Gables
- Daytona Beach (at last report, committee had not met because of strict quorum rule)
- Delray Beach**
- Eustis**
- Fort Lauderdale**
- Fort Pierce
- Miami (at last report, inactive)
- Orlando**
- St. Petersburg (in appointing committee, Mayor instructed it to avoid any "integration" questions)
- Tampa**
- West Palm Beach**
- Winter Park**

GEORGIA
- Savannah (inactive since April, 1960)

NORTH CAROLINA
- Charlotte
- Durham**
- Gastonia
- Greensboro
- High Point
- Raleigh
- Winston-Salem

SOUTH CAROLINA
- Florence

TENNESSEE
- Knoxville
- Nashville
- Oak Ridge

TEXAS
- Houston

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* This list may not be complete; it includes all locations which have come to SRC attention through press reports and other sources.

** Committee in existence prior to sit-in movement; in a few cases (e.g. Eustis and Fort Pierce, Fla.) committee has other governmental responsibilities.

VIRGINIA
Arlington
Lynchburg (created by City Council)
Richmond (appointed by Mayor following city election in which Councilmanic candidates committed themselves to favor creation of a committee)

* * *

In Roanoke (Va.) the unofficial Citizens Bi-Racial Committee led in the desegregation of lunch counters and is now actively studying other problems.

Pine Bluff (Ark.) has had an unofficial committee created by the ministerial association and endorsed by Mayor and majority of City Councilmen.

Laurinburg (N.C.) has a committee sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce.

Informal but prestigious committees in Dallas and Galveston, and a ministerial committee in San Antonio, were active; the latter gave origin to a permanent human relations commission.

The white and Negro ministerial associations of Tallahassee (Fla.) have jointly established a committee with lay and ministerial membership.

Long standing, unofficial racial relations councils exist in a number of Southern cities and have recently been organized in places other than those mentioned above.

COPY - Lynchburg, Virginia, Daily Advance. June 29, 1960.

"INTERRACIAL GROUP NAMED BY COUNCIL TO PROMOTE 'BETTER UNDERSTANDING'

Appointment of an interracial committee "to promote better understanding between our citizens of all races" was unanimously approved by City Council last night.

When Mayor William C. Vaughan began reading a prepared statement in connection with the appointment of the committee last night, it was the first inkling that council had been giving any thought to such a move.

Today, City Manager Robert D. Morrison said that the development was not something that "just popped out," but that the matter had been thought of for a long time. He said that council had discussed it informally a number of times.

The committee is made up of four white persons and four Negroes, who Morrison said were chosen by council.

The members are Henry E. McWane, co-chairman, Fred L. Showalter, Harry G. Green, Clarence K. Garrard, William E. Gordon, co-chairman, M. C. Allen, M. W. Thornhill, Jr., and Henry P. Weeden. The last four named are Negroes. Morrison will serve as executive secretary for the group.

Council met at noon Monday, it was learned today. When asked if the committee had been named at that time, Morrison said that it is possible that some may have been picked then.

A resolution calling for creation of a commission to improve "intergroup human relations" introduced in the Senate during this year's session of the General Assembly failed to ever see the light of day as it was killed in the Senate Rules Committee. The commission as proposed would apparently have had many of the same objectives as the committee named here.

Questioned as to whether any other Virginia localities had set up such committees, Morrison replied that he seems to recall having read in the newspapers of a committee or committees of this type in Arlington or Fairfax.

Morrison described the committee as an experimental proposition to see if it might help the local situation.

The statement read by Vaughan follows in paré:

'We have been grateful for good racial relations in Lynchburg, and are truly concerned that recently some deterioration has taken place in this respect.

'We realize that some steps should be taken to promote better understanding between our citizens of all races. We believe that whatever is done must be effected on a purely voluntary basis. Understanding and respect between persons cannot be brought about by law; rather, they must come through persons of good will sitting

down together and listening to each other's problems.'"

* * *

Races Meet in Richmond

Virginia Pilot — 8-14-60

By Luther J. Carter

When Mayor Claude G. Woodward of Richmond appointed a bi-racial committee recently he started something sure to be watched in Norfolk, hopefully by some and perhaps skeptically by others.

A bi-racial committee was proposed to Mayor W. Fred Duckworth's city administration about three years ago by 17 Negro leaders, and nothing came of it.

A similar proposal, made early this year by the Virginia Interracial Council, seems to have gone into the inactive file, too.

Councilman Floyd T. Barfield, who defeated an administration candidate with the help of Negro votes, also has suggested the appointment of a bi-racial committee.

But vexing other questions, his point of view appears problematical. It has been apparent that City Council has viewed such committees without enthusiasm.

Most observers agree the committee will be a valuable and tested device for improving race relations in southern communities. A number have been set up this year in North Carolina, Florida, and elsewhere, and a few local citizens in Hampton and Newport News have been reported, but knowledge of other developments has been very limited.

It is against this shaky background that the Richmond committee begins its work. The committee must feel its way, with few precedents or guideposts to go by.

But Mayor Woodward observed the proper way when he emphasized in an important basic assumption that race relations are a matter of human relations, and that the problem is not to try to create things but to have it [illegible] peacefully, rationally and [illegible].

The first test will be Richmond's still unresolved lunch counter problem.

Mayor Woodward indicated that lunch counters were discussed at a meeting of Negroes and whites in Virginia, Virginia without the good offices of a bi-racial committee.

[illegible] and attitudes prevalent of the Richmond citizens, [illegible] and grounds for the formation of the committee.

Who sitting on the committee and what are its objectives?

Mayor Woodward said it would be [illegible] to the appointment of a committee [illegible] Negroes suggested some about 6 white people, [illegible] problem, six white and six Negroes.

The task was quite clear he said. Negroes suggested that one of the white appointees should be a Negro, equally qualified, and all of the Negroes agreed to serve.

Woodward seems confident some of his appointees are extremists, and says certainly "the majority are moderates."

Many of the white members have been identified with segregationist organizations. Three of the Negroes belong to the advisory board of directors of the Richmond Citizens Advisory Committee, which has led the sit-in demonstrations, but they have not figured prominently in the protests.

Given the high degree of individuality Negroes have shown in promoting negotiations, it could be said by [illegible] to [illegible] that they represent a [illegible] of Negro opinion who were not [illegible] in any way of meeting with the segregationist committee.

The makeup of the committee has suggested a choice from a "practical" approach with combinations and high-caliber distinctions held to the minimum. The major aim, of course, is to establish contacts and provide one in making the opposite contacts.

It is apparent from the high community standing of the members that the mayor hopes the committee recommendations, whatever they may be, will receive the respect accorded the judgments of a blue ribbon jury.

He named as chairman Thomas C. Boushall, board chairman of the Bank of Virginia and a member of the State Board of Education. Other white members include the president of a manufacturing firm, the division manager of an oil company, a prominent lawyer, and a former mayor.

Dr. Thomas W. Hickman, president of Virginia Union University, is one of the Negroes involved, whose number also including a physician, two businessmen-ministers, the president of a natural company, and the executive secretary of the Virginia (Negro) Teachers Assn.

Significantly, no businessmen were appointed to the committee. Negroes generally feel that those who have been involved in the sit-in demonstrations and picketing may be looked to also with [illegible].

The committee, named 10 days ago, has met three times, by mid-week, and discussed some recommendations to meet with the mayor, and working to talk with the Negro protest group.

Deliberations of the committee have been conducted privately, and Boushall is making no the only public spokesman. Publicity is being avoided at this stage, although some recommendations are settled of [illegible] that they will be fully [illegible].

The chamber of commerce permit a lunch counter [illegible] [illegible] and would [illegible] [illegible] a proposal, [illegible] appears to suggest.

By [illegible] the committee [illegible] Mayor Woodward [illegible] as an expression of [illegible] [illegible] Hickman, he knows also the City Council, and the [illegible] of the Negro community, and [illegible] a certain [illegible] Negro support.

Mayor Woodward and one of the [illegible] committee members [illegible] [illegible] the Negroes, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Research Mat 1

FACT SHEET ON NEW ORLEANS

1. A desegregation action, Bush v. New Orleans Parish School Board, was filed in the Federal District Court for the Eastern District of Louisiana on September 4, 1952. The case moved through various stages of litigation until, on July 15, 1959, District Judge Skelly Wright ordered the Orleans Parish school board to submit a desegregation plan by March 1, 1960. He later granted an extension until May 16, 1960. The school board filed no desegregation plan, whereupon Judge Wright submitted his own plan providing for grade-a-year desegregation beginning with the first grade. The time of compliance at the first grade level was set for September, 1960.

2. The Orleans Parish school board was caught between Federal court desegregation orders and state laws forbidding school desegregation. Louisiana state laws provided for interposition, for the closure of desegregated schools, for the cutting off of funds to desegregated areas.

3. In May of 1960 the school board conducted a poll of parents in the system. A slim majority of parents favored open schools. Given a choice between closed schools and some desegregation, 12,000 white parents voted for closure, 2,700 for desegregation; 11,400 Negroes voted for desegregation, 675 for closure. Lloyd Rittiner, school board president, announced that at present the board would consider only the wishes of the white parents.

4. During the summer of 1960, various forces organized. A Citizens Council had been in existence for some time and was a strong, well organized group. It received strong leadership from Leander Perez, who was State's attorney in a nearby parish. Emile Wagner, segregationist member of the school board, gave strong support to segregationist efforts. A moderate group of white citizens called "Save Our Schools," a HOPE-type group, came into being in the summer of 1960. A similar group, known as Citizens for Public Education, appeared somewhat later. The Negro community was not strongly involved in the debate and furor. Speaking out for open schools in the summer of 1960 were Bishop Jones and 25 Episcopal clergymen, 16 ministers of the United Church of Christ, the Presbytery of New Orleans, the Southeastern Louisiana Chapter of the National Association of Social Workers, the New Orleans District of the Methodist Church. A group of 94 ministers and rabbis issued a similar statement. Several PTA's declared themselves in favor of open schools. Other PTA's came out for closed schools, however, and the white Educational Association, a group devoted to assisting parents to set up private schools, was incorporated.

5. On August 17, Governor Jimmy Davis, acting under state law, seized control of the Orleans Parish schools and appointed Superintendent James Redmond as his agent. On the same day, a group of white parents filed suit in Federal court asking either that Judge Wright's order be modified or that the state be enjoined from interfering with the operation of the schools. The court also declared unconstitutional seven state segregation acts relating to school closure, ordered the school board to comply with Judge Wright's

ruling, cited Attorney General Gremillion for contempt of court. Governor Davis refused to accept service of the federal court summons. This was the first time in the South that litigation knocked out school closing laws before they were put into effect.

6. In September of 1960 the Supreme Court confirmed the desegregation ruling of the three-judge federal court upholding Skelly Wright. Four or 5 members of the school board publicly announced support for open schools. The fifth, Emile Wagner, insisted the schools must not and would not be desegregated. Judge Wright granted a delay in the implementation of his desegregation order from September 8 to November 14, 1960.

7. A special session of the Louisiana legislature, convening November 4, passed a new package of school closing measures, interposition, et cetera.

8. The two newspapers, the Times Picayune and the States Item, spoke out for public schools on November 11, after a long silence.

9. The legislature, called back into session November 13, 24 hours before desegregation was scheduled, addressed the four moderate school board members out of office, legal under the Louisiana Constitution "for reasonable cause." The legislature also fired Superintendent Redmond, School Board Attorney Samuel I. Rosenberg. The legislature had previously siezed the funds of the school board; it also forbade banks to lend money to the board.

10. November 14 four Negro girls attended first grade classes at the two previously all-white schools, William Frantz and McDonogh 19. Both schools are in the 9th Ward, a low income area. Virtually all white parents withdrew their children, although two white children continued to attend the Frantz school.

11. On November 16, a mob of screaming teen-agers ran amok downtown. The mob was dispersed by fire hoses. There was sporadic violence throughout the evening of November 16.

12. In its next move, the legislature took over control of the New Orleans parish schools. The legislature publicly urged a white boycott of the two desegregated schools. Leander Perez offered the boycotting white children a refuge in the public schools of nearby St. Bernard Parish. It was estimated by the school board that throughout 1960 nearly 300 white children were receiving no schooling.

13. Throughout the fall and winter there was intimidation and threats directed at white children who dared to return to the two public schools. Although the police made every effort to prevent physical violence, they made little effort to curb the screaming and yelling around the schools. By the end of the 1960-61 school year, the white enrollment at Frantz rose as high as 23. The McDonogh school ended the year completely boycotted, although the boycott was briefly broken by one child whose parents later moved secretly out of town.

14. Throughout the winter, special session followed special session. The legislature fired the school board on four different occasions. The courts in each case set aside legislative acts and reaffirmed the authority of the elected school board. This action was later upheld by the United States Supreme Court. The school board continued and to this day continues to have financial problems, although funds have from time to time been released by the legislature sufficient to pay all public school employees except the superintendent and the teachers at the desegregated schools.

15. It should be noted that throughout the embattled days of the 1960-61 school year, police were kept under wraps by Mayor Morrison on the premise that it was not his role to enforce desegregation. The news media generally followed a hands-off policy, although television station WDSU was an exception. The business community was almost completely silent, although a timid statement was forthcoming, calling for law and order following the riots in November.

16. The story has been completely different during the 1961-62 school year. Probably hurt by economic set-backs as a result of the disturbances last year, business leaders conducted an intensive campaign of community preparation in the fall of 1961. Special films were shown on television, and a statement by business leaders was made public. Mayor Schiro, who became Mayor on Morrison's appointment as Ambassador to the American Organization of States, announced that no disorder would be tolerated. The police erected barricades and used firm measures from the beginning. This year there are 12 Negro students in the 1st and 2nd grades in 6 schools, including several located in high income neighborhoods.

17. A white boycott is still in force but has not been very effective in the four newly desegregated schools. At Frantz school, where only 20 white students were attending at the end of the last school year, there are now over 100. At McDonogh 19, however, where the boycott was virtually complete last year, white enrollment this year did not rise above 20. The school board announced last week that McDonogh 19 would become an all Negro school.

18. A segregationist public school has been constructed in the Frantz-McDonogh area, to be known as the 9th Ward Elementary School. The State Board of Education has approved private school tuition grants under state law to several hundred children who will attend this school.

19. In general the atmosphere has been calm and orderly. The situation among the students within the desegregated schools is quite good.

Res Mat

Report L-20
October 25, 1960

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

PROBLEM SOLVING THROUGH RACE RELATIONS COMMITTEES

When sit-ins began at lunch counters in February, 1960 the South was quickly faced with its second great crisis since 1954. The Supreme Court's order to desegregate schools had been met by "massive resistance"; the South is only now, and painfully, raising itself from the resulting confusion. The lunch counter crisis, on the other hand, was met in many Southern cities by attempts to find an agreeable solution--fair and satisfactory to all.

The result in these cities has been a successful reform of social practices. And it is not amiss to stress the word "successful." For too long the South has had little success in its race relations policies; necessary changes have been imposed from outside the region. The South's morale needed a success. Now it has had one. Not, however, a success in maintaining the status quo, but a success in exercising the initiative, in planning its own change. From the cities which have led in solving the lunch counter problem, a new spirit of cooperation and bi-racial respect has been released.

The principal means used by these cities and towns to meet the sit-in problem has been the creation of bi-racial committees. By this action, municipalities have confined the sit-in problem on a local level, insulated from the storms of state politics. They have also given reality to the oft-expressed desire for better communication between the races. Official mediating committees have been appointed in at least 29 Southern cities.

Those Southern localities which do not have effective bi-racial committees might profitably examine the way other places have organized their's. Various cities have followed different approaches, and several types of committees have appeared and have been, in their local situations, effective.

The most common, and the most frequently successful in mediating differences, has been the relatively small (5-15 members) committee, appointed by the Mayor, bi-racial, and composed of respected civic figures. Its proceedings and organizational structure have been fairly informal, and it has held closed discussions, though it has kept the local press informed. Such have been the committees of, for example, Charlotte (N.C.), Knoxville (Tenn.), and Richmond (Va.). The membership has been recruited from the religious, professional, and business leadership of their cities.

Not all committees have followed this pattern. Greensboro (N.C.) had only one Negro representative, seven white. The very successful Winston-Salem (N.C.) committee had 20 members. The Galveston (Tex.) group was all-white and self-appointed. In San Antonio (Tex.), a self-appointed committee of white ministers served. In Nashville (Tenn.), the settlement was finally worked out, not through the Mayor's committee, but by negotiations between store managers and Negro spokesmen; they reached agreement, however, on ground cleared and prepared by the previous work of the Mayor's group. Something similar occurred in Miami.

Immediate success is not the only measure of a race relations committee's effectiveness, not even if the committee is by-passed in the final stages of a controversy. The committee may be the preventive of a future crisis, or the means of guiding the community in the acceptance of new practices; in any event, it will make its contribution to unsnarling the contradictions of Southern human relations.

There may be local situations in which the most effective committee would be one formed by the Chamber of Commerce or the Ministerial Association, rather than by the city government. Provided it obtained, through the stature of its members, recognition of a leadership role its effectiveness could be as great. In whatever manner the committee is appointed, there is one requirement which is unchanging. Probably in most if not all Southern localities, the decision to have or not have a committee rests with white persons; they cannot afford to forget that the Negro members must be persons who have the trust of the Negro community. Choosing Negro members on the basis of their acceptability to white people will not work in today's South.

Of course, committees are not a panacea. There can be, in fact, circumstances under which the appointment of one might be unnecessary. This would be the case in a locality where there is already established liaison between the races and effective methods of bringing about change in community practices.

In two states--Florida and Oklahoma--the governors have appointed state wide commissions, and a third state--Kentucky--has formed one by legislative act. The Florida commission (known as the Fowler Commission on Race Relations) deserves special attention from the rest of the South, for race relations in most of Florida conform to traditional Southern patterns. The Fowler Commission, with professional staff, has worked hard and fruitfully to encourage cities and towns of the state to set up bi-racial committees, whether or not they presently have a critical racial controversy; the Commission has also done much to promote a more tolerant, realistic, and calm climate of opinion throughout the state. The Commission has itself aided in mediating the lunch counter issue in some cities, and in ameliorating the tensions in the recent Jacksonville imbroglio (Jacksonville's administration had refused to appoint a local committee).

In some cities, committees appointed to deal specifically with the lunch counter problem have been kept in existence with broader responsibilities. This is a heartening development. It even suggests the possibility that Southern towns and cities might utilize the approach of bi-racial planning, through the give and take of committee discussion, to effect school desegregation, without the need for court rulings.

For Further Reading

(single copies available on request while supplies last from the Southern Regional Council)

Margaret Price, Toward a Solution of the Sit-in Controversy, May 31, 1960

Kenneth Morland, Lunch Counter Desegregation in Corpus Christi, Galveston, and San Antonio, Texas, May 10, 1960

Clarence H. Patrick, Lunch-Counter Desegregation in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, July 25, 1960

Wallace Westfeldt, Settling a Sit-in (Nashville, Tenn.), July, 1960

Recreation:

F. A. Research

Macon, Ga.'s board of aldermen votes to voluntarily integrate Macon's municipal golf course - the first public facility to be integrated in the city's 138 years of existence.

June, 1961, Voluntary desegregation of golf courses also comes in Savannah, Ga., + Daytona Beach, Fla. in 1961.

Charleston, SC's golf course desegregated by court order, May, 1961,

~~Savannah, Ga.'s golf course desegregated 1961, as are golf courses in Daytona Beach, Mobile~~

as is Mobile, Ala.'s municipal golf course.

~~Miami is ordered~~

Jacksonville, Fla quietly integrates parks, under court order; in marked contrast to ~~the~~ previous year when golf courses were sold to private operators to evade desegregation order. (Jan. '61)

Cities Where Mediating Committees
on Race Relations
Have Been Created by the City Government*

FLORIDA
Auburndale - 5 member committee.
Coral Gables - 5 members.
Daytona Beach (at last report, committee had not met because of strict quorum rule) 20 members.
Delray Beach** 10 members.
Eustis**
Fort Lauderdale**
Fort Pierce
Miami (at last report, inactive)
Orlando**
St. Petersburg (in appointing committee, Mayor instructed it to avoid any "integration" questions) 5 members (3 W., 3 Negroes)
Tampa**
West Palm Beach**
Winter Park**

GEORGIA
Savannah (inactive since April, 1960)

KENTUCKY: Lexington: appointed by Mayor, June '61. Frankfort: established by Mayor, 3/24/61

NORTH CAROLINA
Charlotte - Permanent committee, appointed by Mayor. Original purpose was lunch counter question. Still exists.
Durham** - Permanent.
Gastonia
Greensboro - 9 members.
High Point - Appointed by Mayor in connection with sit-ins.
Raleigh - 7 members. Probably a permanent committee, but is now inactive, existing on stand-by basis.
Winston-Salem - 20 members.

SOUTH CAROLINA
Florence

TENNESSEE - Athens: 2-23-61, City Council approved request from local ministerial alliance to establish interracial committee to handle any racial or minority group problems.
Knoxville
Nashville - 5 W; 5 N.
Oak Ridge

TEXAS
Houston - Citizens Relations Committee - 41 members.

---

* This list may not be complete; it includes all locations which have come to SRC attention through press reports and other sources.

** Committee in existence prior to sit-in movement; in a few cases (e.g. Eustis and Fort Pierce, Fla.) committee has other governmental responsibilities.

PAGINATION INCORRECT

VIRGINIA
Arlington
Lynchburg (created by City Council) 8 members.
Richmond (appointed by Mayor following city election in which Councilmanic candidates committed themselves to favor creation of a committee)

* * *

In Roanoke (Va.) the unofficial Citizens Bi-Racial Committee led in the desegregation of lunch counters and is now actively studying other problems.

Pine Bluff (Ark.) has had an unofficial committee created by the ministerial association and endorsed by Mayor and majority of City Councilmen.

Laurinburg (N.C.) has a committee sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce.

Informal but prestigious committees in Dallas and Galveston, and a ministerial committee in San Antonio, were active; the latter gave origin to a permanent human relations commission.

The white and Negro ministerial associations of Tallahassee (Fla.) have jointly established a committee with lay and ministerial membership.

Long standing, unofficial racial relations councils exist in a number of Southern cities and have recently been organized in places other than those mentioned above.

"READY FOR THE CRISIS"

(Excerpts from a sermon preached on May 28, 1961, at Druid Hills Methodist Church, Dr. Nat G. Long, Pastor.)

No one of us knows what tomorrow will bring...As long as life moves smoothly, anybody can meet it, but only those who are prepared can stand in the crises. Emergencies cannot make us, but they reveal what we are, and sometimes they break us.

The disciples were concerned about the end of the world; they were anxious about the second coming of Jesus. They asked their Lord when he would come again, and when the world would end. He said, in effect,"I cannot tell you when the world will end, or when I shall return. But the only way to be prepared for the end of the world, or for the coming again of the Son of man is to be ready for either at any and every hour." To illustrate what he had in mind he told a story. . .

(Here repeats the story of the wise and foolish virgins.)

Certainly, we find there not only instruction regarding our attitude toward the end of time and toward the second coming of Jesus, but also toward any crisis of the future. It is a parable of preparedness. In it Jesus is saying, "You cannot know what crisis you will be compelled to face tomorrow, but you can become spiritually prepared for any and every crisis."

Jesus likens the Kingdom of God to the coming of a bridal party. A wedding for the Jews was the most joyous of all occasions. Jesus was saying that the joy of a wedding is the proper sign of the Kingdom of God. He wanted his disciples to become prepared for the most joyous thing on earth. He wanted them to be prepared for all kinds of emergencies and crises...Whatever comes we should be ready for it. Jesus seems to say, "Be ready for the future; new duties are to be done; new missions are to be performed; new issues are to be met; new honors and pleasures are to be enjoyed; terrible trials are to be faced. Be prepared for any and everythin."

The crises that are coming to you and to me are inescapable. They are of a thousand kinds. Financial disaster may deprive our children of an education. The savings of a life time may be shattered over night. Suddenly in the midst of a happy life disease may set in. A person may be tortured by loneliness. Some moral issue may face us. And, of course, for each of us there will be the crisis of death.

One social crisis which we must face in Atlanta in September of 1961 will be the desegregation of our schools. Whether we like it or not, we shall be compelled to accept it. None of us here is responsible for it, but we must face it. The Supreme Court of the United Statesin 1954 ruled segregation as unconstitutional. United States District Judge Hooper has ordered that the plan of the AtlantaBoard of Education for gradual desegregation be put into operation as of May 1, 1961. The applications of Negroes to enter the twelfth and eleventh grades of white schools were made between May 1 and May 15, 1961. These applications are being processed. There will be some integration. It is no longer a matter of opinion as to whether we should have it or not. It is a matter of fact that we shall have it. It will be a crisis for us.

The only question before us is, How shall we meet the crisis? We can wisely prepare for it, or we can foolishly leave the matter up to hoodlums and mobsters. If we do nothing, and let the worst element of our society determine the reaction of the great city of Atlanta to this social crisis, we shall

bring disgrace upon our city, state, and nation. How lacking in intelligence such an approach would be!

How can we wisely prepare for this crisis? Herbert Jenkins, Chief of Police of Atlanta, in addressing the members of his police force, suggests the proper approach. Said he, "I am prepared to yield to the judgment of the Supreme Court. Why? Because, as law enforcement officials, there is no other position we can honestly take..as policemen we are the law. The Supreme Court decisions are the law of the land that must be obeyed by everyone. . history will be written in our city in 1961. Our action will play a large part in the writing. Let's be sure our part is good." As members of the church let us be sure our part is good. Dr. John Letson, Superintendent of Atlanta Public Schools, also suggests the right attitude. Says he, "The goals of all must be to accomplish peacefully and with dignity what we are required to do. Anything less will not change the ultimate result, but will exact a terrible price that will not be paid in full for a generation."

Every person here can do something about this coming crisis. First of all, he can earnestly pray for God's guidance; second, he can resolve that he will be sane, dignified, law-abiding; third, he can speak out against defiance of the courts; fourth, he can help to create an atmosphere of peace. For the church people all over this city to make this wise approach to the crisis will enable us to meet it as God would have us do. I plead with you wisely to prepare for the coming school crisis in this manner.

Let us again emphasize the fact that the emergency, or crisis, will not itself develop character. The emergency or the crisis will only reveal character. The conflict with slavery in the United States did not make a Lincoln, but when a Lincoln had been made in the quiet of humble training, it proved him to be the man of the hour. World War II did not make General Dwight Eisenhour, but when he had been made through years of hard study and efficient service, the war thrust him forward as a great leader. The coming school crisis will not make Atlanta a peaceful, dignified, law-abiding city, but when a peaceful, dignified, law-abiding citizenry has been developed through prayer, through level-headedness, through commitment to God, the crisis will show how noble and fine our people are. . .

New South

- **Sit-ins Likely to Continue**
- **Alexandria Seeks Improved Race Relations**
  Mrs. George A. Eddy
- **"Prevent Future Incidents"**
- **Students Bear Witness**
- **"Condemn Lawlessness"**

JUNE 1961

New South

Published by

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

June, 1961

Volume 16 **Number 6**

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Subscription rate . . . . . $2.00 a year

New South is published monthly except August by Southern Regional Council, Inc., Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia. Single copies may be purchased at twenty cents each; quantity rates on request.

Contributions to the Southern Regional Council are tax-exempt

New South Notes

The student sit-ins, which began a little more than a year ago in Greensboro, North Carolina, have continued with only an occasional sign of waning. The latest manifestation of this movement is the "Freedom Rides," which culminated in the Alabama riots. NEW SOUTH presents a brief background piece on the movement and its current manifestations.

In 1954, the Southern Regional Council established a number of state human relations organizations in the South. Most of the Southern states now have local human relations councils dealing specifically with race relations problems of a local nature. One of these is the Alexandria Council on Human Relations in northern Virginia. NEW SOUTH presents here the story of the Alexandria Council. The article was written by Mrs. George A. Eddy, the Council's president.

Of Mrs. Eddy, Walter Russell Bowie writes: "The article by Mrs. Eddy may not convey to the reader the most important truth concerning it. Here is the factual account of some of the results which the Alexandria Council on Human Relations has brought about; but Mrs. Eddy has told the story with such self-effacing modesty that one might not know who it was that made the whole record possible. She did. Others had started the Alexandria Council and had given it faithful interest; but it was Eileen Eddy, when she was persuaded to take the presidency only a year or so ago, who gave the spark of new imagination, the resourcefulness, and the devoted energy which has made the Council become an actual power for good."

Sit-In, Other Techniques Are Likely to Continue

May was the month in which a group of white and Negro persons started South on the "Freedom Ride" bus journey to test separate restaurant, rest room, and other facilities at bus terminals and rest stops. It also was the month in which Rudolph Bing of the Metropolitan Opera announced the met would no longer play to segregated audiences in the South. Bing's statement came after an attempt was made by Negroes to attend the opera presented in Atlanta at a rigidly segregated theater. At about the same time, a few lunch counters in the once riot-torn city of Jacksonville, Florida, were desegregated.

These are but a few of the many activities growing out of or partly inspired by student sit-ins and related activities. While not all of these have been equally well-planned and effective, they have produced change in conditions with which Southern leaders largely have been unable or unwilling to wrestle until forced to do so.

As predicted earlier by observers of race relations in the South, the sit-in and its related techniques have continued to plague the South. Judging from recent activity and from plans already developed, the end still is not in sight.

The determination of students and their supporters is vividly evident in the fact that a group of "Freedom Riders" from Nashville, Tennessee, resumed the bus trip after the initial group from Washington found itself stymied in Birmingham after two riots in Alabama. The history of the two groups has been well reported in the newspapers, including the Montgomery riots which befell the second group. Other riders have continued to test facilities in Montgomery and Jackson, Mississippi. From these experiences, it should be obvious to all that the students are determined to pursue this technique despite all that Southern law officers can do to stop them.

With the phenomenal success of the sit-in, it should be apparent that the sit-in technique, rather than being abandoned, will be expanded and revamped to serve as a weapon against as many areas of segregation as possible.

Since February 1, 1960, when the sit-ins began in Greensboro, North Carolina, several thousand students and adults have been arrested and untold numbers of business dollars have been lost in boycotts and closed lunch-counters. The result, however, has been dramatic in all areas but the deep South. By the latest estimate, some eating facilities in 126 Southern cities were reported desegregated since the initial sit-in.

In addition, merchants in deep South Atlanta have agreed to desegregate eating and other facilities in 70 stores this fall; and segregation in other cities still is

Sit-In

(Continued)

under heavy pressure from students and the adult community.

As indicated above, the sit-in technique has been extended to many other areas than lunch-counters. Negroes now sit where they have tickets for concerts and other programs in the Municipal Auditorium in Atlanta; Negro dentists recently picketed a segregated dental meeting in Atlanta; and the South is experiencing sit-ins in libraries; related activities at segregated parks; boycotts for equal employment opportunities; and increasing theater stand-ins.

Since February 1 of this year, theater stand-ins have occurred in 19 cities of the South. Three cities, Nashville, Tennessee, and Lexington and Louisville, Kentucky, now are experimenting with theater desegregation.

When lunch-counter sit-ins began early last year, some cities formed biracial committees to help solve the problem; in a number of the cities, the advisory groups did effective work. Most of the committees were abandoned, however, when lunch counters were desegregated or when sit-ins showed a temporary waning of power. In few if in any cities did city officials and business leaders move further toward ridding their cities of segregation than the then present pressure demanded.

And, yet, there was sufficient warning from a number of quarters that continued sit-in pressure could be expected.

NEW SOUTH published an article on the North Carolina cities involved in the early stages of the sit-in movement in March 1960. It said:

"The lunch-counter protest should serve as a dramatic warning to Southern leadership. All Negroes and many of the white persons interviewed during the seven-city tour [of North Carolina] indicated a strong belief that the lunch-counter demonstrations are only one phase of an intensified drive by the Negro to achieve equality in all areas of public life.

"A North Carolina newspaper editor said, 'It is silly to think the students will stop at lunch counters,' and a distinguished educator in one Negro community said that the plans were already being formulated for a drive to secure better job opportunities for Negroes when the student movement began."

Subsequent events have proven these prophecies to be true. Although demonstrations have waned at times, they seem to burst forth anew with regularity. To wit, Mississippi experienced its first sit-in on March 27, 1961, more than a year after the initial sit-in in Greensboro, N. C. On that date, a group of Negro students from a nearby college sought service at the city's libraries. City officials had the Negroes arrested. Mississippi is now experiencing other "sit-in" activities and probably can expect increased pressure in the future.

Southern officials should have realized that "sit-in" activity probably would continue when a small group met in Raleigh, N. C., during the weekend of April 15 of last year. It was here that the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) was organized to represent student movements against segregation in 15 Southern and border states.

Since then, SNCC has met regularly

to coordinate activities of students in the 15 states and to formulate proposals for continued activity against segregated facilities. Although students in individual protest areas are not bound by SNCC suggestions, when an SNCC proposal is made a number of protest areas generally follow. The areas that do not usually are concerned with sit-in activity of another nature and hesitate to spread efforts too thinly. For instance, theater stand-ins were proposed by SNCC as a "freedom day" project this year and, in a number of cities, students followed the suggestion. Students in other protest areas, however, still were concentrating on lunch counters and chose "freedom day" for impressive demonstrations against the initial student target.

Meeting April 21-23, in Charlotte, N. C., only a few days past its first anniversary, SNCC members formulated a number of proposals and suggestions which are being passed along to students all over the South.

One proposal, "Drive Against Travel Bias," called on all Negro students to test segregated facilities in bus and train terminals on their way home following the closing of the spring school term. If refused service or if jailed, SNCC requested that detailed complaints be sent to the Interstate Commerce Commission and the United States Attorney General. SNCC is now cooperating in the "Freedom Ride" movement. There are other proposals as well, involving voting and recreational facilities.

SNCC includes representatives from Arkansas, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, Kentucky, Louisiana, Missouri, Mississippi, Maryland, Oklahoma, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, and Texas.

That continued sit-in activity is felt to be necessary and desirable by SNCC members and other students is ample evidence that Southern white officials and business leaders have not clearly read the lessons presented in earlier sit-in cases. Rather, legislatures in a number of states have moved to curb sit-in activity by laws rather than seeking to remedy the causes of sit-ins. Every state legislature which met in 1960 passed laws attempting to regulate sit-in activity. The states doing so included Virginia, Georgia, South Carolina, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Arkansas (which legislated in 1959). North Carolina employed a law already on the books in an attempt to curb sit-in activity. The laws in regard to the sit-ins are, of course, being tested with several in the hands of the Supreme Court.

But regardless of the outcome of litigation, Southern leaders need to seek sensible solutions to the problems which inspired sit-in and related movements.

What the North Carolina Council on Human Relations said in regard to sit-ins in February 1960, is even more true today; that is:

". . . The time is *now* for state and community leadership to realize the serious and far-reaching nature of these movements and to move quickly toward finding peaceful and honorable solutions. A way can be found to deal with the moral, legal and economic aspects of the problem."

The situation has not changed materially during the intervening year. It is past time the South found the "way" before needless turmoil and irreparable harm forces a solution.

Alexandria Council Seeks Improved Race Relations

By
Mrs. George A. Eddy
President
Alexandria Council
on Human Relations

Alexandria, Virginia, began as an 18th century seaport town. In mid-twentieth century it is a railroad city of 90,000 people just across the Potomac River from the capital of the nation. The river does not, however, separate Alexandria as a Virginia city from the cosmopolitan, metropolitan area of which it is increasingly a part. Twelve percent of Alexandria citizens are Negro.

It was in this setting in March 1958 that 35 people gathered at the Virginia Seminary to organize a Council on Human Relations. Clergy and other citizens, concerned about "massive resistance" to the Supreme Court decision and the resurgence of racism, banded together and affiliated with the Virginia Council on Human Relations which was organized in 1955, shortly after the Supreme Court decision against segregated schools. Thus began the struggle to build an organization in Alexandria which would attempt to help solve some of our increasing difficulties in race relations. This is a record of our success.

The initial group described the purpose of the Council to be "a meeting ground for Virginians sincerely concerned with finding reasonable and democratic solutions to the race problems now troubling our society" and invited other interested citizens to join them. The first meeting in April heard a Negro clergyman describe the situation of the Negro citizen in Alexandria.

The first public action of the Council came in July of that year when the group wrote the School Board and City Council to express its concern over the school situation and to suggest that a biracial study committee be appointed so that Alexandria would be able to desegregate schools when the time came. And, when in August the School Board announced that 14 Negro students had applied for transfer to white schools, the Council expressed public gratification that this first step toward compliance had been made.

Promptly following the statement, a candidate for state office called for investigation of the Council by the General Assembly Committee on Offenses against the Administration of Justice. This was a "massive resistance" committee created to investigate dissenters. These events occurred against the tense background of Little Rock, much hastily adopted massive resistance legislation, and court hearings involving the possibility of closing schools in Norfolk and

Front Royal.

In spite of the tension elsewhere in the state, a few Alexandria Negroes were transferred to previously all-white schools in February 1959. The mayor made it clear in advance that law and order would be maintained, crowds would not be allowed to gather near the schools nor newspapermen allowed to seek interviews on school grounds. There was complete calm and quiet acceptance of desegregation and the police were withdrawn from the affected schools a few days later.

Meanwhile, the Alexandria Council continued to grow. Colonel Benjamin Muse and Mr. James McBride Dabbs spoke to audiences of about 100 during the first year and about 120 individuals joined the Council.

Newsletter

Early in 1959, the Council was able to send $100 to the Virginia Council and decided to concentrate on housing and employment opportunities. At about the same time, the president of the local group resigned due to ill health and for five months the Council struggled along while a dozen persons were asked and declined to become president.

Meanwhile, interested board members continued to produce an informative monthly newsletter and conducted a series of four membership meetings on job opportunities and merit employment. At two of the meetings, members heard talks by officials of the Washington Urban League and the District Job Opportunities Committee. The other two programs consisted of panels of Alexandrians including a newspaperman, a City Council member, head of guidance at the Negro high school and several brave businessmen whom we succeeded in interesting in the Council's work. A score of other businessmen were invited but did not attend.

New Impetus

By February 1960, the growth of the Council had been so small, the problems so vast, the public apathy and antagonism so complete, that Council members considered disbanding. The membership of the Council was still small; there were no active committees, no president; and the few board members who attended meetings did the work that was accomplished. Both the board and general membership were composed largely of people already active in other community enterprises, or people who wanted to support the Council's purpose but lacked the time to work actively with the group.

The Council considered dropping its official work in order to allow board and general membership to concentrate in working for better race relations through several other civic and church groups. Then, a relatively new woman board member offered "to give the presidency a whirl for a year and if we don't make any progress then we can disband."

We believed that a state election in which a leading segregationist had been defeated two-to-one had improved the climate in race relations and so we decided to continue Council work. Since desegregation of the schools was proceeding slowly in the courts led by several patient, persistent Negro leaders, there appeared little that we could do in this direction. And so, we decided to

Alexandria

(Continued)

concentrate our limited resources on employment and housing with definite objectives in mind. We also planned to proceed with steady confrontation of the community with the facts of racial injustice. We planned to prepare and distribute widely a survey showing the inequalities and deprivation of opportunity for Alexandria's Negroes. The nominating committee found an able vice-president and the Council stayed in business.

The Council was in the hands of destiny for by the end of February the newspapers were full of student sit-ins in North Carolina, and it was obvious that no area was "safe" from this inspiriting new approach. In March, a new board member, with considerable experience in human relations work elsewhere, suggested we write the Retail Merchants Association to inform them there was no place where a Negro could sit and have a cup of coffee and to suggest that some of their members open part of their counters on a first-come, first-served basis.

Lunch Counters

Continuing the program, the Council president and secretary also spent an afternoon in the main shopping area telling variety store managers our belief that the city was ready for a change and offering our help in effecting a smooth transition.

The problem became more acute when the mayor was informed of a threatened sit-in at one of the city's variety stores. He asked Negro leaders to try to persuade students to postpone sit-in activity until it was possible to see what might be worked out voluntarily. The president of the Ministerial Association and some city merchants indicated their interest; and subsequently, a bi-racial Mayor's Citizens Committee was quietly appointed. The Council's president was appointed to the committee. Alexandria's mayor, a responsible public servant, charged the committee with the task of recommending procedures to maintain law and order in the city.

Problems

At the first meeting with the national heads of two stores and the local manager of one, we heard all the problems of the stores: uncertainty as to the legal application of the segregated seating law; uncertainty as to public support for a change in the custom; the effect on stores further south; and the fear of an influx of Negro customers.

During the course of several meetings, legal interpretations by the Attorney General and Commonwealth Attorney were presented which allayed much of the managers' fears. A strong point was made of the failure of a rigid policy for all schools in Virginia as a whole as applicable to flexibility of policy for chain stores. Serious trouble by not opening lunch counters had been experienced in Richmond and nearby Arlington and the committee suggested that the best way to obviate trouble was to open the counters. Managers were assured that we would support this change, and Negro committee members offered to help control the initial flow of Negro customers. Southern Regional Council reports on desegregation of counters in

several Texas cities were given by our president to the businessmen who later specifically thanked her for them.

By July 4, 1960, the lunch counters were opened to all. The "influx" proved to be a bogeyman; there was not a single incident; and no loss of business reported. A surprise to all participants was the voluntary desegregation of a small restaurant.

The state election of 1959 in which segregationists lost ground; the token yet actual desegregation of some schools, and now the lunch counters opened to all—all without incident. Using hindsight in regard to lunch-counter segregation, we think it was only a paper wall which needed only a few good huffs and puffs to bring it down. The lesson is, we think, that the people are considerably ahead of politicians and other leaders in their readiness to accept change in local customs.

Favorable Climate

These encouraging developments gave us considerable confidence to move forward. The definite accomplishment of opening lunch counters and the climate of good will in which it was done gave an aura of success to all in the city concerned with race relations whether or not they had played a part in the desegregation process or even knew of the Council on Human Relations. In short, a favorable climate had been created by a specific action in which we had played a part.

Subsequent to the board's decision to concentrate on specific projects, the Alexandria Council, in the spring of 1960, began to work on opening employment opportunities and educating employers to the practice of merit hiring. Although we had been unable to interest a businessman to head such a committee (a Council weakness is the lack of contact with the business community), we proceeded with our available resources. One member offered to make a file of employers who might possibly be interested (obtained from a leading citizen who was not a Council member); and the Council president asked several members to interview those on the list (1) to find out where Negroes were employed above the unskilled level and (2) to gently expound the benefits of merit hiring and to leave some literature on the subject (from the American Friends Service Committee).

Several Council members felt they could manage a couple of interviews although they did not have time for regular committee work. From this initial start, the following has developed in a year:

1. A member with professional personnel experience offered her services as secretary of an Employment Committee until a businessman chairman could be found (she actually serves as chairman).

2. She conducted a survey of 42 employers which disclosed that 36 employ 175 Negroes in skilled positions; such as, secretary, comptroller, clerk handling, cash register, sales girl, mechanic, venetian blind serviceman, chemist. Additional members volunteered or were asked to conduct interviews and join committee.

3. A press release on the survey and reprint of newspaper account were sent to all interviewed employers, City Council members, and to 14 utility and chain store managers in the area.

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(Continued)

4. The first dozen replies from employers were bland and meaningless until the Safeway Grocery Stores, a large chain, replied by asking for an appointment for three of their officials with our employment chairman. They informed her that they were extending to Northern Virginia the store's policy of merit employment which they said worked well elsewhere in the country. Later, they extended the policy as far south as Richmond.

5. The local Safeway manager called on our chairman and asked her to find qualified Negro applicants for several specific openings.

6. The Council asked board members and ministers to help locate applicants and the guidance director of the local Negro high school was told of the openings. Within three days, a Negro woman was employed as cashier by a local Safeway.

Utility Companies

The Council is continuing talks with some utility companies with laregly desegregated operations in Washington. This is an effort to convince the companies that Northern Virginia is ready to change some of its economic and social anachronisms. At least one utility is sensitive to what the Council is saying. The Fairfax and Arlington councils also have written letters urging extension of merit hiring into the area.

The Council's employment committee has had advice from specialists at the Washington Urban League and the example and advice of the District Job Opportunities Committee which is composed of leading businessmen. We were advised to emphasize merit and good business advantages and omit appeals to morality or justice. We also were advised that it is more effective to begin with national chain stores with nondiscriminatory policies outside the South.

City Employment

Since only a few skilled Negroes are employed by the city with no Negro policemen and firemen, the Council also decided to work toward more equal opportunity in this area. Our efforts last year to provide qualified Negro applicants for policemen resulted in two taking the test but neither was accepted. We have talked with the city personnel director and we now are making a concerted effort to send qualified applicants for all kinds of jobs to that office. One-question questionnaires have been sent to all City Council candidates in the forthcoming election asking their stand on merit employment. The replies are favorable and will form the basis of further work with city officials immediately after the election.

Issues not of our making in the field of housing, as in lunch-counter desegregation, have arisen; and we have made them a springboard from which to inform the public of injustice and propose approaches and solutions to problems. A proposal to locate a high school which necessitated the moving of long-settled Negro families and the eruption of a slum ownership scandal highlighted poor housing conditions for Negroes, especially the almost complete absence of homes available for middle income Negroes.

The Council survey showed that 90% of the Negro teachers live outside the city, as do 15 to 19 ministers, six of the seven doctors and seven of the eight lawyers. The Washington newspapers gave good coverage to the high school location problem and slums and so unexpected publicity also was given to housing needs. This was an unlooked for lift for our policy of confrontation of the public by facts. Fortunately, the Washington newspapers are interested in reporting racial matters and the Council is emerging from a state of timidity about publicity to a realization of its helpfulness. This state of affairs, we believe, is, in itself, a reflection of an improving climate.

After attempting a community education program on race relations through the churches and meeting complete silence, the president asked the co-chairmen in charge of this effort to work with a Housing Committee. Due to the interest and concern in the housing situation, the Council established a 13-member committee divided into specific tasks.

Housing Project

The Council's major project will be to attempt to help develop pockets of land presently owned by Negroes for Negro homes. This land now is being sold off rapidly for other purposes. Private financing and building now can be obtained because of the increasing recognition of the demands, but new land for Negro homes in Alexandria is nonexistent. The races have lived side by side for generations in Old Town and other parts of the city, but economic changes in upgrading of prices tend to push the resident Negroes out and custom will not permit other Negroes with adequate incomes to buy into the area.

Playground Program

The Council has worked in many areas including some minor problems. A year ago a discouraging incident occurred when a recreation department official told a Negro boy he could not play in the city summer school playground program at a desegregated school. The incident was reported to the mother of a boy who was present — one of our white members. When the Council decided to take action, we found ourselves stymied as the responsibility was passed round and round through City Council, City Manager, and the Recreation Department. With lunch counters, employment, and housing occupying our energies, the Council did not press the matter until spring rolled around again; and we realized the same thing was likely to occur again.

Then, three Council members wrote a letter to City Council requesting that city-operated playgrounds be opened on a neighborhood basis to all properly-behaved children. City Council referred the matter to the Mayor's Committee, which favored the request, and City Council through the City Manager so ordered. Here again, we only started the action by confrontation of responsible people with the injustice. This appears to be another paper wall which probably will be a relief to have removed—but some group first had to point out the existence of the problem.

The Council also has made a statement to the School Board favoring local assignment of pupils and will continue

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(Continued)

to repeat it until this policy is adopted. We also plan to make statements favoring the adoption of compulsory school attendance. Both of these actions now are open to localities under state law.

A brief, readable fact sheet, "Some Facts about the Negro Citizen in Alexandria—Education, Employment, Housing, Public Service, Recreation," has just been mailed to 800 community leaders. The Council believes many persons are not aware of the arbitrary deprivation of opportunity and responsibility for a tenth of Alexandria's citizens and we ask them what Alexandria is gaining by this deprivation.

Frankly, we are amazed at the rapid pace and calm acceptance of change. A year ago many problems seemed overwhelming. But the Council made a small concrete start where we were and with what we had and have been rewarded beyond hope with interest, money, volunteers, and tangible accomplishment. At membership meetings, a series of information and action programs were presented on two specific topics—employment and housing. The Council has not had a "name" speaker on general topics for almost two years. The monthly Newsletter constantly emphasizes action that members can take, such as writing letters and calling on managers of stores patronized; to offer public support for change of policy in lunch counters and employment. Evidence of public support for change is needed, we believe, in order to counteract the fearful clinging to the status quo.

The Council will actively follow up on federal government directives requiring additional merit employment in all federal agencies, installations, and government contracts. This is a fruitful field of action throughout the South with its many federal installations. It also could have an important influence, we think, on private employment.

The Council policy is to work with and through more influential groups whenever possible—to confront responsible groups with the facts. Progress to date has been without appreciable aid from either churches or businessmen as a group. As a future project, the Council would like to make available to these groups program suggestions on immunizing racial fears, facts about race, economic costs of discrimination, etc.

Those of us who work with the Council feel it is a privilege to be on the cutting edge of social change, to help reduce the discrepancy between what we practice and what we preach in America, and to lift some of the South's burden of racial fear and distrust.

"The Freedom Ride," a special report from the Southern Regional Council, concerns the "Freedom Riders" and the Alabama riots, including press reaction, etc. Available from the Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia, at 10¢ per copy. (Mimeographed)

10 copies

"Prevent Future Incidents Of Mob Action, Bloodshed"

50 Members of Montgomery Ministerial Association

The following resolution was adopted by approximately fifty members of the Montgomery Ministerial Association.

BE IT RESOLVED:

1. That as the Montgomery Ministerial Association we express our shock and sorrow at events of violence and mob action that have recently happened in Montgomery.

2. That we express our concern that all necessary steps be taken to prevent future incidents of mob action and bloodshed.

3. That we call on all authorities and all citizens and all groups within and without the state to restrain themselves during the crisis from action and statements of an inflammatory nature. We must learn to live together in peace in Montgomery. If agreement does not exist now as to how this can be accomplished, Christian people and especially our public officials are called upon to help provide a climate in which progress can be made and problems dealt with that rules out violence and bloodshed.

4. That we join the lay group who met Saturday night and all other lay and civic groups who do not condone recent events.

5. That we designate next Sunday, May 28, 1961, as a day of prayer and that all our people be urged to attend church to pray for divine guidance through these difficult days.

Arch MacNair, President
John Lambert, Secretary.

Students Bear Witness

The Board of Managers of United Church Women, meeting in Buffalo, New York, April 25, 1961, expresses its belief that in the great movements for racial justice and the world-wide protests against all forms of segregation, God is working out His purposes. This belief and our belief in the dignity of all men we have expressed in unequivocal statements on numerous occasions.

We give thanks for these movements. We give thanks for those within the churches in all parts of the nation who are helping the churches witness in their practice to God's love for every man. We confess with penitence, however, that churches bearing the name of Jesus Christ are for the most part so largely segregated, when by the imperatives of their faith Christians are called to leadership in witnessing to the unity of mankind.

We recognize the various ways, including the kneel-ins, by which both Negro and white students and many other persons are bearing witness to this faith. We give thanks for their courage and perseverance; we offer them every encouragement and support.

We urge all church women to receive all worshippers as children of the one Father and to dedicate themselves anew to efforts to wipe out segregation in the corporate life and worship of our churches and councils of church women.

"Condemn Lawlessness"

We share the pain and humiliation of all those who suffered from the ferocious inhumanity which erupted in Birmingham last Sunday. We condemn the conduct of lawless persons who perpetrated the violent attacks upon others. We deplore the absence of the forewarned law enforcement agencies.

The failure of responsible officials to restrain violence at Anniston and Birmingham was clearly in violation of Article 1, Paragraph 35 of the Alabama constitution, which reads in part that "the sole object and only legitimate end of government is to protect the citizen in the enjoyment of life, liberty and property."

We join with the conscience of the Birmingham press, radio, TV, and other responsible leadership in recognizing the suffering on the part of communications personnel was required to bring to light brutality which has long been existent in Alabama. Signed statements of such brutality against Negroes and white alike, some inflicted at the hands of the police, are available.

We believe in a growing community unhindered by lawelessness and resultant industrial loss. When, by the common effort of its citizens, Birmingham will use the lesson of the recent tragedy to remove tension and disorder, a rehabilitated prestige will foster the growth of the community for the benegt of all.

The Greater Birmingham Council
on Human Relations.
May 16, 1961.

Noteworthy quotes from the press and periodicals

. . . Unquote

"We, the people—the newspaper people, the lawyers, the executives, the labor leaders, the clergy and the average household workers and businessmen permitted a condition to arise that let intolerance and brutality take over in Anniston, Birmingham, and Montgomery."

The Birmingham *News*

• • •

"There is need for law enforcement officials—and that should include a call from the Governor of this state to state investigators and highway patrolmen—to apprehend those responsible for the burning of the bus and the assaults on individuals in the Birmingham and Anniston stations."

The Tuscaloosa *News*

• • •

"The incidents Sunday [May 14, 1961, in Birmingham] serve only to intensify the campaign for an immediate breakdown of the racial barriers in the Deep South."

The Huntsville *Times*

"His [Governor Patterson's] explanation that crowds were gathering in several Alabama towns through which the CORE group would pass was no excuse whatsoever. Law is law and authorities are fully equipped by the public and at the public expense to handle disorder. If this can't be done then the Governor or anybody else would be admitting that potential anarchy existed in Alabama."

The Birmingham *News*

• • •

"I do not know of anything that could be done to prevent further integration in the public schools."

Delegate James M. Thomas
Alexandria, Virginia
Quoted in *Washington Post*
April 26, 1961

• • •

"Those who took the law into their own hands in both Birmingham and Anniston need to be ferretted out and punished by proper authorities. Mob rules must never be condoned."

Opelika *Daily News*

The Changing South in Print!

As I have often said before, the NEW SOUTH publication, published by the Southern Regional Council with headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia, is one of the best magazines describing human relations here in our country today . . . . Charles Steele, Louisville, Kentucky, *Defender*, May 4, 1961.

PR - Speeches

Outline of Remarks Delivered by Paul Rilling to the Southeastern Conference of the National Federation of Settlements and Neighborhood Centers, Mammoth Cave, Kentucky, October 27, 1961.

WHAT PRICE PROGRESS?

I. The problem of readjusting race relations is the number one social, economic, and political problem of the United States.

A. It is not a regional problem, but a national problem with international implications.

B. In the South, this basic problem interrelates with and complicates virtually all of the other pressing social and economic problems of the region.

II. Although we have made more progress since 1954 toward the solution of these problems than during the entire period from 1865 to 1954, changes to date are still within the meaning of "minute readjustment."

A. The process of school desegregation is continuing to spread geographically but is spreading little in depth. The number of technically complying communities increases, but compliance is almost invariably of the superficial or token variety.

1. 1961 was a good year in terms of school desegregation. Over 40 new school districts were desegregated, the largest number since 1957, and without significant incidents.

2. In the cities of the South, Extreme resistance is being abandoned, and leadership is moving more responsibly to adjust to reality.

a. Of 15 urban areas of over half a million population in the total South, only two remain completely segregated, Fort Worth and Birmingham.

b. Of the 13 areas which have experienced some desegregation, six initiated the change in 1960 or 1961.

3. Although some six thousand Negro children are now attending school with white students in the old Confederate states, the percentage is less than one per cent of the total number of Negro students enrolled in each state, with the exception of Texas, where one and one-half percent of the Negro students are attending classes with whites.

4. Southern leadership is learning the lessons of Little Rock and New Orleans, how to avoid violence and maintain order, also how to avoid compliance with the spirit of the 1954 Supreme Court decision by compliance with the minimum letter.

B. Direct action procedures, which have been employed during the past two years, have added a new dimension to the struggle for equal rights, and have expanded the contest from the court room into the market place.

1. These tactics provide direct confrontation between opposing forces and individuals, and thus have within them potential for explosive developments.

2. The student sit-in activities have opened lunch counters in drug and department stores in over 100 Southern communities, reaching as far South as Atlanta and Savannah in Georgia.

3. The Freedom Rides have brought the federal government more specifically into the situation, have caused the adoption of the recent ICC order, etc..

C. In the area of public facilities, progress toward desegregation has been more than token.

1. Bus systems are desegregated in communities in all Southern states.

2. Parks and golf courses are open as far South as Jacksonville, Florida; Charleston, S.C.; and Mobile, Alabama.

III. The South is faced with a number of social and economic problems, although since World War II, the South has been developing economically at a more rapid pace than the rest of the nation, thus narrowing the traditional gap.

A. The entire nation is caught up in the trends of urbanization and industrialization. These developments are moving more rapidly in the South than in the rest of the nation.

B. The South is industrializing rapidly, but much of the new industry is in the non-durable goods, unskilled, low wage category.

1. From 1954 to 1958, the average annual rate of increase in new manufacturing was 2.1% in the Southeast, as compared to .95% in the rest of the nation.

2. In 1950 only .7% of Southern workers were engaged in durable goods industries as compared to .17% in the rest of the nation.

C. Although the South is closing the gap in living standards, the average Southern living standard was only 74% that of the national standard in 1960 and at present rates of increase will be only 77.4% of the national average by 1970.

D. The South is losing heavily through out-migration of its resources of youth to other parts of the nation.

1. Just over 50% of the Negro population in the United States now lives in the South as compared to 70% in 1950 and 90% in 1910.

2. An estimated one million people left the South from 1950 to 1960, of which probably half were white.

3. A study by the University of Tennessee indicates that the exodus of educated young people from Tennessee costs the state $135,000,000 a year in wasted educational investment.

E. The movement to the cities is creating special problems in the Southern area.

1. Between 1950 and 1960 more Southern counties lost population than gained. However, 74 of 75 standard metropolitan areas in the South gained.

2. Southern cities face the problems of all cities aggrevated by more rapid growth and racial tensions.

3. The crime rate in Southern cities is substantially higher than that in comparable non-Southern cities. During the ten year period 1940-1950, the murder rate in 43 Southern cities was 15.5 per one hundred thousand as compared to 3.2 in an equal number of non-Southern cities.

IV. The Southern way of life is changing with a momentum equivalent to a revolution in our regional way of life. For the most part, these changes have been due more to factors of chance and outside pressures than to the foresight of regional planning or Southern leadership. Change will come; the question is in what form and at what price. A quotation from William Nicholl's book, Southern Tradition and Regional Progress: "The South has been choosing progress over tradition almost in spite of itself and has done it so gradually as to be largely unaware of what was happening. However, pmogress by drift is at best bound to be slow enough and unless the South faces the conflicts between tradition and progress squarely and realistically, its stubborn and recently intensified adherence to tradition may well slow progress to a snail's pace at the very time when its rapid acceleration might normally have been expected."

San Francisco Chronicle - PR - 11/11/61

'Token' Integration

The South's New Delaying Tactic

San Francisco Chronicle

Southern segregationists have adopted a new tactic — "token compliance" — to defeat the laws and court orders for integration of Negroes and whites in public facilities, three integration leaders declared yesterday.

Ruby Hurley, southeast regional secretary of the National Association for Advancement of Colored People; Paul Rilling, director of field activities for the Southern Regional Council and Wyatt T. Walker, executive director of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, made their report at the final convention session here of the National Association of Intergroup Relations.

SCHEMES

"Mass resistance and absolute defiance by white supremacists have given way to ingenious schemes for as little compliance as possible," Miss Hurley said.

"The granting of full citizenship rights in some areas for the Negro barely touches the life of the average Negro Southerner," Rilling declared.

He noted that school segregation affects less than one-half of 1 per cent of school children in all Southern states except Texas. Gerrymandering of school districts and impractical acceptance standards for Negro students in previously all-white schools keep the mixing down to a token number, he said.

TACTIC

"Present integration is not a first step toward complete integration but a tactic — tokenism," Rilling declared. "It is taken to satisfy the courts. It is a recognition by Southern leaders in the South of the inevitability of change, but they are going to slow it as much as possible."

And how will this showdown of harassment and legal hairsplitting be answered?

By more efforts by Negroes to seek their right to vote peacefully, the three leaders declared. And by education of the Negro, for admittedly illiteracy and "lack of motivation" keep many Negroes in the South from [illegible]

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Form letter for reply to queries on official agencies -

Research mails

December 27, 1961

Rabbi Burton L. Padoll
Kahal Kadosh Beth Elohim
90 Hasell Street
Charleston, South Carolina

Dear Rabbi Padoll:

Leslie Dunbar has asked me to reply to your letter of December 12 regarding biracial committees in Southern communities. We are enclosing a small publication we did on biracial commissions about a year ago, as well as a fairly updated list of places where such committees have been active.

As you can see from this report, the size and the structure of these committees vary widely and it is difficult to develop general rules as to what structure is most effective. I believe it is generally agreed that the committee functions more effectively if members are appointed as individuals rather than representatives of groups and organizations. Of course, the most important single factor is that the committee include citizens who commandrrespect in the community and who are truly representative of leadership in the community. One of the mistakes most frequently made is for the appointing authority to select Negro representatives who are most acceptable to them rather than actual Negro leaders.

Such committees or commissions generally serve as advisory groups to local governmental authorities although they are sometimes asked to help to mediate or resolve specific problems on their own.

Although such committees can play a very constructive role in the community, it should also be noted that unless the appointing authority acts in good faith and unless the committee is well selected it can be a negative influence. This has been true in several places where attempts were made to use the existence of the committee as an excuse for inaction by local officials, or where the committee has been used as a means of stifling pressure for change. When such an effort proves ineffective, it becomes difficult to try again for some years because many people will assume that the interracial commission procedure has been tried

and was not helpful.

In a number of cases the Mayor and or other local officials have taken a prominent role in the encouragement and organization of biracial committees. Almost invariably these officials are not closely involved in the continued activity of the commissions. The presumption apparently is that the committees should be independent of control and that public officials should not be too closely involved in anything as potentially controversial.

Several newsclips and the Fowler Commission on Race Relations (Florida, state-wide, 1960) Recommended Approach for Local Bi-Racial Committees are also enclosed.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

Enclosures

PS on Podell letter

P.S. Although the appointment of biracial committees is still rather rare in the Deep South, there are of course, scores of unofficial interracial committees or councils of citizens striving to improve interracial communication and understanding. The South Carolina Council on Human Relations represents such an effort in South Carolina, and we cooperate closely with the SCCHR, which has local units in 5 South Carolina communities. You may want to talk with the Director of the South Carolina Council, Mrs. Alice Spearman, 1330 Laurel Street, Columbia, or perhaps you are already in contact with Mrs. Spearman.

Res. part 1

Progress of Desegregation in Certain Southern Communities

I. Number of Negro Students in White Schools:

	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961
Nashville	-	13	34	44	183	810
Clinton	10	9	10	11	10	20
Charlotte*	-	4**	4	1	2	27
Winston-Salem	-	1	4	7	9	15
Norfolk	-	-	17	21	23	50
Charlottesville	-	-	-	16	20	35
Miami	-	-	-	25	28	513

*now the school district is Charlotte-Mecklenburg
**one withdrew

NOTE: It should be noted that Nashville, Clinton, and Miami are not using pupil placement plans. The other four communities do employ such plans.

II. Extent of School Desegregation in Florida:

Broward County	-	32	Negroes	attending	3	desegregated schools.
*Dade County	-	513	"	"	9	" "
Hillsborough Co.	-	1	"	"	1	" "
Palm Beach	-	4	"	"	3	" "
Volusia	-	2	"	"	1	" "

*the number of Negroes involved in Dade County desegregation increased beyond this figure during the second semester. School authorities said that the changes were "purely routine" and released no figures.

NOTE: Public college desegregation includes:

1 Negro at the University of Florida
4 at the University of South Florida
2 at St. Petersburg Junior College
2 at Palm Beach County Junior College
1 Negro is also attending evening courses at Tomlinson Technical High School in St. Petersburg
Probably as many as 100 Negroes are attending classes with white students at junior colleges in Dade County.

Research materials

	NBC - White Paper No. 2 "Sit In"	NBC-Atlanta--1961	ABC-Walk in My Shoes
Alabama			
Birmingham	Not shown-WAPI (Program manager said he knew of at least 25 stations in Ala. which did not show them.)	Not shown-WAPI	Not shown-WBRC (Did show to one or two private groups.)
Florence	Shown - WOWL	Not shown-WOWL	Not shown-WOWL
~~Mobile~~	~~REPORTS CONFLICT AS FOLLOWS: Not shown-WALA Shown-WALA~~	~~AL Not shown-WLWA Shown-WALA~~	~~Shown-WLWA (?) Shown-WEAR~~
Arkansas			
Little Rock	Shown	Shown	Shown
Hot Springs	New NBC outlet has a policy of carrying all "White Papers" (Apparently not operating Dec. '60)	Shown	No full time ABC outlet
~~Fort Smith~~	~~?~~		
El Dorado	Not shown - had no commercial support	Shown	No full time ABC outlet
Georgia			
Atlanta	Shown	Shown	Shown
Augusta	Probably not shown, but cannot document	Not shown	Not shown
Savannah	Shown	Shown	TV people have no record of it; probably not shown.
North Carolina			
Charlotte		Probably shown	Shown
Greensboro		Shown	Shown
Raleigh		Shown	Shown
South Carolina			
Charleston	Not shown	Not shown	Shown
Columbia	Not shown	Not shown	Not shown

	NBC: "White Paper No. 2"	NBC: "Atlanta - 1961"	ABC: "Walk in My Shoes"
Tennessee			
Memphis	Shown on WMC-TV	Shown on WMC-TV	Shown on WHBI-TV ***
Knoxville	Shown on WATE-TV	Shown on WATE-TV	Shown on WTVK-TV
Chattanooga	Shown on WRGP-TV	Shown on WGRP-TV	Not shown on WTVC-TV
Nashville	Shown on WSM-TV	Shown on WSM-TV	Shown on WSIX-TV

*** Memphis reports that there were many protest to this program. A CBS Peace Corps program showing Negro and whites together was not shown in Memphis.

Texas			
Houston	Shown	Shown	Not shown

Number of Negro students in white schools

	Nashville	Clinton	Charlotte	Winston-Salem	Norfolk	Charlottesville	Miami
1956	-	10	-	-	-	-	-
6							
1957	13	9	4*	1	-	-	-
1958	34	10	4	4	17	-	-
1959	44	11	1	7	21	16	25
1960	183	10	2	9	23	20	28
1961	810	20	27	15	50	35	513

*1 withdrew

**now the school district is Charlotte-Mecklenburg

Res. Mat 1

PR- Speeches

Mobilizing Community Resources for Expanding Employment Opportunity

We are entering a period of great potential for expanding equal employment opportunity. In a recent report to the President, the President's Committee stated that gains have been made during the last year and that the groundwork has been laid for substantial progress during the next few years.

There is strong federal support and initiative for expanding equal employment opportunity. National labor and civil rights organizations are giving greater attention to this problem. There is a growing public awareness of the economic waste involved in discriminatory practices. There is less resistance here than in some other areas of the Civil Rights effort; in the South some changes in employment practices have been achieved without the extent of emotional outcry and extremist resistance that have met progress in the desegregation of school and other public facilities.

The 1961 Report of the Commission on Civil Rights notes that "Despite a dramatic increase in types of employment available to Negroes during the last 20 years, the mass of Negro workers are still confined largely to the less skilled jobs." In the South, at least, progress in equal employment opportunity is very much of the peripheral or token variety.

During these opening remarks I will concentrate primarily on the situation in the South. My work and experience are in the South. There are others on this panel well qualified to balance the picture. I am aware that there are considerable differences of degree between the South and other areas of the nation. In the North, generally, law and public policy at least formally encourage and support equal employment opportunity. There are 19 state and a number of local agencies with enforcement powers in this field, all of them in the North. A climate of community opinion is thus created which enables the businessman who wishes to practice non-discrimination to do so without fear of adverse public reaction.

In the South, of course, public law is either neutral or stands in the way of fair employment practices. Political leadership and public opinion are still committed to the preservation of segregation with its tradition of "Negro" jobs and "white" jobs. The businessman who moves to eliminate discrimination in hiring and upgrading fears public censure and economic loss. There almost never are adverse economic effects, but the fear is real. The problem is further complicated by the ambivalence of some southern union locals whose members are more attached to regional folkways than to the clearly stated policies of their national bodies.

The policies of the federal government and the activities of the President's Committee provide the only official

encouragement of equal employment opportunities in most parts of the South. Already, the efforts of the President's Committee have encouraged a number of southern businesses to liberalize their employment policies while hiding behind the President's Executive Order.

Efforts to broaden equal employment opportunities gained momentum in most parts of the nation during and immediately following World War II, in the wake of the war-time, voluntary federal FEPC program. The first two state anti-discrimination agencies were established in New York and New Jersey in 1945.

Although there was some private agency programing for merit employment in the South prior to 1954, major pressures for the opening of new job opportunities for Negroes did not develop until after the Supreme Court ruling against public school segregation.

As the Negro drive for full citizenship has gained momentum in the South there has been gradually increasing emphasis on demands for equal employment opportunities. A secondary issue during the 1950's, it has become a primary goal during the last several years.

The current drive for new job opportunities involves the use of three approaches: emphasis on federal employment and contract industries where the assistance of the President's Committee is available; the expanding educational efforts of such private agencies as the Urban League, the American Friends Service Committee, the N.A.A.C.P. and local inter-racial

Councils on Human Relations; the application of direct action techniques by local Negro groups, acting independently or as affiliates of Congress of Racial Equality, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the N.A.A.C.P., or the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

The increasing use of direct action techniques by Negro Southerners seeking changes in employment practices is a measure of the very limited progress in this area to date and of the growing impatience of citizens who are losing faith in the gradual and laborious processes of the courts, and in the uses of education and negotiation.

The demonstration and the economic boycott, developed for other purposes during the lunch counter sit-ins and the bus boycotts, are now being brought to bear against discrimination in employment. Ironically, the use of economic pressure was first developed in the South by segregationist extremists as a means of intimidating Negro civil rights leaders.

Selective buying campaigns, aimed at least partly at expanding equal employment opportunities, are currently in effect in Albany and Augusta, Georgia; Talladega, Huntsville and Birmingham, Alabama; Greenville and Laurel, Mississippi; Goldsboro, North Carolina; and Charleston, South Carolina. Last week several Charleston stores announced that they would begin employing Negroes in non-traditional jobs. Such pressures have brought scattered but significant changes in employment patterns in a number of other cities, including Atlanta and Nashville. Demonstrations and selective buying efforts have

been most effective in encouraging changes in drug and grocery stores in Negro neighborhoods and in department stores with large Negro clientele.

There have been gains, too, in the South through the processes of education and persuasion. Local agencies painstakingly probe for non-traditional openings, then search for Negroes qualified for the positions. The New Orleans Urban League reports that it placed 152 Negroes last year in jobs formerly held by whites. Progress is slow and irregular and is due to an interaction of these factors of pressure, persuasion, and federal assistance.

In the average southern community, "mobilizing community resources for expanding equal employment opportunities" can only mean the coordination of Negro student groups and civil rights agencies within the community. No other resources are available. In Nashville such a coordinated effort has been carried out under the Community Conference on Employment Opportunity. In Atlanta a number of agencies have organized the Merit Employment Coordinating Committee to achieve better liaison.

Elected officials, businessmen, ministers, union officials, and civic leaders have not generally been available as community resources for this effort in southern communities. Chambers of Commerce and business leaders tend to become involved only during times of crisis. There seems to be much more concern for order and stability than for equal opportunity. Where a crisis is posed by demonstration or boycott, business leaders

tend to play a major role in assisting the community to respond constructively. This pattern of response, I think, helps to explain the spread of more militant techniques in the South.

Businessmen in Dallas provided a healthy exception to this pattern. Last fall the Dallas Citizens' Council, a group of leading business figures with no connection with any other organizations with similar names, took the initiative in upgrading Negroes to non-traditional jobs in many of the city's major firms. This effort was part of an over-all plan by Dallas business leaders to avoid racial tensions and incidents by solving the problems which create them.

During a period of international emergency, during a period of constantly rising demands for skilled labor, we cannot afford barriers of race and religion in the operation of our economy. The removal of these barriers requires a national effort which can mobilize our total social resources. Reliance on FEP laws, complaints and enforcement machinery will not achieve equal employment opportunity in the North. There must also be more widespread understanding of the objectives of fair employment laws, more involvement of civic and religious leadership. The New York State Commission has achieved some important results through the organization of local and regional advisory councils. Others have been able to mobilize impressive support.

The efforts of the President's Committee and of civil rights organizations will not by themselves achieve equal employment opportunity in the South. Federal offices and contract industries may set the pace, but others must follow. Business leaders need to seek solutions to problems of job discrimination without waiting for the pressures of demonstration and boycott. Civic and religious leadership is needed to create a public climate which will permit and encourage equal employment practices. Even more than other sections of the nation the South is caught up in the vicious circle of discrimination cited in the employment report of the Commission on Civil Rights; "the Negro is denied, or fails to apply for, training for jobs in which employment opportunities have traditionally been denied him; when jobs do become available, there are consequently few, if any, qualified Negroes available to fill them; and often, because of lack of knowledge of such newly opened opportunities, even the few who are qualified fail to apply."

The expanding of equal employment opportunities, of course, requires much more than the elimination of racial and religious restrictions on employment and upgrading. It involves the elimination of unequal education, the availability to all of apprenticeship training, encouraging and counseling young people to prepare for jobs and professions not traditional for their groups. It also involves equal access to job information through public and private employment services.

Expanding equal employment opportunities is vital to the strengthening of our national economy. It is also a basic step toward the solution of other civil rights problems. When minority group citizens have equal access to the ballot and equal access to job opportunities, they will have the means of overcoming many other forms of discrimination as well.

As is so often true of opening statements, this one has dealt with the need and the nature of the problem of "mobilizing community resources," but has said nothing about how the problem can be handled. As we discuss methods and programs for mobilizing community resources, let me suggest several of the relevant questions which we might consider:

1. How can public and private agencies most effectively help the businessman to comply with the provisions of the Executive Order on Equal Employment Opportunities?

2. How can young people of minority groups be encouraged to prepare for non-traditional employment? Can we ethically advise Negro students, for example, to train themselves for positions that we hope will be open at some time in the future?

3. How can civic and religious leaders be encouraged to see that problems of equal employment are not simply economic problems, that they are moral problems of concern to the entire community?

4. How can we dramatize effectively to the general public the need for expanding equal employment opportunities? Job opportunities are at least as important as the desegregation of lunch counters and bus terminals, but they have received much less public notice.

Paul M. Rilling
Southern Regional Council, Inc.

May 14, 1962

PMR/mr

~~Memo~~ Research Mat'l

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Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date January 8, 1962

To: LWD From: PR

Subject: Education on and near military bases

A summary in the Southern School News of March, 1960 draws these general conclusions:

1. Only three Deep South states have no desegregation of base school facilities.

2. Where base schools exist, they follow a strict policy of integration for children of service personnel.

3. Where military dependents attend off-base schools, they follow local customs, even if the schools are financed largely by federal funds. It was also noted, however, that military personnel have sometimes been able to influence a change of educational policy in communities serving large numbers of children of military personnel.

4. The clips in our files show very little change from the pattern noted state by state in the March, '60 issue of Southern School News. I called the SSN and they indicate that their clippings files and information show little change in the 1960 pattern.

Drawing on some material in this issue and asking state directors to check out a selected number of military bases of all services, we did a spot check effort to learn the answers to three basic questions: (1) Do Negro families live on the base? (2) Are there educational facilities on the base, and if so, are they attended by Negro children, if any? (3) If the children of military personnel attend schools off-bases, are these schools segregated or desegregated? Do any of these schools serve primarily the needs of military personnel?

The available data is as follows.

1. Maxwell Air Force Base, Montgomery, Alabama.

One Negro family currently lives on the base. Several years ago, the Montgomery City-County School System operated a school exclusively serving Maxwell. This was abandoned after the Defense Department proclaimed a policy of non-segregation. Military dependents now attend schools in the Montgomery City-County System, which is segregated.

There is a school next to the base which serves primarily children of military personnel. The school is built on land that is fenced off from the rest of the base, but projects into the base. This land was reportedly given to the city by the base to circumvent the problem of desegregation. The school is for whites only.

There is a kindergarten on the base, operated by the Officers Wives Club. In September of 1961, an attempt was made to register a Negro child at the kindergarten. The Negro parents were told by a civilian employee that the child could not be admitted. Several days later the president of the Officers Wives Club learned of the incident, discharged the civilian employee, contacted the Negro parents, and told them that the child could be enrolled. The woman operating the kindergarten also wrote to the parents that they were holding an opening for the child and that the child would be welcomed. The parents decided not to send the child to the kindergarten for fear of unpleasantness.

It is significant that only one Negro family lives on-base, although there is a fairly large number of Negro servicemen living off-base.

2. Redstone Arsenal, Huntsville, Alabama.

Negro families do live on the base. There are no schools on the base. Children of military personnel attend segregated off-base schools. At least one of these schools, the Madison-Pike School, was built on Redstone Arsenal land deeded to the city. This was the school referred to by the Justice Department in 1960 when the Department publicly noted that it would press for desegregation of the Madison-Pike School because the school was built on land deeded by the federal government, received a heavy government contribution to the construction costs of the school, because the enrollment in the school is primarily of military personnel, and because a large portion of the annual budget of the school comes from the federal government. The Huntsville school authorities claim that not more than half the enrollment of the school consists of military dependents. Friendly local estimates are considerably higher.

NB! Whatever happened to the plans of the Justice Department?

3. Eglin Field, Panama City, Florida.

Negro personnel do live on base. Their children do attend a desegregated school operated by the government.

4. MacDill Field, Tampa, Florida.

The same situation as at Eglin Field.

5. Patrick Air Force Base, Cape Canaveral, Florida.

Likewise.

6. Homestead Air Force Base, Miami.

Negro military personnel do live on-base. There are no school facilities on the base. The children of Negro personnel do attend the Homestead School, a desegregated public school, elementary, operated by Dade County primarily for dependents of military personnel. The needs of the military personnel were a major factor in the desegregation of the Homestead School, one of the first desegregated in Florida.

7. Pensacola Naval Air Station, Pensacola.

One Negro family lives on the Base. There is a village of military personnel just off the base which is integrated; no information available on the number of Negroes involved. There are now no schools on the base. There is on-base a nursery which is ~~segregated~~ not integrated. Off-base there is an elementary school which has two thirds of the student body composed of children of military people, and a junior high with half of the students from this source. The schools are segregated. The court has approved a plan to begin desegregation by next fall.

8. Naval Air Station, Jacksonville.

Negro families do live on-base. Number unknown. There are no schools on the base now. Children attend off-base segregated schools.

9. Ft. Benning, Columbus, Georgia.

There are Negro military personnel at Ft. Benning. There are desegregated elementary schools on the base. The high school students must attend public schools of Columbus, which are segregated. It is probable that every public school within a two mile radius of the ~~ft.~~ Fort would have military dependents heavily represented in its student body. Baker High School, white, is reported to have a large number of students from the Fort.

It is noted that students of Oriental and dark Puerto Rican families attend the white public schools without difficulty.

There was a move in 1959 to build a high school at Ft. Benning. The move was blocked by County school officials. The Ft. Benning commander at that time, Major General Paul Freeman, requested the

Muscogee School District to recommend ~~school~~ construction of a high school on the post. County school officials advised the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare that it could handle federally connected students in the area, thus effectively blocking the proposed high school.

10. Ft. McPherson, Atlanta; Ft. Gordon near Augusta; Camp Stewart, near Hinesville

No schools on the post and the children of military personnel attend segregated schools in the towns. The same thing is true of Roberts Air Force Base near Macon.

11. Ft. Bragg, Fayetteville, N.C.

Negro families live on the base and attend desegregated elementary schools. High school students attend Fayette City Schools, segregated. Harry Jones indicates that probably there is no off-base school serving exclusively or primarily military personnel.

12. The Southern School News reports that two North Carolina school systems were desegregated primarily because of their proximity to military bases. These are in Craven County, near Cherry Point Marine Base, and Wayne County, site of Seymour Johnson Air Force Base.

Wayne County schools were desegregated in March of 1959. One elementary school in Wayne County has been designated specifically for children of military personnel. The school was built with federal help.

In Craven County two schools were desegregated in Havelock near the Marine Base. There are no schools on either post.

13. Parris Island Marine Recruit Depot, Parris Island, S. C.

Negro families live on Parris Island base, and also in Laurel Bay, a housing area accommodating military personnel of both Parris Island and air base and the naval hospital. Negroes also reside at the air base.

There is an elementary school on Parris Island through eighth grade which is for military dependents only and is desegregated.

Hamilton School at Laurel Bay was built by the County with federal money just outside the Laurel Bay area and was operated by the County until August, 1961 on a segregated, white basis. Negro children were taken into segregated schools in Beaufort. As of the fall of 1961 the Hamilton School was taken over by the Navy and is now desegregated. The faculty is also integrated. The Southern School News of November, 1961 reported the enrollment at the school to consist of 819 whites, 26 Negroes, 4 American Indians, 3 Maylayans, and 1 Mongolian.

High school students from these installations attend segregated public schools.

14. Langley Air Force Base, Hampton, Virginia.

Negro families live on base and their children attend two desegregated elementary schools. Junior high school children attend the Y. H. Thomas Junior High School in Hampton, which is segregated. High school age children go to Hampton High School, which is desegregated. Evidently the junior high school does not serve primarily military personnel.

15. Fort Lee, Petersburg, Virginia.

There are Negro families on base. There are no schools of any kind on the base. All children are transported by Ft. Lee to public schools in Prince George County, Virginia. These schools are segregated. White children attend Walton Elementary School and Prince George High School. Prince George High School has approximately 25 per cent of its students from military families. The Walton Elementary School has approximately 35% of its student body from military families. All Negro children on the base attend segregated schools in Petersburg.

16. Little Rock Air Force Base, Jacksonville, Arkansas.

The base is located 15 miles north of Little Rock and within the Pulaski County School District. There is an integrated housing development on the base. To serve the children of these families the county built two new schools with money furnished by the federal government, the County Training School for Negroes at McAlmont, and the Little Rock Air Force Base Elementary School for whites on land contiguous to the base.

When the Air Base School for whites opened in September, 1958 there was a Negro applicant who was refused. In September, 1959 the County leased the school to the Air Force. The Air Force then hired the County to operate it. The school is consequently desegregated, although actually under the same operation.

17. Ft. Campbell, Clarksville, Tennessee.

Three schools, grades one through nine, are operated on the base for the children of military personnel on a desegregated basis. High school children are transported by bus to high schools in Clarksville, segregated. Tuition is paid by the government.

18. Stewart Air Force Base, Smyrna, Tennessee.

Although military personnel live on the base there are no educational facilities. A group of Negro parents from Stewart were responsible for the court ordered desegregation of Coleman Elementary School in Rutherford County in the fall of 1959. Virtually all of Coleman's students are children of air force personnel. The court suit included all county schools.

19. The Southern School News reports that the presence of military bases has been a factor in ending segregation in several Texas school districts. Noted was Killeen, near Ft. Hood, and Wichita Falls, near Sheppard Air Force Base.

20. Desegregated elementary schools are also operated by the government at Quantico, Ft. Belvoir, Ft. Monroe, Virginia.

PAGE PARTIALLY UNLEGIBLE

Rosa, w/ Sparks, etc.

Master Copy -
Answer to queries re. formation of local Councils,

January 15, 1962

Mr. Harry W. Wallingford
3945 Richmond Avenue
Shreveport, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Wallingford:

The Southern Regional Council does cooperate closely with some 10 state Councils on Human Relations and approximately 60 local Councils related to them. These are simply organizations of white and Negro citizens who wish to consult together on a regular basis about common aims and concerns. There are also a number of local interracial councils and committees not cooperating with us or with the state councils. We do not know of any such groups in Louisiana at the present time, although I understand that some citizens in New Orleans are planning in this direction.

I am enclosing some materials that may give you some idea of how these groups operate. As you might expect, they vary considerably as to strength and program, depending on the local climate and leadership. Some are large organizations of several hundred members, some are small committees of 15-25. Some of them operate as public civic groups attempting to analyze their local problems and improve community understanding; others, as in some parts of Alabama and South Carolina, meet quietly without public attention and attempt to do little more than keep the channels open between the races. Councils in some communities such as Nashville, Tenn., Atlanta, Ga., Fairfax County, Va., etc., have been able to contribute directly to the elimination of some aspects of discrimination.

For the most part, I think it would be fair to say that the major achievements of such groups are: (1) the establishment of regular liaison between white and Negro leaders or citizens; (2) the education of those participating, as they learn to know each other and study their mutual problems; (3) where possible, some contribution toward the education of the total community.

slant

In many communities, the Council on Human Relations is the only gropp with biracial membership which can provide some antidote to the Ku Klux Klans and the White Citizens Councils.

Should you need additional information or help in considering the organization of such a group, I hope you will feel free to write me further. It might be possible for me to meet with you on a future trip to Louisiana or to arrange for a representative of a community group in Texas, Tennessee, or Arkansas to meet with any of you who may be interested.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm
Enc.

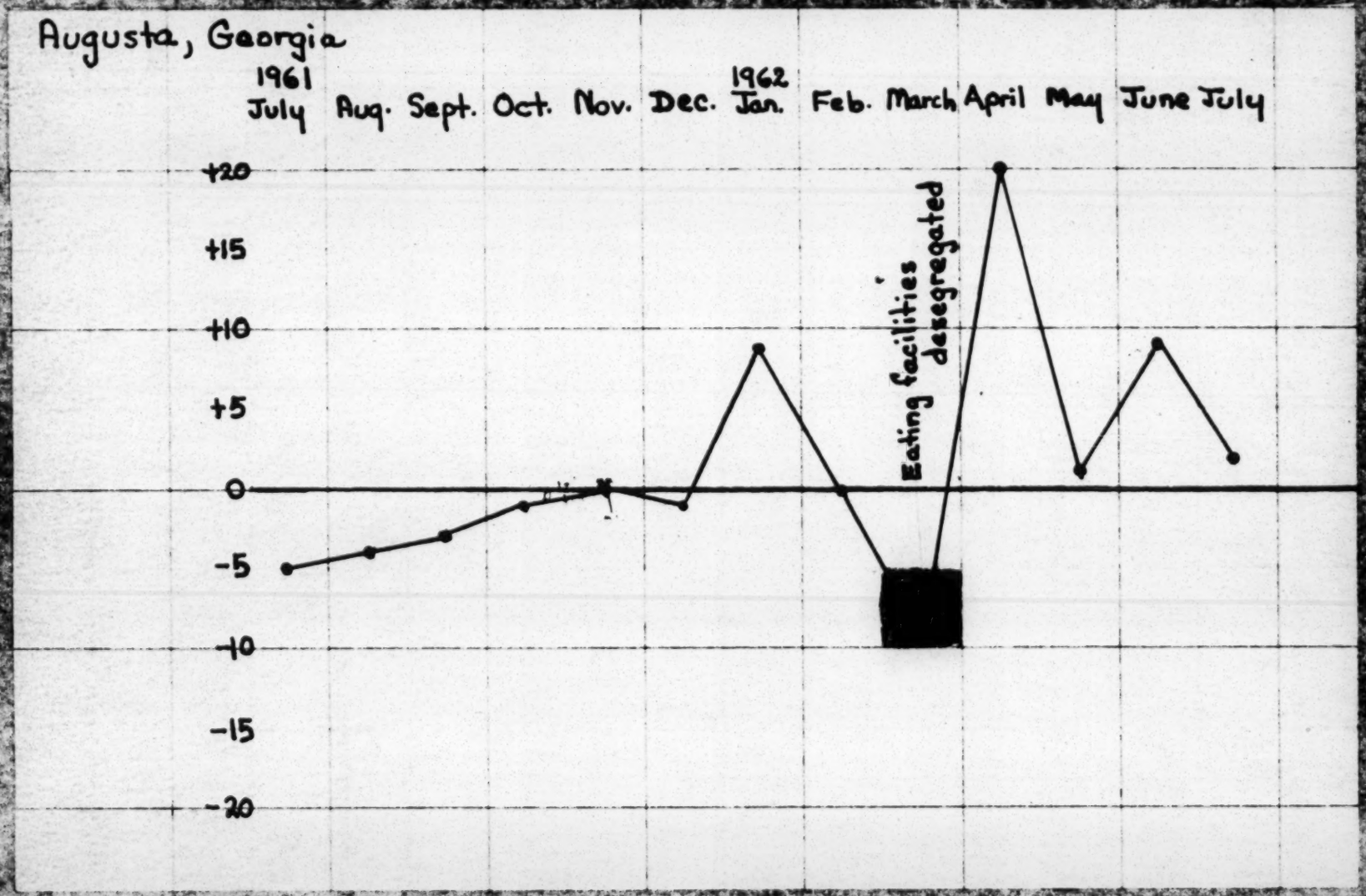
[illegible]

[illegible] one year [illegible]

	1961 July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	1962 Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	April	May	June	July
Atlanta	+5	0	[redacted]	0	+4	+8	+13	+10	+5	+15	+15	+9	+10
Augusta	-5	-4	-3	-1	0	-1	+9	0	[redacted]	+20	+1	+9	+3
Columbua	-9	+1	-1	-11	-3	n.a.	[redacted]	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Macon	-8	+1	-13	[redacted]	+7	-6	+5	+4	-11	+16	+0	+8	+2
Savannah	[redacted]	-9	-7	-9	-5	-5	+5	+2	-8	+11	+8	-3	+3

Red square indicates month of lunch counter desegregation.

Source: Federal [illegible]
ST-[illegible]


Augusta, Georgia
1961
July
Aug.
Sept.
Oct.
Nov.
Dec.
1962
Jan.
Feb.
March
April
May
June
July
+20
+15
+10
+5
0
-5
-10
-15
-20
Eating facilities desegregated

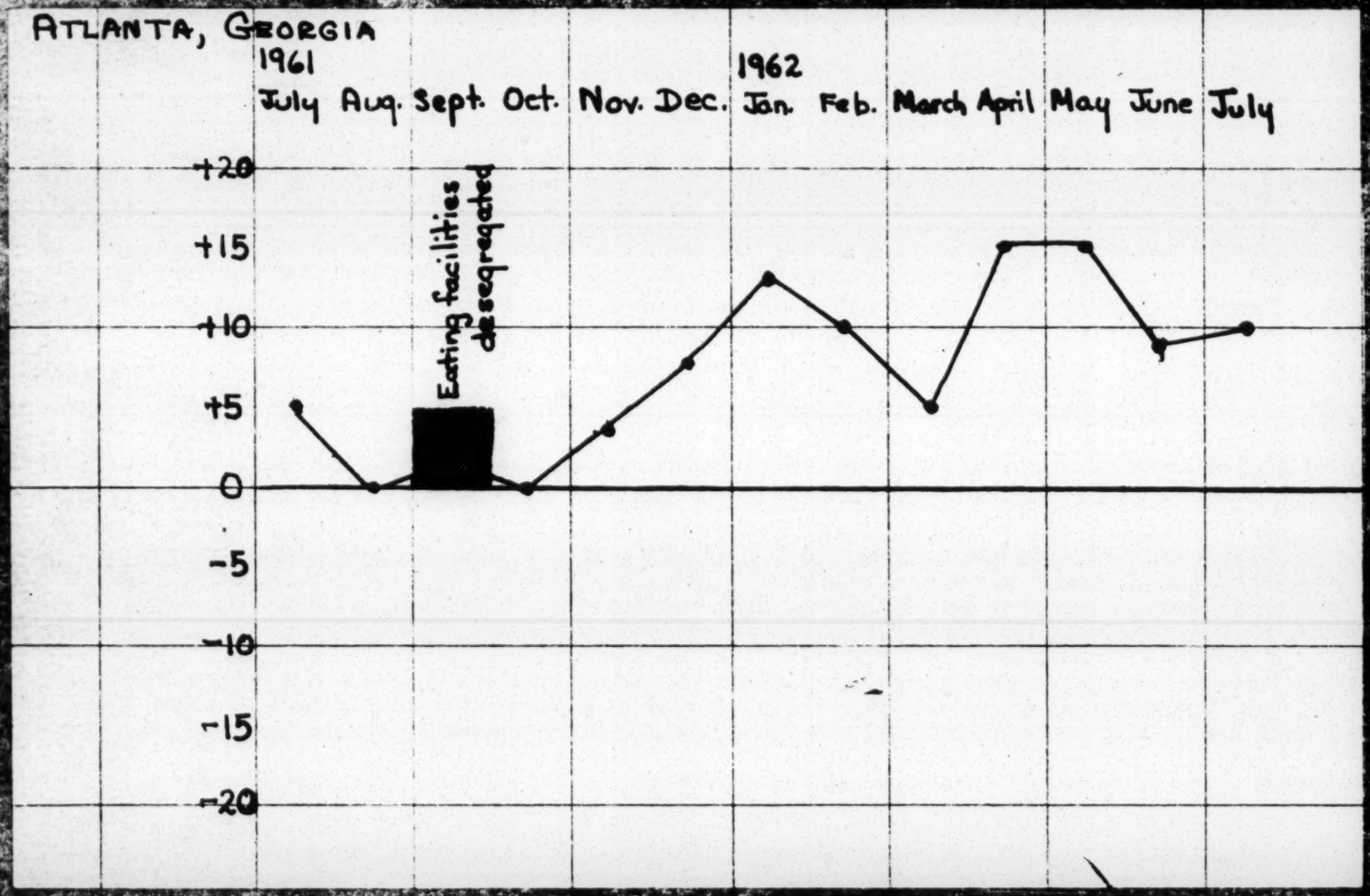
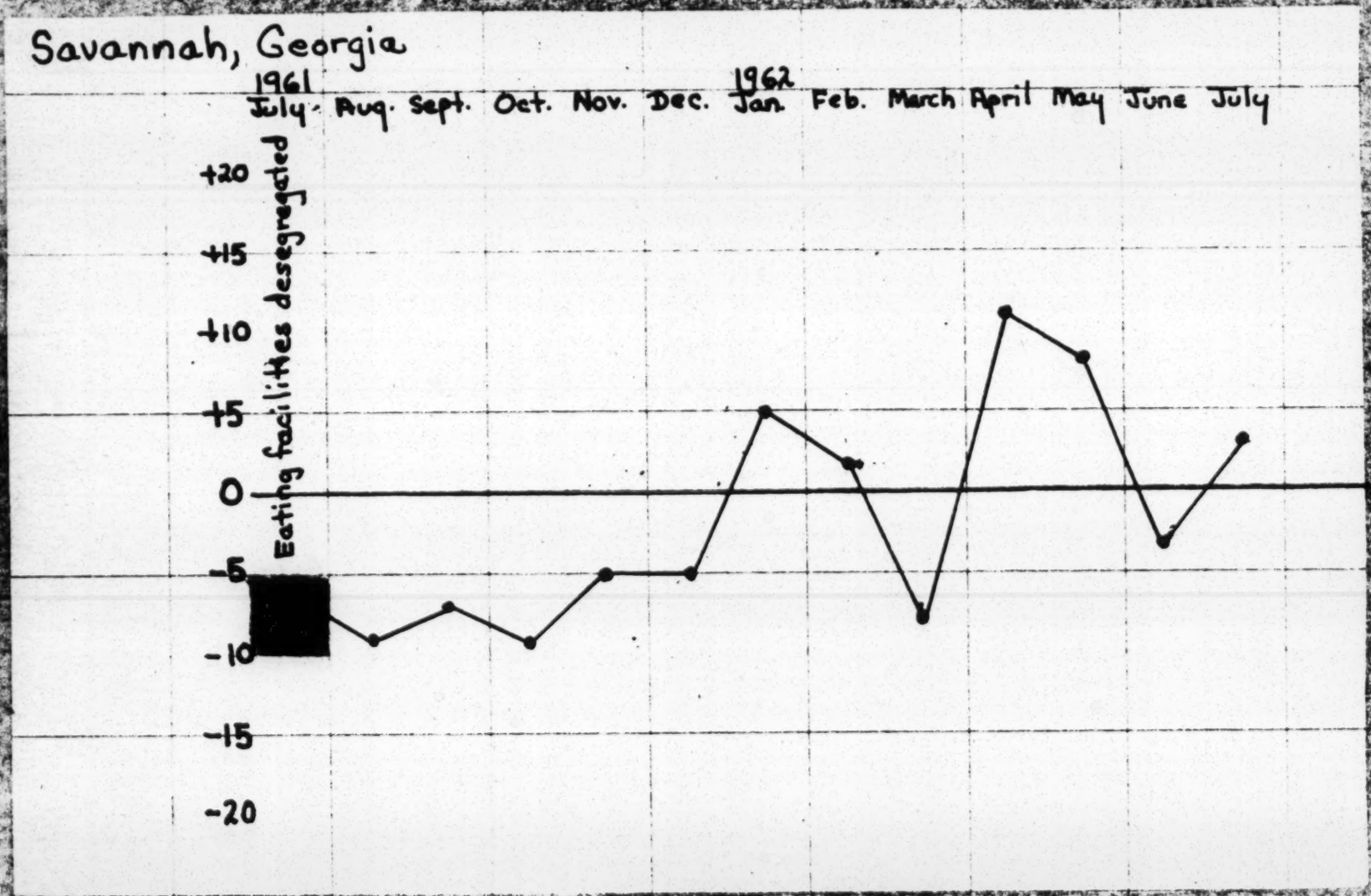
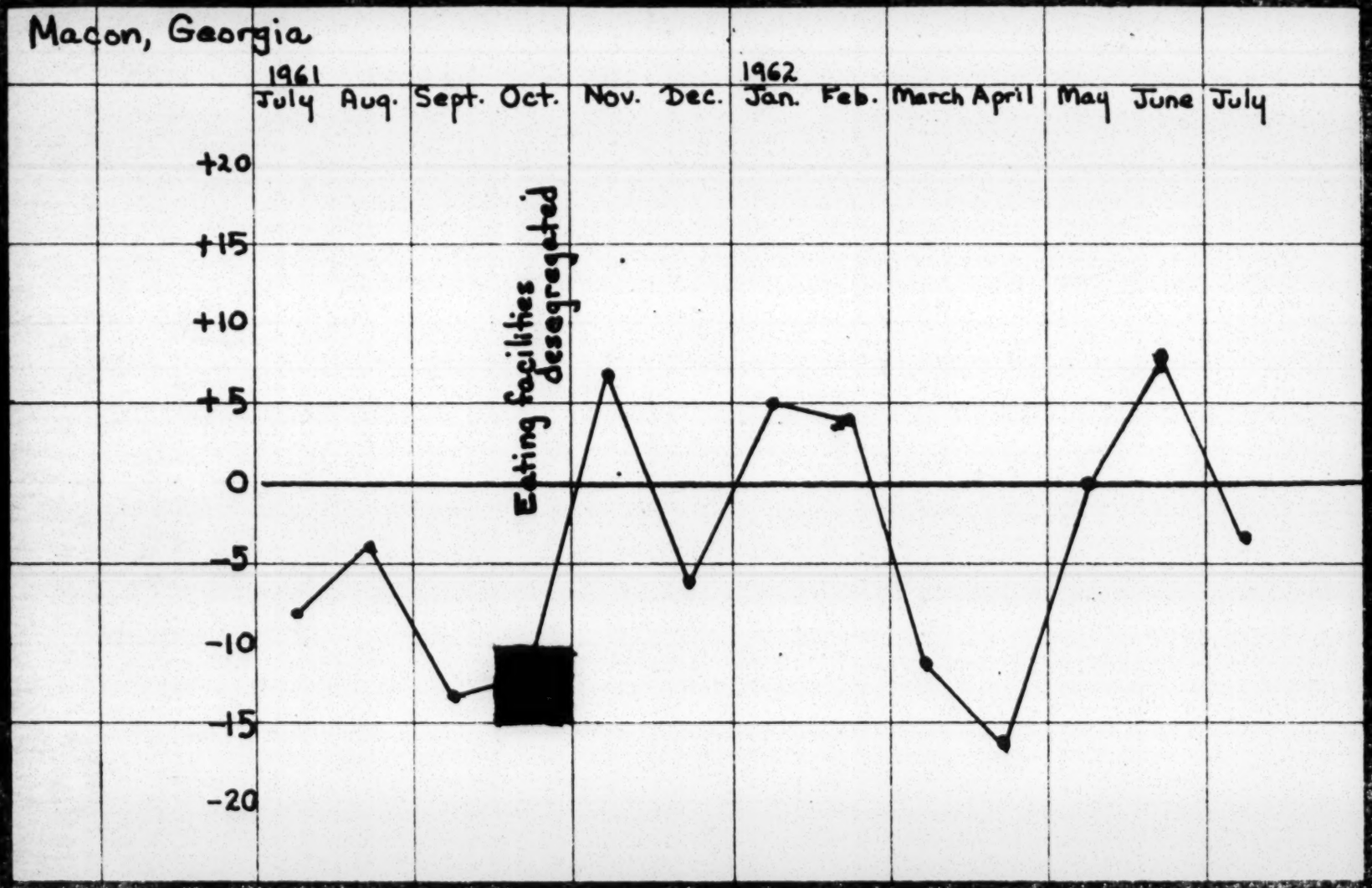
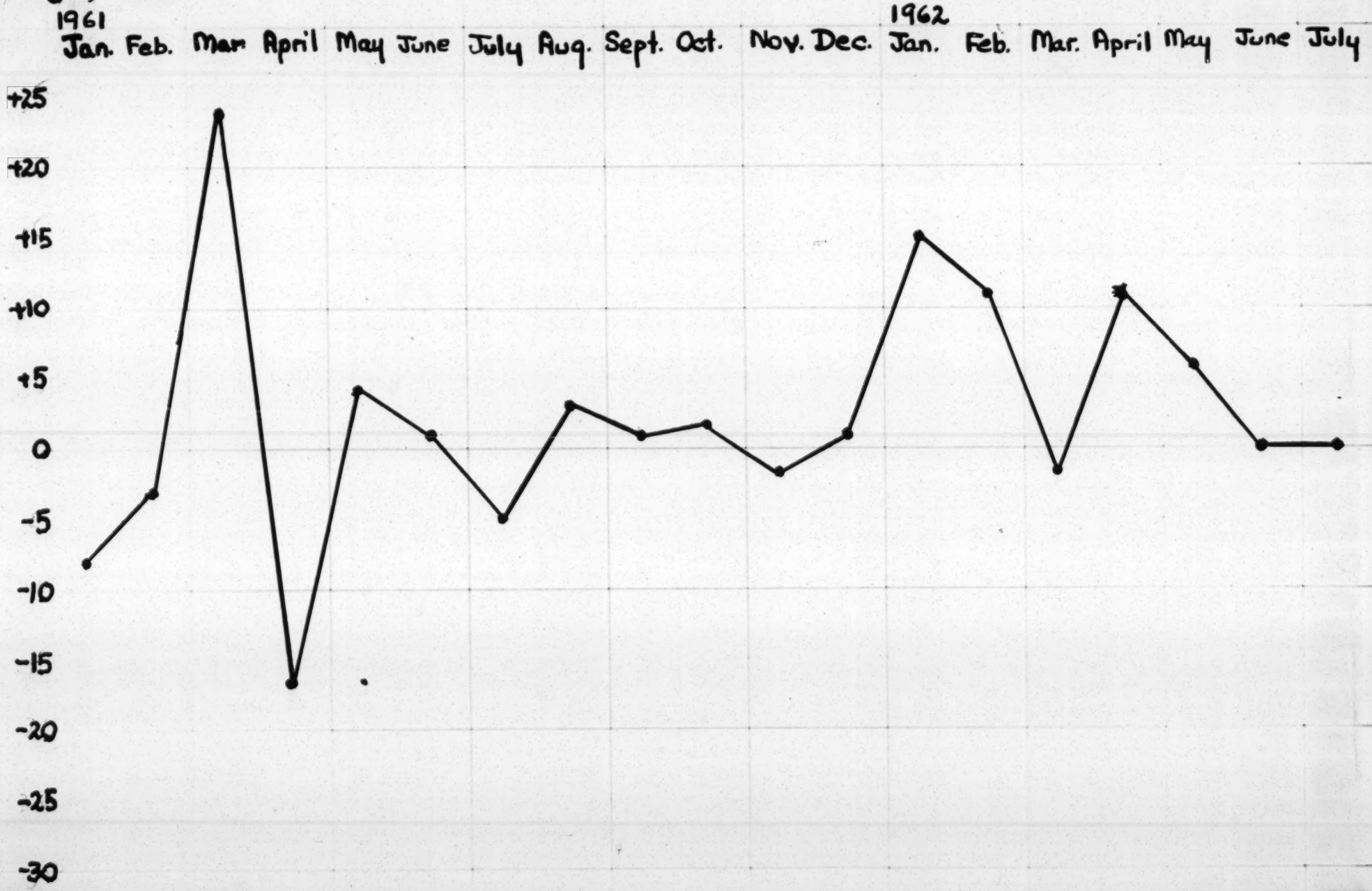

ATLANTA, GEORGIA
1961
1962
July
Aug.
Sept.
Oct.
Nov.
Dec.
Jan.
Feb.
March
April
May
June
July
+20
+15
+10
+5
0
-5
-10
-15
-20
Eating facilities desegregated

Figure 1. The percent [illegible] of [illegible] the corresponding period [illegible]

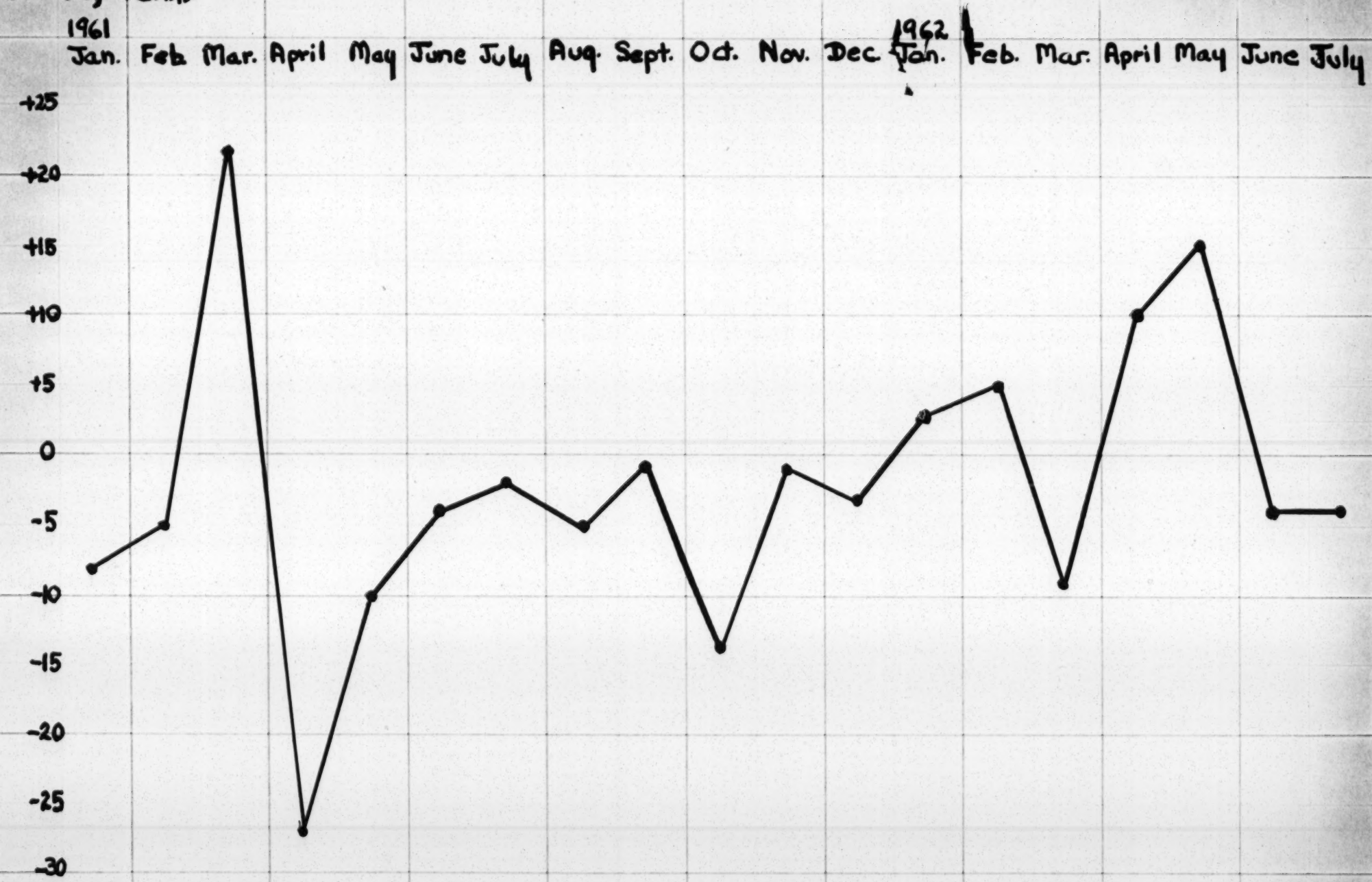



Macon, Georgia
1961
1962
July
Aug.
Sept.
Oct.
Nov.
Dec.
Jan.
Feb.
March
April
May
June
July
+20
+15
+10
+5
0
-5
-10
-15
-20
Eating facilities desegregated

Chattanooga, Tenn.



Knoxville, Tenn.



Research mat'ls-

THE EXPERIENCE OF SOUTHERN COMMUNITIES WITH SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

I. Extent of Desegregation.

A. As of September, 1962, there are 960 desegregated school districts in the 17 Southern and border states plus the District of Columbia, the area that was still segregated prior to the 1954 Supreme Court decision. An estimated 245,000 Negroes in this area are now attending school with white students.

B. There have been only seven cases of violence or major disruption in connection with school desegregation out of 960 cases.

II. Types of Desegregation Plans. Although many different types of desegregation plans have been applied in Southern communities, they tend to fall into the following categories:

A. Desegregation across the board.

1. In Louisville, the city was re-districted in 1956 without regard to race and students are assigned to the nearest school. In practice, parents are free to transfer their children from the assigned school to another, unless the desired school is full.

2. In Baltimore, there are no school districts and students are free to attend any school in the city. No assignments of students to schools are made except in instances of over-crowding. Racial segregation was ended in Baltimore in 1954 and free choice prevails. Students desiring to transfer from one school to another must, however, get the permission of the two principals involved.

3. In Washington, D.C., as of the fall of 1954, students are assigned to the nearest school without regard to race. As Washington schools were desegregated, the system went to a "four track" curriculum, which places students in classes on the basis of ability and achievement.

B. Gradual plans. In a number of Southern communities, schools are desegregated, as above, on the basis of residence and school districts, but gradually, one grade a year or several grades a year.

1. In Nashville, Tennessee, desegregation began at the first grade level and has proceeded at the rate of one grade a year upward. Although children are assigned on the basis of residence, students have the

Research Materials

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A. As of December, 1961, there are ~~897~~ 960 desegregated school districts in the 17 Southern and border states plus the District of Columbia, the area that was still segregated prior to the 1954 Supreme Court decision. Approximately 233,509 Negroes in this area are now attending school with white students. (Sept., 1962 - an estimated 245,000)

B. There have been only seven cases of violence or major disruption in connection with school desegregation out of ~~897~~ 960 cases.

II. Types of Desegregation. Although many different types of desegregation plans have been applied in Southern communities, they tend to fall into the following categories:

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B. Gradual plans. In a number of Southern communities, schools are desegregated, as above, on the basis of residence and school districts, but gradually, one grade a year or several grades a year.

1. In Nashville, Tennessee, desegregation began at the first grade level and has proceeded at the rate of one grade a year upward. Although children are assigned on the basis of residence, students have the

privilege of transferring out of schools in which they are a racial minority if desired. Most Tennessee communities which are desegregated have followed the Nashville plan.

2. In San Antonio, Texas, in 1955, the first, second, seventh, and tenth grades were desegregated. Negro students entering these grades could choose which school within their residential district to attend. The practice of free choice has been continued with each class entering the elementary, junior high, or high school level.

3. In St. Louis, the high schools were desegregated one semester and the elementary schools the following semester.

4. In Big Spring, Texas and Poplar Bluff, Mo., the elementary grades were desegregated the first year, the high schools the second year.

5. In Newark, Delaware and Lexington, Ky., the junior and senior high schools were desegregated the first year, the elementary schools the next year.

C. Pupil placement plans. This system has been used widely throughout North Carolina and Virginia. As generally applied, the entire school or school system is open to desegregation, but individual transfers of Negroes to formerly white schools are allowed on the basis of the qualifications and capabilities of the individual Negro. Under Pupil Placement Plans, the Negro students are usually subjected to rigorous tests of academic ability, personality, motivation, etc.. Although Pupil Placement Plans have been approved by the courts in a number of communities, they are currently under legal test.

D. Combination plans. In some communities, some form of gradual desegregation is combined with the use of pupil placement procedures.

1. In Little Rock, Pupil Placement is combined with a "Top down" plan. Desegregation has begun in the high schools, was extended to the junior highs in the fall of 1961, will be ultimately extended to elementary grades.

2. In Atlanta, the eleventh and twelfth grades were opened to desegregation in the fall of 1961, but individual applicants were subjected to Pupil Placement screening. The plan will move downward a grade a year.

3. In New Orleans, the first grade was opened to desegregation in the fall of 1960 but Pupil Placement procedures were used at this level. Those Negroes admitted in the first grade in 1960 advanced to the second grade in

1961 but only the first grade was open to new Negro transfer applicants in the fall of 1961.

III. The implementation of school desegregation.

A. Most communities in the border states initiated the process of school desegregation voluntarily, without waiting for the compulsion of federal court orders. Most North Carolina school districts which have desegregated also moved voluntarily. Until 1960, however, in most of the middle South desegregation took place only after final court orders had been handed down.

B. During the last several years there has been a growing tendency on the part of Southern school boards to desegregate on their own initiative. In 1961, Memphis, Tennessee, moved without a court order, as did four other Tennessee school districts. Fort Lauderdale and Daytona Beach, Florida, took similar action. The thinking of many school board members and school superintendents is that a community can more effectively determine ~~his~~ its own procedures of desegregation and avoid bitter conflict by acting on its own initiative.

IV. Community preparation for desegregation.

A. In some communities the preparation has been aimed primarily at winning the cooperation of the leadership structure of the community. This was true in Memphis, where business, civic and political leadership made the plans for desegregation quietly. The general public knew of the exact date and procedures only after the process was completed. In Dallas, business, professional, and religious leadership took the responsibility for preparing the community but a major effort was made to reach the general public through films, special brochures, and the mass media. In Newark, Delaware and Winston-Salem, N.C., efforts at preparation were primarily with community leadership.

B. In some communities comprehensive efforts have been made to reach and involve all levels of the community in preparation. This sort of effort occured in Washington, Baltimore, St. Louis, and Louisville, In the fall of 1961, Atlanta followed a similar strategy in involving a broad range of civic organizations in the effort to prepare the community to meet change calmly. There were community discussion groups, special notice in churches, mass media interpretation.

INSERT

C. Religious leadership has been prominent in a number of preparatory efforts. In St. Louis the metropolitan church federation designated a special Sunday to appeal to the church-going public for understanding and acceptance. In Louisville the superintendent appealed to all ministers, priests and rabbis for their cooperation. In Atlanta, Protestant, Catholic and Jewish congregations observed a special prayer week-end prior to school opening.

D. Communities have followed different procedures relating to publicity. In Dallas and Atlanta, in the fall of 1961, there was full publicity and a mass media effort to interpret the desegregation plan and to educate the community to understand and coopprate. A special point was made in Atlanta to make public every step of the assignment process. In Memphis, on the other hand, there was virtually no advance publicity concerning school desegregation. On the day of desegregation, however, the papers carried appeals by political leadership, the chief of pplice, the Chamber of Commerce, etc..

E. Preparation of the schools. In some communities there have been intensive efforts to prepare students, teachers, and school officials for the change. In Nashville and St. Louis supervisors or assistant superintendents were designated to assume over-all responsibility for internal preparation. In Washington, Baltimore, and Oak Ridge, there were special workshops for teachers. In Atlanta, teachers were instructed to discuss the process with their students during the final weeks of the spring semester of 1960. Also in Atlanta, the superintendents met with white and Negro student leaders. Sometimes, principals held staff meetings with teachers. Sometimes, only volunteer teachers are used in desegregated classes.

Chattanooga

F. A number of communities have made special efforts to prepare police departments, through visitations to other communities, through the training of special squads, through the sending of representatives to mob control workshops, etc.. In Atlanta every member of the police department was required to read several pamphlets dealing with law enforcement problems connected with desegregation.

IV. The lessons of experience.

A. The factors most essential to calm and peaceful school desegregation are united community leadership, effective police preparation, constructive interpretation by the mass media. The trouble occurs, when it does, if political leadership is opposed to the change or is publicly divided; if law enforcement authorities are vacillating, not permitted to use firm measures; if newspapers or TV stations are used to stir up disruption.

B. If a community is prepared for desegregation and if the above criteria are present, it seems to make little difference what plans of desegregation are employed -- whether gradual, or across the board, grade a year from the top down or the bottom up.

C. Virtually all of the tension or conflict concerning desegregation occurs when the first step is taken, whatever that step may be, and rarely flares up again as the plan is expanded in future semesters or years.

Data sent to
Thornton Merriam
Dec. 10, 1962

ALABAMA

Birmingham
City buses
Airport facilities
Legion Field (city stadium)
Bus and train terminal facilities

National Conference of Christians and Jews
Alabama Council on Human Relations

Mobile
Police force
City fire department
Lunch counters
Libraries (?)
Airport, bus and train terminal facilities
City bus drivers
Spring Hill College (Roman Catholic)

Montgomery
Libraries
City buses
City bus drivers

Selma

Tuscaloosa
Several Negro policewomen hired, Spring, 1955

FLORIDA

Fort Lauderdale
Lunch counters
Police force
Public schools
Airport, bus and train terminals

Jacksonville
Lunch counters
Hotel Seminole (meetings)
Police force
Jacksonville Catholic High School
Airport, bus and train terminals

Jacksonville Urban League

Miami
Lunch counters
Police force
City transit system
Public schools
Parochial schools
Bay Front Park Municipal Auditorium
Dinner-Key Auditorium
All public parks and other facilities on city-owned property
Many hotels accept Negro convention delegates
(Above does not include Miami Beach)

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Florida Regional Office Anti-Defamation League
Greater Miami Urban League
National Conference for Christians and Jews
American Jewish Congress, Miami Regional Office
American Jewish Committee Central Seaboard Area Office

St. Petersburg
Lunch counters
Police force
Public schools
St. Petersburg Junior College (County)
Airport, bus and train terminal facilities

GEORGIA

Atlanta
Lunch counters
One major restaurant
Police force
Public schools
Parochial schools
Downtown theatres
Two neighborhood art theatres
All legitimate theatres, community and professional
Municipal auditorium
Atlanta Art Association Galleries
City Fire Department (one all-Negro station, not yet in operation)
Libraries
City transportation
Taxi Cabs
Airport facilities
Bus and train facilities
City owned parks, golf courses, etc. (swimming pools as of June, 1963)
Fulton County Medical Association
Advisory Board - City Urban REnewal
Bond Commission (County)
Child Service Association Board
Georgia State College
Emory University
Columbia Theological Seminary
Georgia Tech
Agnes Scott (as of 1963)
Peachtree Manor Hotel - regular guests
Other major hotels accommodate Negro convention delegates

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Southern Regional Council
Mennonite Service Committee
Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations
Georgia Council on Human Relations
NAACP Southeastern Regional Office
NAACP Atlanta Office
Southern Christian Leadership Conference
Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
Atlanta Urban League
National Urban League Southern Field Division
American Jewish Committee
National Conference of Christians and Jews
American Friends Service Committee Merit Employment Project
National Student Association Southern Project
Anti-Defamation League Southeastern Regional Office
Episcopal Society for Racial and Cultural Unity
Quaker House

Augusta
Lunch counters
Transit System
Police force
Airport, bus and train terminals

Columbus
City buses
Airport, bus and train terminals
Lunch counters

Savannah
Lunch counters
Libraries
City buses
Police force
Parks, except for swimming pools
Airport, bus and train terminals

KENTUCKY

Lexington
Lunch counters
Theatres
Police force
The College of the Bible (Disciples of Christ)
University of Kentucky (state)
Transylvania College (Private)
At least one principal hotel accepts Negro convention delegates
Public schools
Airport, bus and train facilities

Louisville
Lunch counters
Theatres
Public schools
Police force
City fire department
Hotels (regular guests), except for one
Transit system
All colleges
All public facilities on city owned property
Airport, bus and train facilities

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Louisville Urban League
National Conference for Christians and Jews

LOUISIANA

Baton Rouge
Lunch counter (one: Montgomery Ward)
Airport
Louisiana State University
Libraries
****
American Friends Service Committee Job Opportunities Program

Bogalusa

New Orleans
Public schools
Parochial schools
Lunch counters
Airport Hotel - regular guests
Police force
Airport, bus and train facilities
Libraries
L.S.U. at N.O. (state)
Loyola (Catholic)
New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary
Notre Dame Seminary (Roman Catholic)
St. Mary's Dominican College (Roman Catholic)
Park facilities

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Southern Field Service of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice
Southcentral Regional Office Anti-Defamation League
Urban League of Greater New Orleans
National Conference of Christians and Jews

Shreveport
Police Force

MISSISSIPPI

Greenville
Police force

Jackson
Airport

Vicksburg

TENNESSEE

Chattanooga
Public schools
Lunch counters
Police force
Libraries
Buses
Airport, bus and train facilities

Knoxville
Public schools
Theatres
Lunch counters
Police force
University of Tennessee (state)
Libraries
City buses
Airport, bus and train facilities
Three city parks

Memphis
Public schools
Police force
City fire department
Lunch counters
Municipal auditorium
Airport, bus and train facilities
Hotels - for Negro convention delegates
Transit system
Art galleries
City parks, golf courses, zoo
Christian Brethren College (Catholic)
Memphis State University
University of Tennessee, Memphis Branch

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Memphis Urban League
National Conference for Christians and Jews

VIRGINIA

Danville
Library (stand-up basis)

Roanoke
Lunch counters
Roanoke Hotel - regular guests
Public schools
Police force
Bus and train facilities

Lynchburg
Public schools
Police force
Bus and train facilities

Norfolk
Lunch counters
Schools
Police force
Golden Triangle Hotel - regular guests
Seashore State Park
Airport, bus and train facilities
City buses

Portsmouth
Public schools
Lunch counters
Police force
Libraries
Golf courses
Bus and train facilities

Richmond
Lunch counters
Public schools
Parochial schools
Summer theatres
Municipal Auditorium for some events
City fire department
Libraries
Jefferson, John Marshall, Richmond Hotels - regular guests
Police force
Richmond Professional Institute of the College of Wm. and Mary (state)
Union Theological Seminary (Pres.)
Medical College of Virginia (State)
Negro member, board of health
Negro bus drivers

Richmond, Virginia (continued)

City transportation
Presbyterian School of Christian Education
Local and summer legitimate theatres
Municipal Auditorium: policy set by lessee

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National Conference for Christians and Jews
Richmond Urban League
N.C.-Virginia Reigonal Office Anti-Defamation League
Virginia Council on Human Relations

1962 U.S. ELECTION CALENDAR

This table shows the principal offices which will be filled in each state in the 1962 elections. It also shows the dates of the primary elections and the deadlines for registration for both primary and general elections. Check the dates for your state.

State	To Be Elected in 1962				Last Day to Pay Poll Tax	Last Day to Register For Primary	Primary Date	Runoff Date	Last Day to Register For Nov. 6 Election
	Governor	U.S. Senator for seat now held by	Congressman	State Legislators					
Alabama	Yes	Hill (D)	Yes	Yes	Feb. 1	April 20	May 8	May 29*	Oct. 26
Alaska	Yes	Gruening (D)	Yes	Yes		Register at polls	Aug. 14+		Register at polls
Arizona	Yes	Hayden (D)	Yes	Yes		July 6	Sept. 11		Sept. 24
Arkansas	Yes	Fulbright (D)	Yes	Yes	Passed Last Oct. 1	No registration	July 31	Aug. 14	No registration
California	Yes	Kuchel (R)	Yes	Yes		April 12	June 5		Sept. 13
Colorado	Yes	Carroll (D)	Yes	Yes		August 27	Sept. 11		Oct. 22
Connecticut	Yes	Bush (R)	Yes	Yes		Dates will be set later			Oct. 13
Delaware	Not up	Not up	Yes	Yes		No Primary			Oct. 20
Florida	No	Smathers (d)	Yes	Yes		April 7	May 8	May 29	Oct. 6
Georgia	Yes	Talmadge (D)	Yes	Yes		~~March 12~~ May 5	Sept. 12		May 5
Hawaii	Yes	Long (D)	Yes	Yes		Sept. 7	Oct. 6		Oct. 17

*Alabama's Special Congressional Runoff will be on May 15 if court permits.

+Subject to change by 1962 Legislature.

To Be Elected in 1962

State	Governor	U.S. Senator for seat now held by	Congressman	State Legislatore	Last Day to Pay Poll Tax	Last Day to Register For Primary	Primary Date	Runoff Date	Last Day to Register For Nov. 6 Election
Idaho	Yes	Church (D)	Yes	Yes		June 2	June 5	June 26	Nov. 3
Illinois	Not up	Dirksen (R)	Yes	Yes		March 13	April 10		Oct. 9
Indiana	No	Capehart (R)	Yes	Yes		April 9	May 8		Oct. 8
Iowa	Yes	Hickenlooper (R)	Yes	Yes		May 25	June 4		Oct. 27
Kansas	Yes	Carlson (R)	Yes	Yes		July 17 - Kansas City, Topeka, Wichita July 27, others	Aug. 7		Oct. 16, Kansas City, Topeka, Wichita Oct. 26, others
Kentucky	Not up	Morton (R)	Yes	Not up		March 30	May 29		Sept. 7
Louisiana	Not up	Long (D)	Yes	Not up		June 27	July 28	Sept. 8	Oct. 6
Maine	Yes	Not up	Yes	Yes		Varies	June 18		Varies
Maryland	Yes	Butler (R)*	Yes	Yes		April 14	May 15		Sept. 24
Massachusetts	Yes	Smith (D)	Yes	Yes		Aug. 17+	Sept. 18+		Oct. 5
Michigan	Yes	Not up	Yes	Yes		July 9	Aug. 7		Oct. 8
Minnesota	Yes	Not up	Yes	Yes		Aug. 21	Sept. 11		Oct. 16
Mississippi	Not up	Not up	Yes	No	Feb. 1	None	June 5	June 26	July 6
Missouri	Not up	Long (D)	Yes	Yes		July 11, Kansas City, July 14, St. Louis	Aug. 7		Oct. 10, Kansas City, Oct. 13, St. Louis
Montana	Not up	Not up	Yes	Yes		April 20	June 5		Sept. 21

*Butler of Maryland will not seek re-election.

+Subject to change by 1962 Legislature.

To Be Elected in 1962

State	Governor	U.S. Senator for seat now held by	Congressman	State Legislators	Last Day to Pay Poll Tax	Last Day to Register For Primary	Primary Date	Runoff Date	Last Day to Register For Nov. 6 Election
Nebraska	Yes	Not up	Yes	Yes		May 4, Omaha, Lincoln, May 5, smaller cities	May 15		Oct. 26, Omaha, Lincoln, Oct. 27, smaller cities
Nevada	Yes	Bible (D)	Yes	Yes		Aug. 4	Sept. 4		Oct. 6
N. Hampshire	Yes	Cotton (R) Murphy (R)	Yes	Yes		Varies	Sept. 11		Varies
New Jersey	Not up	Not up	Yes	Not up		March 8	April 17		Sept. 27
New Mexico	Yes	Not up	Yes	Yes		April 9	May 8		Oct. 8
New York	Yes	Javits (R)	Yes	Yes		Dates . . . will . . . be . . . set . . . later			
N. Carolina	Not up	Ervin (D)	Yes	Yes		May 12	May 26	June 23	Oct. 27
N. Dakota	Yes	Young (R)	Yes	Yes		No registration	June 26		No registration
Ohio	Yes	Lausche (D)	Yes	Yes		March 28	May 8		Sept. 26
Oklahoma	Yes	Monroney (D)	Yes	Yes		April 20	May 1	May 22	Oct. 26
Oregon	Yes	Morse (D)	Yes	Yes		April 17	May 18		Oct. 6
Pennsylvania	Yes	Clark (D)	Yes	Yes		March 26	May 15		Sept. 17
Rhode Island	Yes	Not up	Yes	Yes		July 13	Sept. 11*		Sept. 7
S. Carolina	Yes	Johnston (D)	Yes	Yes		May 12	June 12	June 26	Oct. 6
S. Dakota	Yes	Case (R)	Yes	Yes		May 16	June 5		Oct. 17
Tennessee	Yes	Not up	Yes	Yes		July 3	Aug. 2		Oct. 6

*Subject to change by 1962 Legislature.

To Be Elected in 1962

State	Governor	U.S. Senator for seat now held by	Congressman	State Legislators	Last Day to Pay Poll Tax	Last Day to Register For Primary	Primary Date	Runoff Date	Last Day to Register For Nov. 6 Election
Texas	Yes	Not up	Yes	Yes	Jan. 31	No registration Pay poll tax	May 5	June 2	No registration Pay poll tax
Utah	Not up	Bennett (R)	Yes	Yes		Aug. 28	Sept. 11		Oct. 30
Vermont	Yes	Aiken (R)	Yes	Yes		Sept. 8	Sept. 11		Nov. 3
Virginia	Not up	Not up	Yes	Not up	May 5	June 9	July 10	Aug. 14	Oct. 6
Washington	Not up	Magnuson (D)	Yes	Yes		Aug. 10	Sept. 11		Oct. 5
W. Virginia	Not up	Not up	Yes	Yes		April 8	May 8		Oct. 6
Wisconsin	Yes	Wiley (R)	Yes	Yes		Aug. 22, Milwaukee Aug. 29, elsewhere	Sept. 11		Oct. 17, Milwaukee Oct. 24, elsewhere
Wyoming	Yes	Hickey (D)	Yes	Yes		Aug. 21	Aug. 21		Oct. 22

FACT SHEET FOR OASIS DISCUSSION LEADERS

1. Must Atlanta desegregate its schools?

   There is no legal way to maintain a segregated public school system in Atlanta. The reason is pointedly stated by the Sibley Committee's Majority Report: in 1954 the United States Supreme Court ruled that separate schools are inherently unequal, and therefore, unconstitutional. The decision exists; it is binding on the lower federal courts; it will be enforced. The U. S. District Court has enjoined racial discrimination in the Atlanta public schools. There are no delaying tactics which have not been attempted and overruled; there is no alternative.

2. What are the provisions of the Atlanta plan?

   In 1961-62,pupil assignment in the 11th & 12th grades will be made without regard to race or color. In each successive year the plan will be expanded to the immediate lower grade, until all grades are included.

   Current assignments will continue unless transfers are directed or approved by the City Superintendent of Schools or his representatives.

   Certain criteria, known as the "Pupil Placement" program will determine transfers:

   available room & teaching capacity
   transportation facilities
   effect of new pupils on academic programs
   effect of new pupils on academic standards
   effect of new pupils on academic progress of other students
   scholastic aptitude & relative intelligence of pupil
   adequacy of academic preparation of pupil
   psychological qualification of pupil
   psychological effect upon pupil
   ability of pupil to conform to new educational environment
   morals, conduct, health and personal standards of pupil
   suitability of curricula for pupil
   choice & interests of pupil
   home environment of pupil
   request or consent to transfer of parents, & reasons therefor
   maintenance or severance of established relationships of pupil with other pupils & teachers
   possibility or threat of friction or disorder
   possibility of breaches of peace or ill will

3. How is the Atlanta plan being applied?

   Applications for transfer to be obtained from Superintendent's office by applicant, his parent or guardian; when completed, forms to be notarized and returned to student's principal, during period May 1 - 15.

Data to be submitted to Area Superintendent, who then schedules an interview with student and parents (this year, interviews were held with selected number of students after tests administered) and arranges for series of tests (standardized achievement tests, aptitude tests, and personality adjustment test). This information, along with a report of the characteristics of the school to which transfer is requested shall then be transmitted to the Deputy Superintendent.

A Student Transfer Reviewing Committee, including the Deputy Superintendent, one or more Area Superintendents, the AssistantSupt for Pupil Personnel Services (or Director of Psychological Services the Assistant Superintendent for Instructional Services (or Director of Instruction), and any other personnel that may be considered desirable, shall meet to study the completed folder of each student. Interviews with the student may be scheduled at the discretion of the Deputy Superintendent.

Recommendations of this Reviewing Committee will be submitted to the Superintendent.

Notice of action taken on transfers will be mailed to parents or guardians within thirty days or not later than June 15th, and will be final, unless the action is appealed.

4. What are the provisions for appeal of a denied transfer?

Appeals are to be made in writing within ten days of the mailing of the notice of action. The Board may conduct hearings if it desires. Every appeal shall be concluded by the Board before September 1st. Any person dissatisfied with the final decision of the Board may appeal to the State Board of Education.

5. What have been the developments in other cities that have adopted grade-a-year plans?

Nashville - In 1957, Nashville began desegregation with the first grade under a court-approved plan. Grades one through four are now desegregated, with 159 Negro children presently enrolled in 10 predominantly white schools. This number is only about one-third of the Negro children eligible by residence to attend white schools; the others requested and were granted transfers to all-Negro schools. Last year only 44 Negro pupils were registered in predominantly white schools; in 1958-59, there were 34, and in 1957-58, there were 19. Surrounding Davidson County desegregated its first four grades in 1960-61, and 41 Negro students are now in interracial classes there.

Knoxville & Houston - In 1960-61, non-discriminatory school assignment was begun in Knoxville and Houston. In Knoxville, 28 Negro students attend white schools; in Houston, there are 12 Negro students attending white schools.

6. How many Negro pupils are attending previously all-white schools?

Although it has been seven years since the Supreme Court decision, there are now only 4,313 Negro children in the previously all-white schools of Arkansas, Florida, North Carolina, Tennessee,

Texas and Virginia. This figure represents 169 school districts, desegregated between 1956-60. In North Carolina, for example, four years after desegregation, there are only 2 Negro children in school with white children in Charlotte, 9 in Winston-Salem, and 5 in Greensboro. Although efforts to limit the desegregation to a "token" number of Negroes may be responsible for this minimal total in some districts, "token" desegregation is not the procedure of the majority of these school boards. The following figures show that the total has increased by less than 1,000 in five years.

NEGROES IN DESEGREGATED SCHOOLS

State	1956-57	1957-58	1958-59	1959-60	1960-61
Arkansas	34	91	73	94	113
Florida	0	0	0	512 c	27
North Carolina	0	11	14	34	82
Tennessee	6 a	19 a	82	169	383
Texas	3,400	3,600	3,250	3,300	3,500
Virginia	0	0	30	103	208
Total	3,440 a	3,721 a	3,449	4,212	4,313

a - plus Oak Ridge
c - only a handful of whites stayed with 490 Negroes in the racially changing neighborhood of Orchard Villa school near Miami.

7. Will desegregation result in lowering of academic standards?

In March 1959, administrators of 17 desegregated school systems participated in a conference held at Nashville before the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights. Not one of the twelve administrators who dealt with the question reported that desegregation had harmed the academic progress of white students, or had lowered academic standards. Following are excerpts from some of their testimony:

Dr. Ward I. Miller, Supt. of Schools, Wilmington, Del.

.... (We have) over the last 4 years developed our grouping program to a point where we classify our youngsters according to performance and scholastic achievement, and those standards are set for each particular track on which the youngsters run. The accomplishment of the average white student is better than it was. The accomplishment of the above average and the advance placement and honor classes is truly remarkable...

Question: In other words, what you are saying is that there has been no diminution of quality resulting from this integration.

Dr. Miller: We feel it is better.

Mr. William Henry Oliver, Supt. of Schools, Nashville, Tenn.

...Our children are all in school, and are, we believe, achieving normal success in their studies...
... I haven't noticed any effect one way or another on the educational success of the children, either white or colored, where they are together.

Dr. John H. Fischer, then Supt. of Schools, Baltimore, Md.

... There is no doubt at all that Negro children are receiving better educational opportunities in Baltimore now than they did under segregation. The opportunities of white children have been in no way diminished. Indeed, they have been increased, not as a result of desegregation, but by our general effort to improve our offerings for all children over the past 5 years.

The Late Dr. Omer Carmichael, Supt. of Schools, Louisville, Ky.

... Now, you asked, if I got your question, in the desegregation, what, if any, changes, we have observed. It happens that one of our principals on sabbatical leave last year wrote a doctor's thesis on what happens to scholarship or to achievement of pupils in a school system in the process of desegregating. His findings can be summarized in about this statement, that there was definite improvement in the 2-year period in the achievement of both races. The achievement of the Negro children increased markedly more than did the achievement of the white children....there was certainly improvement, and it is statistically significant for the Negro at all levels, and the white did not suffer. The white slightly improved, but not as much as the Negro.

None of these communities employed pupil assignment criteria which might have selected for desegregation the Negro students with the highest academic standings. That is, desegregation affected all Negro students, both those of highest and lowest achievement, with transfers made solely on the basis of school districts.

In Washington, D. C. where city-wide pupil testing immediately after desegregation revealed that many Negro pupils lagged far behind white children in school achievement, findings on five years of public school desegregation (published as "Addendum: A Five Year Report" by District School Supt. Carl F. Hansen) reveal:

Integration has not retarded the advancement of high-quality students, Negro or white, and educational standards in the District public schools, when examined in relation to students' preparation and ability for learning, are high.

City-wide averages on standardized tests have climbed steadily since desegregation to approach -- and in some instances match or surpass -- national norms, Mr. Hansen reports.

8. Does desegregation create new disciplinary problems?

The Superintendent of the Washington, D. C. school district reports ("Addendum"), "serious incidents that seem to be primarily racial in origin are relatively infrequent. The records of the central school office reveal reports of few such cases."

Statistics show that "juvenile delinquency as reported in cases per thousand between 1954 and 1958 has decreased, although data for 1958-59, not yet available in cases per thousand, shows an increase over the year before....The District of Columbia Commissioners' 1959 report... reveals the following delinquency

rates for children 5 to 17:

For non-white children a decline from 37.1 cases per thousand in 1954 to 21.2 cases in 1958.
For white children, 15.3 cases per thousand in 1954 to 15.2 cases in 1958."

Dr. Hansen concludes from these data: "The schools do not claim credit for this development. But one conclusion is clear: Desegregation has not resulted in an increase in the rate of juvenile delinquency."

How behavioral problems have been affected by desegregation in some localities is shown in the following excerpts from the report of the Commission on Civil Rights:

Dr. Omer Carmichael, the Louisville Superintendent, stated that in his desegregated schools there had been somewhat greater difficulty in matters of discipline, due more to the emotional reaction to desegregation than anything else, but that it had been substantially less than he had feared.

In the Baltimore schools, Dr. John H. Fischer...has found no problems attributable to race as such...: "...No Negro child has ever brought into any of our schools a problem that had not already been presented somewhere by a white child. Nor has any white child been able to claim much originality for his race in inventing new forms of misbehavior. We find that these are a function of the child's total life-situation and are always due to a number of factors. It is never possible to explain a child's behavior simply in terms of his race, or to classify children's problems on a racial basis."

9. Will desegregation result in increased health problems in the schools?

In a study conducted by Phi Delta Kappa, an honorary international education fraternity, teachers of mixed schools reported that:

Negroes coming from a low socio-economic group have health problems, but not in any greater proportion than whites of the same background. According to teachers, most Negro parents send their children to school so scrubbed they shine. Negro parents are evidently conscious of white people's stereotypes and try thus to change them.

St. Louis and Baltimore school superintendents reported that desegregation did not create any new or difficult health problems.

10. Will school desegregation lead to intermarriage?

Dr. Hansen's report on five years of desegregation in Washington states that "...considering the extent of desegregation here,

and the limited number of intermarriages following school attendance together -- one confirmed, two rumored -- it is unlikely that proximity in school has contributed significantly to interracial marriages. This fear that proximity in school will induce intermarriage seems not to have been realized." The Washington experience supports the findings of psychiatrists and social scientists; after investigation it has been concluded that no evidence exists to prove that desegregation of the schools and the mixing of white and Negro children in and of themselves lead to intermarriage.

The Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry (GAP) has stated:

> The many factors that determine fluctuations in the rate of racial intermarriage are far from clear. In Boston, where legal school desegregation has been in effect for decades, there was a relatively high rate in the years immediately after 1900 and a marked decrease in the next decades despite a constant ratio of Negroes to the total population. In urban New York State, other than New York City, the ratio climbed between 1916 to 1924 and then dropped steadily for the next ten years. No satisfactory explanation for this shift has been established. The facts conclude that legal school desegregation per se does not influence the rate of intermarriage in ways that are yet predictable.

GAP, drawing on available evidence, observes that "The expectation voiced by many people that school desegregation will result in a great rise in the rate of intermarriage seems to be an expression of their bias and fear, rather than a reliable prediction."

The Committee on School Desegregation of the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues arrives at the same conclusion:

> One ungrounded fear is that intermarriage will result from desegregation. Statistics show that in parts of the United States where there has been no segregation, intermarriage is a rare thing indeed... Fear of something new and different makes many otherwise reasonable people believe such myths and discount contradicting facts....

11. Will there be disturbances in Atlanta this fall?

No one can predict with certainty what will happen; however, incidents of violence in connection with school desegregation have, in fact, been few indeed, both within schools and in the community. In only seven instances has the situation become so explosive that a real crisis threatened or major violence occurred; these incidents are spread over the seven years in which 778 school districts have desegregated -- proof that violence is not an inevitable effect of school desegregation. There is no example of sustained disturbances where public officials and law enforcement personnel have taken a firm and

early position in support of law and order. In Atlanta, both the Mayor and the Chief of Police have promised the people of the city that no disturbance of the peace of the community will be tolerated.

12. Do white people move away from desegregated school districts?

This question is usually raised by citation of the majority report of the House sub-committee (the Davis Committee) which in 1956 investigated the Washington, D. C. schools. The majority report deplored the preponderance of Negro pupils in Washington schools, asserting that "just a few years ago" 59,582 white students and 33,498 Negroes were enrolled. It was later discovered from enrollment records that "just a few years ago" was November 1, 1935, and that the date marked an all-time high in white enrollment in the District schools. In fact, the change in racial composition in Washington began some 20 years before the Supreme Court's decision, a product of a national trend -- a movement to "suburbia" by whites, and an influx of rural non-whites into the downtown central city areas. There have been conspicuous growths, for example, in the Negro populations of Atlanta, Charleston and Nashville during the last two decades. Yet only one of these three cities has a desegregated school system. Richmond had a 42% Negro enrollment in 1953-54, but in 1959-60, Negroes comprised 54% of the total school enrollment; Richmond schools were not desegregated until September 1960.

13. Did not the Davis Report show that desegregation led to serious problems in Washington, D. C.?

The majority report of the Davis Committee presented so questionable a picture of the effects of desegregation in Washington that a recap of some of the facts is in order. The subcommittee of the House Committee on the District of Columbia, created by a vote of only 11 of the 25 members of the larger committee, was chaired by Rep. James C. Davis of Georgia; the majority report of its "findings" and "recommendations" was signed by only four of its six members, all Southerners. Two of its members submitted a minority statement which included the following: "In a close reading of the hearings we must come to the conclusion that the technical staff presented leading questions to a selected group of witnesses. Persons with views not in accord with those of the Counsel were not given full and fair opportunity to testify." Editorially, all three of Washington's daily newspapers discounted the objectivity and deplored the tactics of the investigation. The Washington Evening Star, for example, stated: "The Davis investigation of integration in Washington is of course designed to delay its acceptance elsewhere. The committee will supply ammunition in that respect in the form of testimony by responsible witnesses, under guidance of a skilled interrogator who knows precisely what sort of information he wants in the record."

When asked, during the course of the hearings, if integration had been carried out "smoothly and without incident," the then Asst. Supt. of District Schools, Dr. Carl Hansen, testified: "It would be fantastic to say 'without incident.' I think that the integration program in this city has been a miracle of social adjustment." Various subsequent investigations have confirmed Dr. Hansen's observation. The Richmond Times Dispatch, for example, sent staff reporter Larry Weekley to Washington to see how school integration was developing in 1959. "After four and a half years," Weekley wrote on Feb. 9, 1959, "the integrated public schools of the District of Columbia remain remarkably free of racial strife."

14. What is the cost of violence and tension to a community?

Intangible costs aside, this question can be answered by a look at cold cash losses in communities tolerating violence and tension. Because of its school crisis, Little Rock lost, at lowest estimates, five new industrial plants worth a million dollars and employing a total of 300 persons. Not one single commitment for location of a new factory in the city was signed from the day Gov. Faubus ordered National Guard troops to block the entry of Negroes to Central High until after stability was restored two years later. The Little Rock Chamber of Commerce, the Arkansas Industrial Development Commission, and other responsible sources attribute the halt in Little Rock's booming industrial growth to racial tensions and uncertainty in connection with public schools.

Department store sales in New Orleans, already running low, declined sharply as segregationist demonstrations and racial clashes hit the city in November 1960. New Orleans' largest department store, for example, reported a 20% to 30% drop in sales during the first week of near-riots -- a drop which necessitated a 50% slash in advertising outlays, and a halt in buying merchandise. Even loan companies were hurt: "Business has stopped cold," one reported, citing a 50-60% decrease in money loaned. Racial tension sparks a chain reaction of economic losses. Interruptions and stoppages of vital production are also probable -- as in the rubber manufacturing plants in and around Tuscaloosa, Ala. during riots protesting a desegregation attempt at the state university. When mobs gathered as Negro students marched to the state Capitol in 1960, Georgia taxpayers paid for "$75,000 in lost man and woman hours of state employes who left their jobs to watch the demonstration or to see that it did not come off," State Auditor Thrasher reported -- the latter reference to state troopers, who were stationed around Capitol grounds.

Business losses as a result of retaliatory boycotts and counter boycotts, losses from destruction of property, public monies spent to maintain national guard forces: when violence has been permitted, these have been items on the bill.

Master copy Res. Mat

Cities Where Mediating Committees
on Race Relations
Have Been Created by the City Government*

FLORIDA
Auburndale - 5 member committee appointed 9/2/60
Coral Gables - 5 members.
Daytona Beach (at last report, committee had not met because of strict quorum rule) 20 members.
Delray Beach** 10 members.
Eustis**
Fort Lauderdale**
Fort Pierce
Miami (at last report, inactive)
Orlando**
St. Petersburg (in appointing committee, Mayor instructed it to avoid any "integration" questions) 5 members (3 whites, 2 Negroes
Tampa**
West Palm Beach**
Winter Park**

GEORGIA
Savannah (inactive since April, 1960) 14 members, 7 white, 7 Negro

KENTUCKY - Lexington, appointed by Mayor, June, 1961; Frankfort: Established by Mayor, 3/24/61.

NORTH CAROLINA
Charlotte - 15 members, appointed by Mayor (orig. purpose, lunch counter question)
Durham** Community Relations Committee
Gastonia
Greensboro - Mayor's Advisory Committee on Community Relations (9 members)
High Point - Appointed by Mayor, in connection with sit-ins.
Raleigh - 7 members.
Winston-Salem - Goodwill Committee (10 Negroes, 10 whites)
Monroe - Mayor's Committee - 12 members (6 N; 6 W) - see NCLHR report Dec.-Feb '63

Henderson, Ky. Commission on Civil Rights 25 members

SOUTH CAROLINA
Florence

TENNESSEE - Athens: 2-23-61, City Council approved (4-1) request from local ministerial alliance to establish interracial committee to handle any racial or minority group problems. 2 Negro members. Still in existence in March, 1963.
Knoxville
Nashville - ~~5 W.; 5 N.~~
Oak Ridge
Permanent panel, "Metropolitan H. R. Committee," created by Mayor May, 1963

TEXAS
Houston - Citizens Relations Committee - 41 members (at least 26 whites and at least 11 Negroes. Exec. Committee of 13.)

* This list may not be complete; it includes all locations which have come to SRC attention through press reports and other sources.

** Committee in existence prior to sit-in movement; in a few cases (e.g. Eustis and Fort Pierce, Fla.) committee has other governmental responsibilities.

PAGINATION INCORRECT

[Arlington County Human Relations Commission - Set up Spring, 1963, by Arlington Co. Board.]

VIRGINIA
Arlington
Lynchburg (created by City Council) - 8 members (4 white, 4 Negro)
Richmond (appointed by Mayor following city election in which Councilmanic candidates committed themselves to favor creation of a committee)

* * *

In Roanoke (Va.) the unofficial Citizens Bi-Racial Committee led in the desegregation of lunch counters and is now actively studying other problems.

Pine Bluff (Ark.) has had an unofficial committee created by the ministerial association and endorsed by Mayor and majority of City Councilmen.

Laurinburg (N.C.) has a committee sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce.

Informal but prestigious committees in Dallas and Galveston, and a ministerial committee in San Antonio, were active; the latter gave origin to a permanent human relations commission.

The white and Negro ministerial associations of Tallahassee (Fla.) have jointly established a committee with lay and ministerial membership.

Long standing, unofficial racial relations councils exist in a number of Southern cities and have recently been organized in places other than those mentioned above.

Early May, 1963

HOTELS - MASTER COPY

[redacted]

PREDOMINANTLY WHITE HOTELS ACCOMMODATING NEGRO GUESTS

The predominantly white hotels listed below are reported (either by newsclips or by individual informants) to accept overnight guests without regard to race. Most of them were desegregated during roughly the last three years; some, however, have never been segregated. Hotels largely for Negro guests are not listed here; many also accept whites.

ARKANSAS Fayetteville: Some hotels and motels.
Little Rock: Marion Hotel, Grady Manning Hotel, Lafayette Hotel (there is still some question about the Albert Pike). (Pine Bluff: Holiday Inn; actual desegregation questionable)

FLORIDA
Miami Beach: Most hotels. Hollywood: At least one major hotel (probably the Hollywood Beach, but this is not confirmed). West Palm Beach: Town House. Daytona Beach: Star-in-the South Motel. Miami: McAllister. Orlando: Howard Johnson, Motel.

GEORGIA
Atlanta: Peachtree Manor Hotel, Hilton Inn.

LOUISIANA
New Orleans: Airport Hotel.

KENTUCKY
Louisville: All hotels. Berea: Major hotels. Mammoth Cave: All hotels.

NORTH CAROLINA Greensboro: Kent Court Hotel.
Greensboro: Holiday Inn. Durham: Jack Tar Hotel, Holiday Inn, Washington Duke Hotel. Chapel Hill: Carolina Inn. Asheville: Battery Park Hotel, George Vanderbilt Hotel.

OKLAHOMA
Oklahoma City: All. Tulsa: All.

TENNESSEE
Gatlinburg: Some, depending on season. Johnson City: Inns of America. ~~Memphis: Peabody Hotel~~. Oak Ridge: Holiday Inn. Townsend: At least one hotel (near Gatlinburg).

TEXAS
San Antonio: All. Houston: Rice, Shamrock-Hilton*, Lamar, Texas State, Continental, Sheraton-Lincoln. Dallas: Hilton ~~Ben Milam~~. (other major hotels in Dallas thought to be desegregated.)

VIRGINIA
Richmond: Jefferson, John Marshall, Richmond. Roanoke: Roanoke Hotel. Norfolk: Golden Triangle. Williamsburg: All.

* swimming pool not open to Negroes.

[redacted]

SOME INDICES OF PROGRESS IN THE SOUTH

Desegregation of private facilities

Lunch counters:

As of early May, 1963, at least 110 Southern cities had desegregated lunch counters; since that time, according to a report from the U.S. Department of Justice, lunch counters in 61 cities have desegregated or made the decision to desegregate. Among cities with desegregated lunch counters perhaps the most significant, which can be cited is, Birmingham, Alabama, a recent addition.

Restaurants:

The Department of Justice announced in June that first class restaurants in at least 67 cities have, since late May, 1963, desegregated. Among them are restaurants in: Fayetteville and Hot Springs, Arkansas: Gainesville, Cocoa, and Orlando, Florida; Atlanta, Georgia; Charlotte, Asheville, Greensboro, Concord, Hickory, Winston-Salem, High Point, Wilmington, Roxboro, Raleigh, Durham, Statesville, Fayetteville (60 day test), and Wadesboro, North Carolina; Knoxville, Nashville, and Clarksville, Tennessee; Austin, Houston, Lubbock, Waco, Fort Worth, San Antonio (some), and Corpus Christi (some), Texas (San Angelo, Texas, will during the year); Richmond, Charlottesville, Virginia Beach, Manassas and Lynchburg, Virginia. (Note: listing above indicates that, so far as is known, a sizeable number of the restaurants within the city have desegregated, with the exception of Atlanta. In Atlanta only 25 or fewer persons ~~or so~~ of the city's many restaurant concerns ~~have~~ serve all ~~desegregated~~. Demonstrations continue.)

Movie~~s~~ houses:

Movie theatres in 61 cities--again according to the Justice Department's report--have desegregated since late May, 1963. Among movies known by SRC to be desegregated are those in: Pine Bluff, Hot Springs, Fayetteville, and Little Rock, Arkansas; Cocoa, Florida (by August 18); Raleigh, Charlotte, Durham (1), and Chapel Hill, North Carolina; Memphis, Knoxville, Oak Ridge, and Nashville, Tennessee; Austin, Fort Worth, Corpus Christie, Dallas, San Antonio, Amarillo, and Houston, Texas; Norfolk, Richmond, Portsmouth, Falls Church, Clifton Forge, Virginia Beach, Leesburg, Manassas (one movie), Charlottesville (at least one), Lynchburg, and the Fairfax-Arlington-Alexandria area of Virginia. In each instance unless otherwise indicated a significant number of the major movie houses within a named locality have desegregated.

Hotels and Motels:

The Justice Department states that hotels in 22 cities have desegregated since late May. At least some of the major hotels in 23 Southern cities were known to be desegregated in a count made

(continued)

prior to that time, March, 1963. Major hotels in the following cities are among those currently known to be desegregated: Pine Bluff*, Little Rock, and Fayetteville, Arkansas; Miami Beach, Miami,* Hollywood,* Tampa, West Palm Beach,* Orlando, and Daytona Beach,* Florida (Cocoa, Florida announced); Atlanta, Georgia (conventions only); New Orleans,* La.; Wilmington,* Statesville,* Roxboro, Charlotte, Winston-Salem, Durham, Gatlinburg, High Point, Asheville, Chapel Hill,* and Greensboro, North Carolina; Gatlinburg, Johnson City,* Townsend,* and Oak Ridge, Tennessee; Fort Worth, San Antonio, Houston, Dallas, Corpus Christie (some), and San Angelo (will during the year), Texas; Richmond, Roanoke, Norfolk, Williamsburg, and Virginia Beach, Virginia. (*=At least one major hotel or motel known desegregated. In those cities without asterisks, a significant number or all hotels are desegregated.)

Other:

Desegregated during the past few months are all San Antonio, Texas bowling alleys; Norfolk, Virginia's Ocean View Amusement Park; The Ice Palace in Austin, Texas; a bowling alley in Fort Myers, Florida, Greensboro, N.C. bowling alleys.

Rec + Amusement

Public facilities desegregated

Swimming Pools and Beaches:

Among cities with desegregated municipal swimming facilities are: Tampa and Miami Beach, Florida; Atlanta, Georgia; High Point, Lexington, Winston-Salem, Raleigh, and Thomasville, North Carolina; Clarksville, Tennessee; Dallas, Houston, and Beaumont, Texas; Alexandria, Virginia.

Rocky Mount, Wilmington

Parks:

Desegregation in city owned parks is widespread (at least in larger cities). Among the most significant (due to size or Deep South location) of the Southern cities with desegregated parks are: Augusta, Georgia; Huntsville, Alabama; New Orleans, Louisiana.

Golf courses:

Golf courses are desegregated in many Southern cities, among them Mobile, Alabama; Macon, Georgia, Charleston, South Carolina, Birmingham, Ala. ~~(Those listed are thought to be significant due to Deep South location.)~~

Municipal Tennis courts: Atlanta, Ga; Tallahassee, Fla.

Education:

Desegregation of higher education:

In the states of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia, some 170 previously all-white public and private colleges and universities are now desegregated. (See Report L-23C, attached.)

Elementary and Secondary Public Schools:

In the states of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia 270 of the 2,283 bi-racial school districts were desegregated at the time of a November, 1962 count. (Source: Statistical Summary of School Segregation-Desegregation, SERS, November, 1962.)

At least 45 additional districts are expected to initiate desegregation in September, 1963 (only 9 of them are acting under court orders; the remaining 46 are acting voluntarily). Among them are districts in Alabama, which has never before experienced public school desegregation below the college level. (See attached "September School Desegregation.")

Education: (continued)

Desegregation of parochial schools:

Among parochial schools making/n/ which do not restrict entrance to white children only are Catholic schools in: Little Rock,/and Fort Smith, Arkansas; Atlanta,* Marietta, and Athens, Georgia ((; Miami,* Fla West Palm Beach, and St. Petersburg, Florida; New Orleans,* Louisiana; Raleigh*, North Carolina; Rock Hill, South Carolina; Nashville*, Jackson, Knoxville, Tennessee; San Antonio,* Dallas, Galveston, and Houston (combined diocese) Texas; Richmond,* Virginia. Announcedly, Catholic/ a Catholic school in Pine Bluff Arkansas will be desegregated in September, 1963; Catholic schools in Memphis and Shelby County Tennessee and in East Baton Rouge Parish, Louisiana will be opened to Negro students in September, 1964.

*An entire Diocese or Archdiocese involved; the Archdiocese of Atlanta, for example, includes 18 elementary and 5 high schools in 71 counties.

Episcopal parochial schools are desegregated in:

Equal opportunity in employment

Private:

Durham, N.C.: 31 retail businesses, several industrial concerns recently announced they will institute or continue the practice of hiring and promoting without regard to race.

St. Petersburg, Florida: Several department stores are reported to be hiring Negro retail clerks.

Birmingham, Alabama: One department store reportedly has hired a Negro retail clerk.

Memphis, Tennessee: Retail and specialty stores, bread, soft drink, and beer distributing firms, and other, similar concerns are participating in a program to increase the number of job opportunities available to Negroes and to institute a general upgrading in Negro employment. About 100 firms and stores are taking part, with 30 reportedly having already taken first steps.

Municipal, County, and City and State:

North Carolina: Gov. Terry Sanford recently pledged an end to discrimination in hiring for state jobs, urged private employers to examine their hiring practices to abolish discrimination.

Mecklenburg County, North Carolina: The Mecklenburg County Commission unanimously voted to hire County government workers without regard to race.

Arlington, Va.: All mention of race on city job questionnaires has been elminated by an action of the City Council.

Negro policemen hired, for the first time since reconstruction in Jackson, Miss.; Calhoun, Georgia; Cordele, Georgia; Charlottesville, Virginia; Danville, Va.

Federal:

Little Rock, Arkansas: Two federal agencies have put Negroes to work in substantial jobs for the first time; one Negro is an adjudicator with the VA, one an agent with the IRS, one a tax examiner with IRS.

Jackson, Miss.: Internal Revenue Service hired a Negro agent, Social Security a stenographer, and Veteran's Administration one new clerical worker.

Desegregation of Public Libraries:

A report from the American Library Association ("Access to Public Libraries," released mid-July 1963) discloses that 24 per cent of southern cities have integrated library systems, with a high of 55 per cent ~~and~~ in Tennessee and a low of 7 per cent in Alabama. Among cities with main public libraries open to Negroes are Mobile and Birmingham, Alabama; Baton Rouge and Lake Charles, Louisiana; Augusta, Macon, and Albany, Georgia; Charleston, South Carolina.

X Century -
7/31/63

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PRIVATE FACILITY DESEGREGATION

"Those who do nothing are inviting shame as well as violence. Those who act boldly are recognizing right as well as reality." Thus spoke President Kennedy of dampening the "fires of frustration and discord burning in every city" since the significant events in Birmingham last month. And bold action, the kind of action which demonstrates what progressive community elements can accomplish when moved and, perhaps more importantly, what seemingly inflexible community elements will accept without murmer, has been taken in many cities in the South during the last few weeks.

The expanding total of facilities "open to the public" which have been, since late May, opened to all of the public includes, in part:

First class restaurants in Nashville and Knoxville, Clarksville, Tennessee; Richmond and Lynchburg, Virginia; Charlotte, Asheville, Greensboro, Concord, Winston-Salem, Raleigh, Durham, Statesville and Wadesboro, N. C.; Atlanta, Georgia; Austin, Houston, Texas; Fayetteville, Arkansas (test period underway in Fayetteville);

Hotels and motels in Nashville, Knoxville, Clarksville, and Memphis, Tennessee; Charlotte, Winston-Salem, and Durham, North (Raleigh?) Carolina; Atlanta, Georgia; Tampa, Florida; Houston, Texas;

Movies in Little Rock, Arkansas; Memphis, Tennessee; Norfolk, Richmond, Lynchburg, ~~and~~ the Fairfax-Arlington-Alexandria area, Portsmouth Virginia; Raleigh and Charlotte, North Carolina, Houston, Texas.

(Listing above does not necessarily mean that within a named city all of the indicated facilities have desegregated, but that a significant number--and in some cases all--of them have. This listing is also far from complete, for the Department of Justice recently announced that, of 244 cities in Southern and border states on which it is "keeping close tab," 143 have taken "some positive visible step" toward removal of racial barriers. The Department's breakdown was: theatres in 61 cities, restaurants in 67 cities, hotels in 22 cities, lunch counters in 61 cities. SRC is currently preparing for publication as complete as possible a listing of newly desegregated facilities; it is scheduled for release in the very near future.)

During May and June, demonstrations, the threat of demonstrations, or in some instances the unpressured desire for progress has resulted in the formation of official biracial committees in: Anniston, Alabama; Pine Bluff, Arkansas; Daytona Beach, Gainesville, Melbourne, and St. Petersburg, Florida; Baton Rouge, Louisiana; Durham, High Point, Lenoir, Raleigh, Roxboro, Winston-Salem, Fayetteville, Concord, Sanford, Hickory, and Greensboro, North Carolina; Chattanooga and Nashville, Tennessee; Arlington, Hampton, and Roanoke, Virginia. The committees in Winston-Salem, Nashville, and Arlington are to be permanent bodies.

(Previously existing official biracial committees continue to function in Monroe and Charlotte, North Carolina; Athens and Oak Ridge, Tennessee; and Tampa, Florida. Similar committees are reportedly in operation in Asheville and Lumberton, North Carolina and in Fredericksburg and Newport News, Virginia; whether they are newly formed is unknown.)

RECENT ARTICLES, PAMPHLETS

"Who's Blocking Desegregation?" by Robert Coles, MD. The New Republic, June 22, 1963. pp. 17-20.
An especially excellent article, which treats of the reasons why Dixie segregationists are "protected" by others in the country (and the unfairness of such protection to Southerners).

"A Beginning in Birmingham," by Vincent Harding. The Reporter, June 6, 1963. pp. 13-19.
An account of steps in the negotiated settlement in Birmingham, with thoughts on the possibilities presented by the current situation.

"The Civil Rights Story; A Year's Review." Pamphlet. Theodore Leskes, American Jewish Committee, 165 E. 56th St., N.Y. 22. May, 1963.
The AJC's annual overview of national developments.

Lib - Columbus, GA.

Colleges –
Elem and Secondary Schools – Table 1; pg. 4 - Morland
Parochial Schools (?)
Hotels
Restaurants
Theatres
Recreational facilities
Libraries

June 24, 1963

Master

Official Committees on Race Relations Existing in 1963

ALABAMA

Birmingham - 7/13/63 - 211-man biracial community affairs committee created by a city council resolution

Anniston - May, 1963, biracial committee created by city commission, 4 Negroes, 5 whites

ARKANSAS

Pine Bluff

FLORIDA

Daytona Beach - Formed June, 1963

Ft. Myers — July, 1963. 5 Negroes, 5 City Councilmen.

Gainesville - June, 1963; city commission met in midst of demonstrations and formed biracial commission; 8 whites, 4 Negroes

Miami - 6/11 - Community Relations Bd. (to be staffed)

Melbourne - Mayor set up biracial committee Spring, 1963

Pensacola - June, 1963; City Council established bi-racial committee

St. Petersburg - Mayor Herman Goldner's biracial committee in operation as of May, 1963

Stuart - Under auspices of city commission

Tampa - Appointed by Mayor

KENTUCKY

Frankfort - Established by Mayor, March, 1961

Lexington - Appointed by Mayor, June, 1961

Henderson - Permanent Commission on Civil Rights, 25 members, created by Board of Commissioners and the Mayor, December, 1962

LOUISIANA

Baton Rouge - Formed by Mayor Jack Christian; first such committee in state; NAACP not represented on it and is protesting

NORTH CAROLINA

Asheville

Charlotte - Permanent Mayor's Community Relations Committee

Concord -

Durham - Mayor Wense Grabarek's biracial committee formed May, 1963

Fayetteville - 9 member biracial committee named by Mayor, Spring, '63

Greensboro - Special committee on human relations appointed by Mayor David Schenck from an existing committee, May, '63

Official Committees on Race Relations, 1963
Continued

Hickory	-	Community Relations Committee appointed by Mayor
High Point	-	Biracial committee formed by Mayor Floyd G. Mohan May, 1963
Lenoir	-	Mayor J. Harper Beall's biracial Committee on Human Relations appointed May, 1963; 5 members
Lumberton		
Monroe	-	Mayor's Committee of 12 members (6 Negroes, 6 whites) appointed in 1962; continues to function
Raleigh	-	15 member committee named by Mayor W. C. Enloe, May, 1963
Roxboro	-	Community relations committee appointed by Mayor D'Arcy Bradsher, May, 1963, 10 Negroes, 10 whites
Sanford	-	Biracial committee newly formed Spring, 1963
Winston-Salem	-	18 member permanent Goodwill Committee appointed by Mayor M. C. Benton, May, 1963; 9 Negroes, 9 whites

TENNESSEE

Athens	-	City Council approved request from local ministerial alliance to establish interracial committee to handle minority group problems in February, 1961. 2 Negro members on the committee at time of its formation. Still in existence in March, 1963.
Chattanooga	-	Mayor called group together, 1963
Nashville	-	Permanent Metropolitan Human Relations Committee appointed by Mayor Beverly Briley in May, 1963, "to recommend actions by the business community," not "a board of arbitration with enforcement powers"
Oak Ridge		

VIRGINIA

Arlington	-	Arlington County Human Relations Commission created Spring, 1963 by Arlington County Board
Fredericksburg		
Hampton	-	11 member biracial Council on Community Relations set up in May, 1963
Newport News		
Roanoke	-	Race relations sub-committee of the Citizens Committee for Greater Roanoke recently created
Danville	-	Mayor's racial advisory committee

The South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1330 LAUREL STREET
Columbia, South Carolina

July 13, 1963

Miss Marge Manderson
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Miss Manderson:

It occurs to me that in giving you information concerning possible persons for the Educational TV program that I failed to include Representative Joe Rogers address, which is Manning, S. C.

Mrs. W. D. Workman, Jr. shares her husband's segregationist views. In other areas (from our point of view) she is quite capable, being on the English faculty at Columbia College. Her address is 915 Belt Line Boulevard, Columbia, in case you wish to add her to the list of suggested persond.

If we can help in any other ways, call us again. Alice will be in the office the first of the week.

Sincerely,

Elizabeth C. Ledeen

Elizabeth C. Ledeen (Mrs. T. J.)

July 16, 1963

SOME INDICES OF PROGRESS IN THE SOUTH

Education

Higher:

In the states of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia, some 170 previously all-white public and private colleges and universities are now desegregated. (See Report L-23C, attached.)

Elementary and Secondary (Public):

In the states of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia 270 of the 2,283 bi-racial school districts were desegregated at the time of November, 1962 count. (Source; Statistical Summary of School Segregation-Desegregation in the Southern and Border States, Southern Education Reporting Service, November, 1962.)

Private facilities

Lunch counters:

As of early May, 1963, at least 110 Southern cities had desegregated lunch counters; since that time, according to a report from the U.S. Department of Justice, lunch counters in 61 cities have desegregated or made the decision to desegregate.

Restaurants:

Orlando

Hot Springs

Wilmington (some)

Roxboro

The Department of Justice announced in June that first class restaurants in at least 67 cities recently (since late May, 1963) have desegregated. Among them are restaurants in: Fayetteville, Arkansas; Gainesville and Cocoa, Florida; Atlanta, Georgia; Charlotte, Asheville, Greensboro, Concord, Winston-Salem, High Point (most eating establ.) Raleigh, Durham, Statesville, and Wadesboro, North Carolina; Fayetteville (60-day test) Austin, Houston, Lubbock, and Waco, Texas; Knoxville, Nashville, and Clarksville, Tennessee; Richmond and Lynchburg, Virginia. (Note: listing above indicates that a sizeable number of the restaurants within the city have desegregated with the exception of Atlanta. In Atlanta only 25 or so of the city's many restaurant concerns agreed to desegregate.) Demonstrations are expected to resume in the near future.)

Fort Worth, San Antonio (some)

Corpus Christi (some)

San Angelo (will during the year)

Charlottesville (8)

Virginia Beach

Pine Bluff, Hot Springs + Fayetteville, Ark.

Movies:

Movie theatres in 61 cities--again according to the Justice Department's report--have desegregated since late May, 1963. Among movies known to be desegregated are those in: Little Rock, Arkansas; Atlanta, Georgia; Raleigh, Charlotte, ~~and~~ Chapel Hill, North Carolina; Memphis, Knoxville, Oak Ridge, and Nashville, Tennessee; Amarillo, San Antonio, ~~and~~ Houston, Texas; Norfolk, Richmond, Portsmouth, Lynchburg, and the Fairfax-Arlington-Alexandria area of Virginia. In each instance either a significant number or all of the major movies within a named city have desegregated.

Cocoa, Fla. (by Aug. 18)
Durham (1 theatre)
Austin, Fort Worth, Corpus Christi,
Dallas
Leesburg, Va (one movie)
Falls Church
Clifton Forge
Virginia Beach
Charlottesville (at least one)

Hotels and Motels:

The Justice Department states that hotels in 22 cities have desegregated since late May. At least some of the major hotels in 23 Southern cities were known to be desegregated in a count made in March of 1963. Major hotels in the following cities are among those currently known to be desegregated: Pine Bluff*, Arkansas; Miami Beach, Miami,* Hollywood,* Tampa, West Palm Beach,* ~~and~~ Daytona Beach,* Florida (Cocoa, Florida announced); Atlanta, Georgia (announcedly for conventions only; however, persons who negotiated report that the agreement included over-night guests without convention affiliation); New Orleans* ~~La.~~; Charlotte, Winston-Salem, Durham, Gatlinburg, Johnson City,* Townsend,* and Oak Ridge, Tennessee; San Antonio, Houston, Dallas, Texas; Richmond, Roanoke, Norfolk, Williamsburg, Virginia. (*= At least one major hotel or motel known desegregated. In those cities without asterisks, a significant number or all are desegregated.)

Orlando,
High Point
Fort Worth
Virginia Beach,
Wilmington*
Statesville*
Roxboro
Corpus Christi (some)
San Angelo (will during the year)

Public facilities

Fayetteville and Thomasville,

Swimming Pools and Beaches:

Alexandria, Va.

Among cities with desegregated municipal swimming facilities are: Tampa and Miami Beach, Florida; Atlanta, Georgia; Clarksville, Tennessee; High Point, Winston-Salem, Raleigh, North Carolina. ~~(NOTE: this listing is quite incomplete.)~~

Dallas, Texas; Houston, Texas (HCHR); Beaumont, Texas;

Parks:

Among Southern cities with desegregated parks are Huntsville, Alabama; Little Rock, Arkansas; New Orleans, Louisiana,

Augusta, Ga
Dallas, Texas.
Corsicana, Tex.
Bastrop (Texas) State Park

Golf courses:

Golf courses are desegregated in many Southern cities, among them Mobile, Ala.; Jacksonville, Pensacola, West Palm Beach, Florida; Macon, Georgia; Charleston, South Carolina.

Other Private facilities:
~~an Amusement park in Oklahoma City,~~
Austin, Texas Ice Palace; All San Antonio Bowling alleys; Ocean View Amusement Park (Norfolk)

Out- of- State

FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED ATTENDANCE

OCTOBER 29-30, 1963 - PEACHTREE MANOR HOTEL

ALABAMA:

Andrews, Mrs. Earl, 3135 Audubon Road, Montgomery (Presbyterian)
Bishop, Mrs. John G., Jr., 559 Morphy Ave., Fairhope (Unitarian)
Boynton, Mrs. A. P., 1315 Lapsley St., Selma
Durr, Mrs. Virginia, 2 Felder Avenue, Montgomery
Fuller, Mrs. John, 1508 Cresthill Rd., Birmingham (Unitarian)
Murchison, Mrs. E. P., 308 Tenth Ave., West, Birmingham (Methodist)
McLeod, Mrs. J. F., Montgomery, 1540 College Court
McPhillips, Mrs. Julian, 1329 S. McDonough St., Montgomery
Ormond, Mrs. Josephine, Emelle
Robinson, Mrs. J. E., 5300 Avenue G, Fairfield
Smith, Mrs. Ralph S., 21 Malone Circle, Florence (Methodist)
Tatum, Mrs. Candler, 1801 Sixth Ave. North, Birmingham (Methodist)
Wactor, Mrs. Hildred, 110 S. Bayou St., Mobile, (AME)
Wilson, Mrs. J. C., 107 Moton Street, Tuskegee (Methodist)

ARKANSAS:

Driver, Mrs. David M., 1410 Evans St., Arkadelphia (UCW)

FLORIDA:

Atkinson, Mrs. W. B., 150 Methodist St., Ft. Walton Beach (Methodist)
~~[illegible]~~
Dell, Mrs. Agnes, 717 N.W. Fifth Avenue, Gainesville (Methodist)
Fresh, Mrs. Harry, 118 W. Plymouth St., Tampa (UCW)
Loehr, Mrs. George, 227 Snell Isle Blvd., St. Petersburg (UCW)
Sloan, Mrs. Carrie B., 2223 College Circle North, Jacksonville (UCW)

GEORGIA:

Calhoun, Mrs. Clayton, Paine College, Augusta (Methodist)
Carter, Mrs. Edith, Paine College, Augusta (Methodist)
Peck, Mrs. Willis A., 1624 Watson Blvd., Warner Robins (UCW)
Sheppard, Mrs. Cecelia, Paine College, Augusta (Methodist)
Weddington, Mrs. Annie Mae, Route 2, Hiram (AME)

KENTUCKY:

Middleton, Mrs. Clyde, 30 Ft. Mitchell Ave., Covington (UCW)
Tucker, Mrs. Thomas N., Marion (Methodist)

LOUISIANA:

Green, Mrs. W. T., 2911 Milan St., New Orleans 70115, (UCW)

MISSISSIPPI:

Beittel, Mrs. A. D., Tougaloo Christian College, Tougaloo
King, Mrs. Edwin, Jr., " " Box 91 "
Newman, Mrs. Harry G., 726 Alvardeo St., Jackson 4 (Unitarian)
Schutt, Mrs. Jane, 955 Pecan Blvd., Jackson 3 (Methodist)

NORTH CAROLINA:

Beatty, Mrs. Paul B., 517 E. Blvd, Charlotte 3 (Methodist)
Bullard, Miss Kathryn, P. O. Box 9523, Raleigh (Baptist)
Burgess, Mrs. Louise, P. O. Box 9523, Raleigh (Baptist)
Dixson, Mrs. Ernest F., 334 Livingston Dr., Charlotte (UCW)
Fralix, Mrs. Harriet, P. O. Box 707, Fayetteville (Methodist)
Lester, Mrs. F. C., 906 Chestnut Drive, High Point
Newbold, Mrs. T. S., 304 Charolotte St., Rocky Mount (Methodist)
Turlington, Mrs. H. C., Box 587, Dunn (Methodist)

SOUTH CAROLINA:

Daniels, Mrs. Sarah, P. O. Box 1507, Sumter
McAbee, Mrs. Herbert, 509 Pennwood Drive, Spartanburg(V-P UCW)
Pharr, Mrs. Mary H., P. O. Box 819, Charleston 29402 (Presbyterian USA)
Turner, Mrs. N. A., 221 Harden St., Columbia (Methodist)

TENNESSEE:

Cameron, Mrs. A. E., 114 W. Malta Rd., Oak Ridge (UCW)
Hardesty, Mrs. Joe, Memphis (UCW)
Henderson, Mrs. Charles M., 4041 N. Walnut Grove Cir., Memphis 17 (Meth.)
Rainwater, Mrs. Roland, 804 Barrow Court, Columbia (Presby. U.S.)
Sharp, Mrs. Mary, 889 Oak Valley Road, Nashville
Spencer, Mrs. Harry C., 610 Westview Avenue, Nashville 5 (PRES. UCW)
Strode, Mrs. Naomi, 579 West 4th St., Cookeville (Methodist)
Wilcox, Mrs. Robert, 16 Minnekahda Pl., Chattanooga 5 (Methodist)

TEXAS:

Mrs. L. B. Clark, 708 East 32½, Houston 77022 (UCW)
Hunt, Mrs. Robert, 926 Linda Lou San Antonio 78223 (UCW)

VIRGINIA:

Boylan, Mrs. Vincent, 1013 Kennedy St., Falls Church (Catholic)
Erwin, Mrs. C. T., 812 - 22nd St., Newport News (UCW)
Glossbrenner, Mrs. E. L., 8213 Brookfield Rd., Richmond 27 (Methodist)
Hilgeman, Mrs. Lawrence, 7626 Sweet Briar Rd., Richmond (Pres. UCW)

French, Miss Eleanor, 475 Riverside Drive, New York
Killingsworth, Miss Louise, Jackson, Miss.
Killingsworth, Miss Mathilde, Jackson, Miss.
Fleintold, Miss Miriam, c/o CORE, 306 Ivey St., Plaquemine, La.
Smith, Miss M Shirley, Ex. Dir., Nat'l Women's Committee for Civil Rights, Washington, D. C.
Meares, Mrs. Carrie, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y.
Meares, Mrs. Margaret, " " " " "

Memo from MONTEZ ALBRIGHT

As of end of August, 1963 - estimated

11 southern states: 55 active committees or commissions

4 border states (Dele., Ky., Md., Okla.) 16

Total: 71

Does not include state-wide commissions or committees, or private groups, or Louisville and Miami.

(complete list attached)

m m

COMMUNITY RELATIONS COMMITTEES

(11 southern states & Okla., Ky., & Mo.)

I. State Commissions

A. Kentucky - Commission on Human Rights established under a general assembly act of March, 1960.

B. Missouri - Commission on Human Rights established by a general assembly bill in 1959.

II. Local bodies created by ordinance

A. Louisville, Ky. - Louisville Human Relations Commission (ordinance passed by Board of Aldermen in 1962)

B. Miami, Fla. - Dade County Community Relations Board (ordinance 6-11-63) of 15, with professional inter-group director

III. State and city councils on human relations with permanent staff+ and cooperating with Southern Regional Council (private agencies)

Alabama Council on Human Relations
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
Florida Council on Human Relations
Jacksonville Council on Human Relations
Georgia Council on Human Relations
Atlanta Council on Human Relations
North Carolina Council on Human Relations
South Carolina Council on Human Relations
Tennessee Council on Human Relations
Virginia Council on Human Relations
Houston Council on Human Relations

IV. Other groups with varying powers

A. Alabama
Montgomery*
Birmingham - Mayor Albert Boutwell announced plans to form 6-31-63; biracial community affairs committee created by a city council resolution 7-13-63.
Anniston - City Commission created biracial committee 5-16-63 with 4 Negroes, 5 whites; Mayor Carl Dear, Rev. J. Phillip Noble, chmn.; Rev. Wm. McClain Human Relations Council.

+ Similar Councils without staff in New Orleans, Kentucky, Mississippi, and Texas.

* The existence of a biracial committee has been mentioned in very recent news items, or is otherwise known to SRC, not in detail.

B. Arkansas

Pine Bluff* (also had an unofficial committee during 1960 sit-ins)

C. Florida

Auburndale - Pinellas County, 6-27-63 County Commission voted creation of 10-man biracial committee

Cocoa - During May 1963 biracial Citizens Advisory Committee in operation

Coral Gables**

Clearwater - as of July 1963 has municipal biracial committee

Daytona Beach - biracial committee appointed by mayor 6-4-63; also had committee during 1960 sit-ins

Delray Beach - ** (also had committee prior to 1960 sit-ins)

Eustis** - (also had committee prior to 1960 sit-ins)

Fort Myers - 6-2-63 ten-member (5/5) biracial committee

Fort Pierce**

Gainesville - 6-2-63 Mayor Byron M. Winn, Jr. and city commission met in midst of demonstrations and formed biracial committee of 8 whites, 4 Negroes.

Jacksonville*

Miami - see p. 1, section II

Melbourne - mayor's biracial committee appointed June 1963

Orlando** - (also had committee prior to 1960 sit-ins)

Pensacola - City Council established biracial committee June 1963

St. Petersburg - Mayor Herman Goldner's biracial committee in operation as of 5-25-63 (also had committee during 1960 sit-ins)

Stuart - biracial committee formed this Spring (since Birmingham) under auspices of city commission

Tallahassee - 6-12-63 Mayor held second meeting with biracial committee (had unofficial lay and ministerial biracial committee during 1960 sit-ins)

** Biracial committee created by city government was in existence as of 10/60 (sit-in movement), current status not known

Tampa - has had a mayor's biracial committee for some time (recently); possibly an extension of committee in existence during 1960

Vero Beach - 7-5-63 Mayor Jack Sturgis appointed 18-man biracial committee

West Palm Beach** (also had a committee prior to 1960 sit-ins)

Winter Park** (also had a committee prior to 1960 sit-ins)

D. Georgia

Atlanta - Mayor Ivan Allen has been asked to form a biracial committee by NAACP (5-30-63). A private, biracial group of realtors formed May 1963

Brunswick - July 22, 1963 city commission created biracial advisory committee (6 Negroes, 14 whites); had advisory biracial committee during winter 1963.

Columbus - July 22, 1963 biracial advisory committee (6 Negroes, 14 whites)

Marietta*

Savannah - biracial Human Relations Council formed June 1963 (had biracial committee prior to 1960 sit-ins, becoming inactive in April 1960)

Valdosta - July 31, 1963 Mayor Maxwell Oliver announced plan to form biracial committee; formed 9-5-63.

E. Louisiana

Baton Rouge - Mayor-President Jack Christian appointed 30-man biracial committee (created by "resolution") reportedly first such in state and in operation as of mid-May 1963. NAACP has no representation on it and is currently protesting it.

Hammond - September 1963, reportedly second biracial committee in La.

New Orleans*

Shreveport - Negro leaders request biracial committee 6-2-63

F. Mississippi

Clarksdale - biracial committee as of 6-30-63

Greenville - 5-29-63, eight local Negroes appointed by community to request biracial committee of city council; between June 19 and July 5 a six-man biracial committee formed

Gulfport - 13-man biracial committee, 8 whites, 5 Negroes, during week of July 1

Jackson - Mayor Allen Thompson has held meetings with Negro leaders but declines to establish a formal biracial group, one of Negroes' demands as of 6-15-63

G.

North Carolina - In January 1963 Gov. Sanford began naming members (24 total) to state-wide North Carolina Good Neighbor Council.

Albemarle & Stanley County - 6-24-63 biracial committee formed under auspices of chamber of commerce

Asheville* - 12 members

Charlotte - committee, named in May 1963 by Mayor Stan Brookshire, chaired by Dr. John R. Cunningham, to be permanent. (also had committee during 1960 sit-ins)

Clinton - 6-9-63 Mayor Geo. S. Walston named 10-man biracial committee

Concord* - Mayor J. G. McCachern named six-man (3/3) biracial committee 6-7-63

Dunn - 7-17-63 Mayor's biracial Human Relations Committee held first meeting

Durham - Mayor Wense Grabarek formed biracial committee 5-21-63 (also had biracial committee prior to and during 1960 sit-ins)

Fayetteville - Nine-man biracial committee (co-ordinating) named by Mayor as of 6-23-63

Gastonia - has a biracial committee as of 6-13-63

Goldsboro - biracial committee in effect in early August

Greensboro - Mayor David Schenck formed the biracial Special Committee on Human Relations 5-22-63. Chairman is Dr. G. H. Evans with 17 members (also had committee during 1960 sit-ins)

Hickory*- Mayor Julian G. Whitener named biracial Community Relations Council 6-4-63

High Point - Mayor M. C. Benton - 18 member biracial (9/9) biracial committee 5-30-63, Capus Waynick, chairman (also had biracial committee during 1960 sit-ins)

Hillsboro - 9-1-63, first meeting of biracial committee (5/5)

Laurenburg - had an unofficial Chamber of Commerce-sponsored biracial committee during 1960 sit-ins

Lenoir - Mayor J. Harper Beall named biracial 5-member Lenoir Committee on Human Relations 5-24-63

Lexington - Mayor Chas. V. Sink sent names for biracial committee to city council 6-3-63 (before Link death)

Lumberton - Has biracial committee, 6-5-63, appointed by Mayor R. A. Hedgepeth.

Monroe - Mayor's biracial committee of 12 members (6/6) formed ~~early~~ Spring 1963.

Raleigh - Mayor W. C. Enloe named 15-member biracial committee 5-14-63 (also had committee during 1960 sit-ins)

Rockingham - Mayor appointed biracial (4 w., 3 N.) Good Neighbor Committee 7-13-63

Roxboro - Mayor C'Arcy Bradsher appointed 20-man biracial (10/10) Community Relations Committee June 1963.

Sanford - newly-formed biracial committee as of 6-23-63

Thomasville - committee formed 5-25-63 to study merits of a biracial committee; 8-19-63 first meeting of biracial committee

Wilmington - biracial committee as of 7-7-63

Wilson - 6-3-63 announcement that biracial Good Neighbor Council would be named

Winston-Salem - Mayor M. C. Benton named 18-member biracial committee (9/9) held first meeting 5-21-63 (created 5-20-63); Thomas H. Davis, president Chamber of Commerce is on committee (motels, hotels, restaurants & theatres) Committee has named three sub-committees and is permanent. (also had committee during 1960 sit-ins and again in December 1962) All have been called "good will" committees.

H. South Carolina

Charleston - biracial committee as of 7-24-63

Florence - biracial committee formed July 2, 1963

Manning - On 6-12-63 City Council refused NAACP request for biracial committee

Sumter - Negro IMA proposal for biracial committee to be established by ministerial association turned down 6-12-63

I. Tennessee

Chattanooga - Mayor Ralph Kelley had appointed a biracial committee as of 6-18-63.

Athens - two Negro members on a city-council -approved committee in April 1961; in action as of March 1963.

Knoxville - 35 white civic leaders meeting currently (& quietly) with mayor's approval. (had biracial committee during 1960 sit-ins)

Humbolt - biracial committee mention in news story July 21, 1963.

Memphis - Committee on Community Relations (reportedly formed in 1958) currently active.

Nashville - Metropolitan Human Relations Committee formed 5-16-63 by Mayor Beverly Briley to be permanent and "to recommend actions by the business community" NOT "a board of arbitration with enforcement powers." Membership includes: Amon C. Evans, Greenfield Pitts, Will D. Campbell, Kelly M. Smith, Dr. Herman Long, Dr. Felix Robb, Mrs. Mathew Walker, John Dubuisson, R. P. Curry,

Tom B. Baker, Jr., James P. Bass. (had committee during 1960 sit-ins)

Tennessee, continued:

Oak Ridge- ** currently has biracial committee created by city commission

J. Texas

Houston**

La Porte - Committee established by City Council 8-5-63

K. Virginia - Gov. Harrison rejected proposal for statewide biracial committee 5-29-63

Arlington - Arlington County Human Relations Commission established Spring 1963 by Arlington County Board

Charlottesville - urging biracial committee

Covington - City Council postpones decision on biracial commission 7-17-63

Danville - biracial committee meeting as of 6-7-63 (Mayor Stinson's Advisory Commission is biracial 6-20-63)

Fredericksburg - City Council named(4/4) eight member race relations commission

Hampton - Mayor Geroge C. Bentley appointed 11-member biracial Council on Community Relations # 5-18-63

Lynchburg**

Martinsville - Martinsville-Henry County Christian Civic League (6-6-63) called on community to desegregate public accommodations and employment and create a biracial commission. 6-25-63 Mayor J. Frank Wilson and Chamber of Commerce agreed to appoint biracial committee; 7-17-63 City Council tabled it.

Newport News*-

Norfolk - 5-28-63 City Council asked Mayor to form biracial committee. As of 7-15-63 Citizens Advisory Committee (biracial) in effect.

Petersburg - 7-17-63 City Council sanctions formation of biracial commission

Roanoke - race relations sub-committee of the Citizens Committee for Greater Roanoke currently in operation (during 1960 sit-ins unofficial biracial committee met)

Richmond - proposal for biracial committee introduced to city council 5-17-63. (during 1960 sit-ins mayor formed a biracial committee)

Staunton - Community Relations Committee (3/3) in effect 8-1-63

Woodstock - Committee composed of Mayor William Dalke and two councilmen met August 1962 to select a biracial commission of 4/4 members

V. Groups of note in border states

A. Delaware - State Human Relations Commission, established under Section I, Title 31, approved 12-28-61.

Rehoboth Beach - 5-18-63, town commissioners voted to establish Human Relations Committee in the event the area might have racial unrest (5 N, 6 w)

B. Kentucky

Henderson - has 25 member biracial Commission on Civil Rights

C. Maryland - Commission on Interracial Problems and Relations

Annapolis - 7-22-63, Mayor Joseph H. Griscom, Sr. appointed 9-member race relations committee at request of NAACP (5 w, 4 N) "to bring about better relations and better feeling among the races."

Baltimore - Baltimore Commission on Human Relations

Baltimore County - 7-16-63, newly created Human Relations Commission

Cambridge - Committee for Interracial Understanding, a wyite negotiating committee formed May 1963 by Dorchester County Judge W. Laird Henry

Cecil County - biracial committee, as of 6-26-63

Centerville - Mayor W. E. Price formed biracial committee 6-21-63

Chestertown - biracial committee

Crisfield - Mayor John Catlin formed biracial committee

Easton - week of June 17 biracial committee; most restaurants, hotel, and the only threatre desegregated by 7-8-63.

Montgomery County - Montgomery County Human Relations Commission - statutory group established under general assembly act in 1951 (4 N, 5 w)

Pocomoke City - biracial commission appointed 6-21-63

Princess Anne - biracial commission, Alexander Jones, chairman

Prince Georges County - 7-12-63 11-man biracial Human Relations Committee (advisory) appointed by County Commissioners

Salisbury-Wicomico Commission on Interracial Problems (3 years old as of May 1963)

D. Oklahoma

Okalhoma City - Chamber of Commerce approved 15-member Community Relations Commission.

MM - note
~~Research~~ - ?
Speeches + Research Material

DIRECTORY

OF

RELIGION AND RACE

ORGANIZATIONS

IN

States

Counties

Cities

Prepared by the National Conference on Religion and Race from information available as of February 7, 1964.

For additional copies write:

National Conference on Religion and Race
150 Fifth Avenue - Room 632
New York, New York 10011

Additional copies 50¢ each

Note: Because the returns were incomplete it is anticipated that supplementary pages will be made available to the extent that additional information is furnished to NCRR's Secretariat.

CALIFORNIA

Marin County:
Marin County Conference on Religion and Race
Organized - November 5, 1963
Chairman of the Steering Committee:
Mr. Julian W. Mack II
945 Las Ovejas Avenue
San Rafael, California
Tel: (415) 479-2968 or 421-4935

Oakland:
East Bay Conference on Religion and Race
Organized - September 23, 1963
Chairman:
Reverend Robert D. Hill
Taylor Memorial Methodist Church
1194 Twelfth Street- Oakland, California
Tel: (415) 444-672 or 832-5276

Santa Barbara:
F.A.I.R.(Fellowship to Advance Inter-group Relations)
Organized - Spring, 1963

Mrs. Myra P. Gallert
P.O. Box 914
Santa Barbara, California 93102

San Francisco:
San Francisco Conference on Religion and Race
Organized - January 22, 1964
Coordinator:
Mrs. Max Semel
#506, 503 Market Street
San Francisco, California
Tel: (415) 492-3189

ILLINOIS

Chicago:

Chicago Conference on Religion and Race

Organized - January 31, 1963

Executive Secretary:
Mr. John D. McDermott
21 West Superior Street
Chicago 10, Illinois
Tel: (312) 664-7501

Will County:

Will County Conference on Religion and Race

Organized - October, 1963

Chairman of the Steering Committee:
Rabbi Morris M. Hershman
226 E. Clinton Street
Joliet, Illinois
Tel: (815) 727-7078

Wilmette:

Wilmette Human Relations Committee

Organized - January 29, 1963

Co-Chairman:
Mr. & Mrs. Patrick Crowley
2304 Elmwood
Wilmette, Illinois
Tel: 251-2304

INDIANA

Gary:

Temporary Gary Conference on Religion and Race

Organized - November 13, 1963

Temporary Chairman:
Carl I. Miller, Rabbi
601 N. Montgomery
Gary, Indiana
Tel: (219) 938-5232

Grant County:
Grant County Workshop on Religion and Race (Marion)
Organized - May, 1963
Chairman:
Reverend Herbert A. Fisher
211 Delphi
Sweetser, Indiana
Tel: (317) 384-7236

Indianapolis:
Indianapolis, Indiana Conference on Religion and Race
Organized -
Chairman:
Mr. Charles Stimming
4629 Washington Blvd.
Indianapolis, Indiana
Tel: (317) 273-1133 or 635-6591

South Bend:
Religion and Race Committee of the National Conference of Christians and Jews - Organized - May 24, 1963
Director (NCCJ):
Mr. Donald Thorman
404 Commerce Building
South Bend, Indiana
Tel: (317) 232-7166

I O W A

Black Hawk County:
Black Hawk County Conference on Religion and Race
Organized - May 23, 1963
Chairman Steering Committee:
Mrs. Warren Nash
211 Newell Street
Waterloo, Iowa 50703
Tel: (319) 233-3181

Cedar Rapids:
Inter-Faith Committee
Organized - June, 1963

Reverend D.R. Jafvert
327 35th Street, N.E.
Cedar Rapids, Iowa
Tel: 366-0802 or 363-0281

Iowa:
Iowa Conference on Religion and Race
Organized - June 15, 1963
Chairman Steering Committee:
Reverend John E. Donovan
223 Securities Building
Des Moines, Iowa 50309

Quad Cities: (Rock Island, Davenport, Moline, East Moline)
Interreligious Committee on Race
Organized - September, 1963
Chairman:
Reverend Donald Bautz
c/o Council of Churches
639 38th
Rock Island, Illinois
Tel: 786-3922

KENTUCKY

Lexington:
Lexington Committee on Religion and Human Rights
Organized - February, 1963
General Secretary:
Mrs. W.K. Massie
108 Irvine Road
Lexington, Kentucky
Tel: 266-1134

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston:
Boston Conference on Religion and Race
Organized - June, 1963
Chairman:
The Rt. Rev. John M. Burgess
Secretary:
Mr. Robert E. Segal
Room 401 - 72 Franklin Street
Boston 10, Massachusetts
Tel: (617) 542-7525

Springfield:
Steering Committee on Religion and Race of Greater Springfield, Massachusetts - Organized Sept. 17, 1963
Chairman:
Dr. Walter H. English
Room 228 - City Hall
Springfield, Massachusetts
Tel: (413) 736-2711 ext. 340 or 343

MICHIGAN

Ann Arbor-Washtenaw County:
Ann Arbor-Washtenaw Conference on Religion and Race
Organized - June, 1963
Chairman:
Reverend George B. Laurent
227 South Ann Arbor Street
Saline, Michigan
Tel: 1-313-429-7670

Detroit:
Metropolitan Conference on Religion and Race
Organized - October, 1963
Chairman:
Reverend James Sheehan
c/o Archbishops Committee on Human Relations
305 Michigan Avenue
Detroit 26, Michigan

MINNESOTA

Minneapolis:
Minnesota Committee on Religion and Race(Pro Tem.)
Organized - June, 1963
Chairman of Pro. Tem. Committee:
The Most Rev. Hamilton H. Kellogg
309 Clifton Avenue
Mpls, Minn. 55404
Tel: (612) 335-2221

MISSOURI

Clay-Platte:
Clay-Platte Council on Religion and Race
Organized - August, 1963
Chairman:
The Reverend Charles Duxbury
4805 Antioch Road
Kansas City 19, Missouri
Tel: (816) 452-7833

Columbia:
Columbia Conference on Religion and Race
Organized - February, 1963
Chairman:
Reverend William S. Ryan
2601 W. Broadway
Columbia, Missouri
Tel: (314) 443-3950

St. Louis:
St. Louis Conference on Religion and Race
Organized -
Executive Secretary:
Dr. Paul Hanlon
409 N. Euclid Street
St. Louis, Mo. 63108
Tel: (314) 367-4855

NEBRASKA

Nebraska:
Nebraska Conference on Religion and Race
Organized - September 4, 1963
Executive Board Member:
Father James Stewart
1817 Dodge Street
Omaha, Nebraska 68102
Tel: (402) 341-4004

NEW JERSEY

New Jersey:
New Jersey Conference on Religion and Race
Organized - September, 1963
Chairman Executive Committee:
The Reverend Alexander H. Shaw
116 North Oraton Parkway
East Orange, New Jersey 07107
Tel: (201) 675-8600

New York:
Metropolitan N.Y. Conference on Religion and Race
Organized - February, 1963 by the Committee of Religious Leaders, N.Y.C. Youth Board
Consultant:
Miss Carol J. Densberger
79 Madison Avenue
New York, New York
Tel: 685-8600

Rochester:

Rochester Conference on Religion and Race

Organized - April, 1963

Chairman:

The Reverend Eugene H. Tennis
4 Meigs Street
Rochester, New York 14607
Tel: 244-0886

Syracuse:

Syracuse Committee on Religion and Race

Organized -

Chairman:

Reverend William McConaghy
620 W. Genessee Street
Syracuse, New York
Tel: (415) 471-2174

Utica:

Interreligious Commission on Religion and Race

Organized - September 12, 1963

Chairman:

Reverend H. Robert Gemmer
Council of Churches
11 Devereux Street
Utica, New York
Tel: (315) 733-4661

NORTH CAROLINA

North Carolina:

North Carolina Council on Religion and Race

Organized - April 5, 1963

Chairman:

Dr. W.R. Grigg
301 Hillsboro Street
P.O. Box 9523
Raleigh, N.C.
Tel: (919) 833-1605 or 787-0478

O H I O

Cleveland:

Greater Cleveland Conference on Religion and Race

Organized - June, 1963

Coordinator:
The Reverend F. Edward Camille
1027 Superior Avenue
Cleveland 14, Ohio
Tel: (216) 781-7411

Lorain County:

Lorain County Conference on Religion and Race

Organized - November 6, 1963

Secretary:
Thomas H. Peters
P.O. Box 255
Lorain, Ohio
Tel: Bus: (216) 244-1889 Res: 288-8083

Toledo:

Toledo Area Interfaith Conference on Religion and Race

Organized - July 24, 1963

Secretariat:
Reverend Garnett E. Phibbs
405 Board of Trade Building
Toledo 4, Ohio
Tel: (419) 243-9263

Warren:

Warren Inter-Faith Housing Conference

Organized - April 16, 1963

Chairman Executive Committee:
Reverend William O'Neil
530 Tod Avenue, S.W.
Warren, Ohio
Tel: (216) 395-3747

OKLAHOMA

Oklahoma:
Oklahoma Conference on Religion and Race
Organized - July, 1963
Secretary:
Mr. Stan Twardy
Box 981
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Tel: (405) 235-4559
Chairman Executive Committee:
The Rt. Rev. Frederick Putnam
Box 1098 - Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Tel: (405) 524-9800

OREGON

Portland:
Metropolitan Interfaith Commission on Race
Organized - June, 1963
Co-Chairman:
Dr. Robert H. Bonthius
1624 N.E. Hancock
Portland, Oregon 97212
Tel: 287-1289

PENNSYLVANIA

Pittsburgh:
Pittsburgh Area Religion and Race Council
Organized - Shortly after Chicago Conference
Convener:
Reverend Robert L. Kincheloe
220 Grant Street
Pittsburgh 19, Pa.
Tel: 471-7300

RHODE ISLAND

Rhode Island:

Rhode Island Conference on Religion and Race

Organized - March 15, 1963

Coordinator:
Mrs. Rozella White Switzer
National Conference of Christians and Jews
92 Benevolent Street
Providence 6, Rhode Island
Tel: (401) 831-5961 or 421-7306

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee:

Greater Milwaukee Conference on Religion and Race

Organized - April 20, 1963

Chairman:
Rt. Reverend Donald H.V. Hallock
804 East Juneau Avenue
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53202
Tel: (608) 272-3038

* * *

Information on additional conferences or committees on religion and race or corrections are solicited for future supplementary pages.

2/20/64

WEST VIRGINIA ADVISORY COMMITTEE

	Telephone
Miles C. Stanley, CHAIRMAN 1624 Kanawha Boulevard Box 646 Charleston	DI 4-3557 (Bus.)
Dunbar, West Virginia	PO 8-1881 (Res.)

President, West Virginia Labor Federation (AFL-CIO).

Dr. William J. L. Wallace, VICE CHAIRMAN West Virginia State College Institute	PO 8-3981

Educator. President, West Virginia State College.

Mrs. P. R. Higginbotham (Gwendolyn H.), SECRETARY 132 Williams Street Bluefield	DA 7-9242

Housewife. President, State Medical Auxiliary and Bluefield State College Alumni Association. Member, Cancer Board, Bluefield. Former teacher in the Washington, D.C. Public Schools.

Dr. Harold A. Gibbard West Virginia University Morgantown	LI 9-3411

Chairman, Sociology Department, West Virginia University.

John A. Jones 1407 Overlook Drive Weirton	WE 1000 (Bus.) WE 4255 (Res.)

Director of Public Relations, Weirton Steel Company. Lecturer, industrial journalism and public relations. Chairman, publications section, Better Business Relations Committee of the National Chamber of Commerce.

Telephone

(Mrs.) Esther T. McAllester
Box 37
West Virginia Wesleyan College
Buckhannon 26201
472-1800

Chairman, Home Economics Department, West Virginia Wesleyan College.

James B. McIntyre
Kanawha County Court House
Charleston
DI 3-5141 (Bus.)
DI 2-8314 (Res.)

Assistant Prosecuting Attorney for Kanawha County. Co-chairman, Kanawha Valley Unitarian Fellowship. Chairman, Kanawha County Association for the United Nations. Member, Washington, D.C. and West Virginia Bar Associations.

Rabbi Samuel Volkman
Temple Israel
Kanawha Boulevard and Chesapeake
Charleston
DI 2-5810 (Bus.)
DI 4-4283 (Res.)

Clergyman. Member, Governor's Commission on Chaplaincy (West Virginia), Mayor's Commission on Human Relations (Charleston), and West Virginia Crime and Delinquency Council. Chairman, Disaster Health and Welfare Services Committee (Kanawha Welfare Council). Former director, Ohio Valley Council of Union of American Hebrew Congregations.

HUMAN RELATIONS COUNCILS

The following is believed to be a complete listing of all communities with Human Relations Councils (sometimes called Community Relations Councils) as of January 1, 1965.

ARKANSAS

Conway
Fayetteville
Fort Smith
Jonesboro
North Little Rock

ALABAMA

Birmingham
East Alabama
Huntsville
Mobile
Montgomery
Muscle Shoals
Talladega
Tuscaloosa

FLORIDA

Broward County
Central Brevard
DeLand
Ft. Pierce
Gainesville
Halifax Area
Greater Jacksonville
Lee County
Melbourne
Greater Miami
Palm Beach
St. Petersburg
Upper Pinellas
Tallahassee
Tampa

Affiliated but haven't joined

Dunedin
Ocala
Vero Beach

GEORGIA

Albany
Athens
Atlanta
Augusta
Brunswick
Columbus
Macon
Rome
Savannah
Statesboro

LOUISIANA

Baton Rouge
Lafayette
Louisiana

MISSISSIPPI

Greenville
Gulf Coast
Jackson

NORTH CAROLINA

Charlotte
Durham
Wilmington

PENDING:

Asheville
Goldsboro
Greensboro

SOUTH CAROLINA

Aiken
Beaufort County
Columbia
Greenville
Hampton County
Jasper County
Rock Hill
Sumter
Winthrop

TENNESSEE

Chattanooga
Jackson
Knoxville
Memphis
Murfreesboro
Nashville
Oak Ridge

TEXAS

Houston

VIRGINIA

Alexandria
Arlington
Blacksburg
Charlottesville
Danville
Fairfax County
Fredericksburg
Franklin
Giles County
Hanover County
Hopewell
Lexington
Lynchburg
Mercer-Tazewell
Norfolk
Peninsula
Prince Edward County
Radford
Richmond
Roanoke
Rockingham County
Williamsburg

Hold mo. meetings, but do not pay dues.

Covington
Lancaster County
Loudoun County
Petersburg
Prince William County
Warrenton

STATE & CITY	POPULATION NON-WHITE PERCENT	TITLE	APPOINTED BY	DATE EST.	STAFF	FREQUENCY OF MEETING	AREAS OF ACTIVITY	FUNDS
ALABAMA								
Anniston		Bi-Racial Comm.	City Commission	May 1963	9 part time[1]			
Birmingham		Community Affairs Comm.		July 1963	2			
Mobile	202,779 65,484 32.3	Special Advisory Comm.	Ordinance	May 1963	9 part time	bi-monthly	Health & Welfare Labor-Mg't Rels. Housing	None
FLORIDA								
Clearwater	34,653 5,411 16.6	The Liaison Comm.	City Commission	June 1963	None	monthly		None
Daytona Beach	37,395 11,575 30.8	Bi-Racial Comm.	Mayor		None			None
Fort Lauderdale	83,648 18,962 22.7	Bi-Racial Advisory Board	Resolution	June 1963	None	weekly	Employment Education Recreation Housing	None
Pensacola	56,752 18,582 32.7	Bi-Racial Comm.	City Commission	June 1963	Use of City Staff	weekly	Means of Communication, Study of Problems	None

STATE & CITY	POPULATION NON-WHITE PERCENT	TITLE	APPOINTED BY	DATE EST.	STAFF	FREQUENCY OF MEETING	AREAS OF ACTIVITY	FUNDS
Sarasota	34,083 5,290 15.5	Bi-Racial Comm.	City Commission	Aug. 1963	part time	monthly	Public Accom. Housing	None
St. Petersburg	181,298 24,137 13.3	Bi-Racial Comm.	Mayor	July 1963	None	as necessary	Public Accom.	None
Tampa	274,970 45,749 16.6	Bi-Racial Comm.	Mayor	1960	None			None
West Palm Beach	56,208 14,847 26.4	Community Relations Comm.	Mayor	April 1960	part time	semi-monthly	Employment Hospitals	None
GEORGIA								
Brunswick	21,703 8,897 40.9	Bi-Racial Comm.	Chamber of Commerce		None			None
Macon	69,764 30,946 44.4	Mayor's Bi-Racial Comm.	Mayor	1963	None	on call		None
Valdosta	30,652 10,986 35.8	Bi-Racial Comm.	Mayor	Sept. 1963	None	as desired	Employment Education	None

STATE & CITY	POPULATION NON-WHITE PERCENT	TITLE	APPOINTED BY	DATE EST.	STAFF	FREQUENCY OF MEETING	AREAS OF ACTIVITY	FUNDS
KENTUCKY								
Lexington	62,810 16,248 25.9	Commission on Human Rights	Mayor	June 1963	full time	bi-weekly	Employment Public Services	Yes
Louisville	390,639 70,087 17.9	Commission on Human Rights	Mayor	March 1962	3 full 2 part time	monthly	Employment Education Public Accom. Housing	Yes
Owensboro	42,471 2,834 6.7	Mayor's Comm. on Human Rels.	Mayor	Fall 1963	None	monthly		None
Puducah	34,479 5,595 16.2	Commission on Human Rights	Mayor	May 1962	None	monthly	Public Accom.	None
LOUISIANA								
Baton Rouge	152,419 45,541 29.9	Community Relations Comm.	Mayor	May 1963	part time	bi-weekly		None
NORTH CAROLINA								
Burlington	33,199 3,241 9.7	Alamance Human Rels Council	County Comm.	April 1963	None	monthly	Employment Education Public Accom.	None
Charlotte	201,564 53,349 28.0	Mayor's Community Rels. Comm.	Mayor	June 1961	None	monthly	Employment Education Public Accom. Housing	None

STATE & CITY	POPULATION NON-WHITE PERCENT	TITLE	APPOINTED BY	DATE EST.	STAFF	FREQUENCY OF MEETING	AREAS OF ACTIVITY	FUNDS
Durham	78,302 28,236 36.1	Comm. on Community Relations	Mayor	May 1963	None		Employment Education Public Accom.	None
Fayetteville	47,106 16,749 35.6	Mayor's Bi-Racial Comm.	Mayor	June 1963	None	as necessary	Employment Public Accom.	None
Gastonia	37,276 6,657 17.9	Human Rels. Comm.	Mayor	1959	None	weekly	Employment Education Public Accom.	None
Greensboro	119,574 31,011 25.9	Commission on Human Rels.	City Commission	July 1963	None	monthly	Employment Education Public Accom.	None
Raleigh	93,931 21,876 23.3	Mayor's Community Rels. Comm.	Mayor	July 1963	Yes	monthly	Employment Education Public Accom.	Yes
Rocky Mountain	32,147 11,306 35.2	Mayor's Good Neighbor Comm.	Mayor	1954	Shares with City	monthly	Employment Education	None
Wilmington-New Hanover	44,013 16,552 37.6	Good Neighbor Council	Resolution	May 1963	None	semi-monthly	Employment Education Public Accom. Public Rels. Welfare, Youth	None
Winston-Salem	111,135 41,194 37.1	Mayor's Goodwill Committee	Mayor	May 1963	Part time	monthly	Employment Education Public Accom.	None

STATE & CITY	POPULATION NON-WHITE PERCENT	TITLE	APPOINTED BY	DATE EST.	STAFF	FREQUENCY OF MEETING	AREAS OF ACTIVITY	FUNDS
SOUTH CAROLINA								
Spartanburg	44,352 14,000 31.6	Mayor's Informal Advisory Comm.	Mayor	May 1963	None			None
TENNESSEE								
Chattanooga	130,009 43,050 33.1	Mayor's Bi-Racial Comm.	Mayor	May 1963	None	weekly	Public Accom.	None
Knoxville	111,827 20,713 18.5	Mayor's Comm.	Mayor	1962	None		Employment Education Public Accom.	None
Nashville	170,874 64,463 37.7	Metro. Human Rels. Comm.	Mayor	May 1963	None		Employment Education Public Accom.	None
TEXAS								
Austin	186,545 24,373 13.1	Human Rels. Comm.	City Commission	May 1964			Investige Complaints	
Corpus Christi	167,690 9,192 5.5	Human Rels. Comm.	City Commission	Oct. 1963	part time		Liaison Research Information	None
Corsicana	20,344 4,634 22.8	Interracial Comm.	City Commission	June 1963	part time	monthly	Investigate Complaints	None

STATE & CITY	POPULATION NON-WHITE PERCENT	TITLE	APPOINTED BY	DATE EST.	STAFF	FREQUENCY OF MEETING	AREAS OF ACTIVITY	FUNDS
Lubbock	128,691 10,374 8.1	Interracial Comm.	Mayor	Sept. 1963	None			None
San Angelo	58,815	Community Relations Comm.	Chamber of Commerce	June 1963	None	semi-monthly	Communication	None
Toyer	51,230 11,529 22.5	Bi-Racial Comm.	City Commission	June 1963	None		Public Accom.	Yes
VIRGINIA								
Charlottesville	29,427 5,561 18.9	Community Relations Comm.	Mayor	June 1963	None	semi-monthly	Public Accom. Employment	None
Lynchburg	54,790 11,092 20.2	Bi-Racial Comm.	City Commission	1960	part time	monthly	Employment Public Accom.	None
Newport News	113,662 38,533 33.9	Bi-Racial Comm.	Mayor	June 1963		monthly		None
Norfolk3	304,869 79,159 26.0	Citizen's Advisory Comm.			Shares city staff	weekly	Employment Education Public Accom.	None
Petersburg	36,750 17,305 47.1	Bi-Racial Comm.	Resolution	Aug. 1963	None	bi-monthly	Employment	

STATE & CITY	POPULATION NON-WHITE PERCENT	TITLE	APPOINTED BY	DATE EST.	STAFF	FREQUENCY OF MEETING	AREAS OF ACTIVITY	FUNDS
Richmond	219,958 92,037 41.8	Community Rels. Comm.	Mayor	July 1963	Shares City Staff	weekly	Employment	None
Roanoke	97,110 16,531 17.0	Inter-racial Comm.	Businessmen	1960	None	as desired	Public Businesses	None

[1] 4 Negroes, 5 Whites

[2] Birmingham's Community Affairs Committee has 210 members of whom 20 percent are Negroes. The group is divided into 10 sub-committees, each with a specific area of concern.

[3] This committee was originally established to assist with the community's redevelopment program. This same committee now advises in the area of Race Relations as well.

The following is a list of agencies that are active in the area of Civil Rights and Human Relations in more than one of the southern states.

AFL-CIO Department of Civil Rights
815-16th St. N.W., Washington, D.C.

American Baptist Home Mission Societies
Box 188, Chapel Hill, N. C.

American Friends Service Committee
Community Relations Division
160 N. 15th St., Philadelphia 2, Pa.

American Friends Service Committee
Southeastern Regional Office
1818 S. Main St., High Point, N. C.

American Friends Service Committee
Southcentral Regional Office
4717 Crawford, Houston 4, Texas

American Jewish Committee
Southeast Area Office
1208 Congress Bldg., Miami 32, Florida

American Jewish Committee
Atlanta Area Office
41 Exchange Place, S.E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

American Jewish Committee
Southwest Regional Office
523 Fidelity Bldg., Dallas 2, Texas

American Jewish Congress
Southeastern Region
Congress Bldg., Miami 32, Florida

Anti-Defamation League B'nai B'rith
Florida Regional Office
330 Seybold Bldg., Miama, Florida

Anti-Defamation League B'nai B'rith
Southcentral Reg. Office
535 Gravier St., New Orleans 12, La.

Anti Defamation League B'nai B'rith
Southeastern Reg. Office
41 Exchange Place, S.E., Atlanta, Ga.

Anti-Defamation League B'nai B'rith
Southwest Reg. Office
2405 San Jacinto St., Houston 2, Texas

Anti-Defamation League B'nai B'rith
Virginia-N.C. Reg. Office.
216 N. Second St., Richmond, Va.

Committee of Southern Churchmen
1106 19th Ave., S., Nashville, Tenn.

Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, N. Y. 38, N. Y.

Disciples of Christ
United Christian Missionary Society
222 S. Downey Ave., Indianapolis, Ind.

The Episcopal Soc. for Cultural
and Racial Unity
5 Forsyth St., N.W., Atlanta 3, Ga.

Jewish Labor Committee
25 E. 78th St., N. Y.,New York

Mennonite Service Committee
540 Houston St., Atlanta, Ga.

The Methodist Church, Women's Division,
Dept. of Christian Social Relations,
Board of Missions
16 Minnekahola Place, Chattanooga, Tenn.

National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People,
Southeastern Regional Office
Atlanta, Georgia

National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People,
Southwestern Regional Office
2600 Flora St., Dallas, Texas

National Catholic Conference for
Interracial Justice, Southern Field Serv.
1046 Baronne St., New Orleans 13, La.

National Conference of Christians & Jews
Southeastern Div.
P. O. Box 3587, Greensboro, N. C.

National Conference of Christians & Jews
Georgia and Alabama
1144 Bank of Ga. Bldg., Atlanta 3, Ga.

National Conference on Religion & Race
475 Riverside Dr., N. Y., N. Y.

National Council of Churches of Christ
in the U.S.A., Dept. of Racial &
Cultural Relations
P. O. Box 1083, Nashville, Tennessee

National Council of Jewish Women
1 W. 47th St., N. Y. 36, N. Y.

National Council of Negro Women
1318 Vermont Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C.

National Labor Service
165 E. 56th St., N. Y. 22, New York

National Urban League
Southern Regional Office
250 Auburn Ave., N.E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

Penn Community Services
St. Helena Island, Frogmore, S. C.

The Potomac Institute, Inc.
1501 18th St., N. W., Washington 6, D.C.

The Presbyterian Church in USA,
Board of Christian Education
8 N. 6th St., Richmond, Va.

Prostestant Episcopal Church
P. O. Box 853
Lynchburg, Va.

Southern Baptist Convention
Christian Life Commission
161 8th Ave., N., Nashville, Tenn.

Southern Christian Leadership Conf.
334 Auburn Ave., N.E., Atlanta, Ga.

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W., Atlanta, Ga.

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Comm.
6 Raymond St., N.W.
Atlanta 14, Georgia

Union of American Hebrew Congregations
816 Congress Bldg., Miami 32, Florida

Unitarian Service Committee
9 Park St., Boston 8, Massachusetts

United Automobile Workers, AFL-CIO,
Fair Practices & Anti-Discrimination Dept.
3304 Capital Trail,
Cranston Heights, Wilmington, Delaware

United Church of Christ
Board of Homeland Ministries
5606 Oak St., Guilford College, N. C.

United Church of Christ
Council for Christian Social Action
289 Park Ave., S., N. Y. 10, N. Y.

United Church of Christ
41 Exchange Place, S.E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

United Church of Christ, Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

United Presbyterian Church in USA,
Dept. of Social Education & Action
824 Tusculum Blvd., Greenville, Tenn.

United Presbyterian Church in USA,
Regional Office, Church & Society
2011 Grand Ave., Nashville, Tennessee

U.S. National Student Association
Southern Student Human Relations Project
41 Exchange Place, S.E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

YMCA's, Southern Area Council of
Thornton W. Merriam
706 Standard Bldg., Atlanta 3, Ga.

YWCA National Student Council
41 Exchange Place, S.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

YWCA Southern Regional Office
41 Exchange Place, S.E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

* * * * * * *

It should be noted that the above list does not include organizations that are engaged in Civil Rights projects in only one state.

Following this page you will find:

1) a list of cooperating organizations of the Southern Regional Council, Inc.;

2) a list of Human Relations Councils in the southern and border states;

3) a list of the officially established Bi-Racial Committees in the above states, which also includes (when available) information as to-

   a. city where located
   b. population
      i. white
      ii. non-white
      iii. percent non-white
   c. title
   d. appointed (or established) by
   e. date established
   f. staff (if any)
   g. frequency of meeting
   h. areas of activity (or concern)
   i. funds available (if any).

In the list of official Bi-Racial Committees it was originally intended to include a column on their "authority." This was left off when it was discovered that only two such committees, to the best of our knowledge, (Lexington and Louisville, Ky.) had any more than "advisory" authority.

It should be further noted that all of the above lists contain as complete information as was available to me at the time that the material went to the mimeograph operators and I would be surprised if any of them are completely exhaustive.

I would here like to acknowledge the two major sources of information and advice that were used in gathering the above material: The Southern Regional Council, inc. and The U. S. Conference of Mayors.

Kenneth R. Whittemore
Sociology Department
University of Chattanooga

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL INC.

5 Forsyth Street, N.W.

Atlanta 3, Georgia

Leslie Dunbar, Executive Director John H. Wheeler, President

COOPERATING ORGANIZATIONS

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

2809 Governor's Drive
Huntsville, Alabama
852-5938 (205)
Exec. Dir.: Edwin Stanfield
Chmn.: Dr. Lucius Pitts

ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas
FRanklin 4-4521 (501)
Exec. Dir.: Nathaniel Griswold
Assoc. Dir.: Ozell Sutton
Chman.: Mrs. Joe R. Brewer

FLORIDA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

356 South Beach Street
Daytona Beach, Florida
255-5881 (305)
Exec. Dir.: Edwyn E. Lewis, Jr.
Chmn.: Dr. H. Franklin Williams

GEORGIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

5 Forsyth St., N.W., Room 201
Atlanta, Georgia
525-6468 (404)
Exec. Dir.: Mrs. Frances Pauley
Assoc. Dir.: Oliver Holmes
Chmn.: Dr. Joe Hendricks

KENTUCKY COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Chmn.: Mrs. Harry McAlpin
13321 Aiken Rd.
Anchorage, Kentucky

LOUISIANA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Acting Chmn.: The Rt. Rev. Msgr.
Alexander O. Sigur
P.O. Box 2512
Lafayette, Louisiana

MISSISSIPPI COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Chmn.: Rev. Duncan M. Gray, Jr.
P.O. Box 266
Oxford, Mississippi

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121 E. Third Street, Room 301
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17 East Cary Street
Richmond 19, Virginia
648-4445 (703)
Exec. Dir.: Heslip Lee
Chmn.: Dr. Aubrey N. Brown

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Chmn.: Mrs. James S. Crate
8510 Ferris Street
Houston 35, Texas

Local Councils with Professional Staff:

GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

5 Forsyth St., N.W., Room 207
Atlanta, Georgia
525-6469
Exec. Dir.: Bob Carey
Chmn.: Mrs. Clifton Hoffman

HOUSTON COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

5403 Austin Street
Houston, Texas
JA. 6-1829
Exec. Dir.: Charles Kelley
Exec. Sec.: Mrs. Geo. Dumbauld
Chmn.: G. E. Dodd

HUMAN RELATIONS COUNCIL OF GREATER JACKSONVILLE

129 E. Forsyth St.
Jacksonville, Fla. 353-8081 (305)
Exec. Dir.: Ernest Lent

Cuthy. Self Survey - From Ga. Council

EDUCATION QUESTIONNAIRE

SCHOOL BOARD (Local and State)

Who are they? _____ What are their terms of office? _____

_____ _____

_____ _____

_____ _____

What are its duties? _____ Do citizens participate in selection of Board?

If the Board is appointed, do citizens make known what they consider desireable qualifications? _____. Are all segments of the population represented on the Board? _____. When does the Board meet? _____. Are meetings open to the public? _____.

SUPERINTENDENT — How is he selected? _____

What are his qualifications? _____

BUDGET — Who makes it? _____. Who adopts it? _____.

Is it published? _____. Are public hearings held? _____.

Who attends the hearings? _____. What percentage goes for teacher's pay? _____. Are Negro and white teachers paid on the same scale? _____. What is the per pupil expenditure? ___.

White? _____. Negro? _____.

How is the building program financed? _____.

What percentage local? _____. State? _____. Federal? _____.

VOCATIONAL TRAINING — Do you have trade schools available? _____.

Negro? _____. White? _____.

Is their curriculum adequate for the changing needs in employment? _____

_____? What counseling services are available?

_____. Do you have guidance clinics? _____.

OTHER USES OF SCHOOLS — Are school buildings open for public meetings? _____.

Are they open to integregated meetings? _____.

QUESTIONNAIRE for SURVEY of SCHOOLS

1. _____ Name of School

2. _____ Location

3. _____ Classification

4. _____ Enrollment

5. _____ Number of graduates, 1962

6. _____ Number High School Freshmen

7. _____ Number in College

	MA and Beyond	Senior College Graduate	Junior College Graduate	Less Than Junior Coll.
8. Number of Teachers	_____	_____	_____	_____

Number of Teachers with Certificate _____.

9. How many are teaching in their specialty _____ Not in specialty _____

10. How many classes have double sessions _____ How many teachers teach both ____

11. Library - volumes in library _____ Reference books _____.

11a. How many subscriptions to magazines _____ Newspapers _____.

List ten

1. _____ 6. _____
2. _____ 7. _____
3. _____ 8. _____
4. _____ 9. _____
5. _____ 10. _____

11b. Number of seats in Library _____ Is there a trained Librarian _____

12. Physical plant in terms of square feet.

Classrooms _____ Square feet Number _____

Gymnasium _____ Square feet Seating capacity ____ Showers _____

Lockers _____ Swimming Pool _____

Auditorium _____ Square feet Cafeteria _____ Square feet

Grounds _____ Square feet Parking _____ Square feet

(If space is used for more than one purpose, make note.)

13. _____ Number of teaching stations

14. _____ Are Books Furnished

15. _____ Is number adequate

15. Courses - list courses taught | Number of students in course

_____ _____

_____ _____

_____ _____

_____ _____

_____ _____

15. (cont'd)

_____ _____

_____ _____

_____ _____

_____ _____

_____ _____

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_____ _____

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_____ _____

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_____ _____

_____ _____

_____ _____

_____ _____

6. Business Education:
   (a) Number of students enrolled _____
   (b) IBM equipment _____
   (c) Other euipment _____
   _____
   _____
   _____

7. Curriculums - how or who prescribes

_____ _____

8. Do you have an active P.T.A. _____

9. What major contributions has the P.T.A. made to your school _____

_____.

20. Do you have:

Dramatics _____ Newspaper _____ Yearbook _____ Football _____

Basketball
Male _____ Female _____

Band
Male _____ Female _____ ROTC _____.

21. What was average daily attendance for September _____ October _____.

22. Drop-outs since September:
Male _____ Female _____

Reasons:

_____ _____ _____

_____ _____ _____

_____ _____ _____

23. Number of Counselors _____ Number of Visiting Teachers _____

24. What tests have been given or encouraged by school or teacher

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

TEACHER Name or Number	SUBJECTS TAUGHT	STUDENTS Class Load	DEGREE	WHERE RECEIVED	Year Received	Major and Minor	Years of Experience

cont'd TEACHER Name or Number	Advance Training in Related Courses	Certificate Held

FLORIDA

Elementary and High Schools

67 Districts: 67 With Negroes and Whites; Five Desegregated

	White	Negro	Total
Enrollment	816,070	214,283	1,030,353
Teachers	31,422	8,302	39,724

Colleges and Universities

Five Desegregated

	Predominantly White	Predominantly Negro	Total
Institutions	17	12	29
Enrollment	51,797	6,833	58,630

Status of Segregation-Desegregation

PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Dade County (Miami) voluntarily admitted Negroes to white schools in 1959 in advance of a court order to proceed with a desegregation plan. The first Negro pupils were assigned to Orchard Villa but the previously all-white school became all-Negro in 1960 when the last white withdrew. Broward County (Fort Lauderdale) began desegregation in September, 1961, a few days after a suit was filed. Palm Beach County desegregated at the high school level under a consent decree in a long-pending federal suit. Hillsborough County (Tampa), where a school suit has been pending for over two years, assigned one Negro to a school for handicapped children. Volusia County (Daytona Beach) had a desegregation suit pending in federal court but admitted Negroes to one formerly all-white school in September, 1961. Escambia County (Pensacola) has received federal court approval of a plan to desegregate in September, 1962. Enrollments at the desegregated districts are:

County	Enrollment White	Enrollment Negro	Negroes w/Whites	Biracial Schools	Date Deseg.
Broward	58,020*	8,822*	32	3	1961-V
Dade	143,283*	31,432*	513	9	1959-V
Hillsborough	71,049*	10,921*	1	1	1961-V
Palm Beach	37,039*	6,029*	4	3	1961-C
Volusia	21,108*	3,168*	2	1	1961-V
TOTALS	330,499*	60,372*	552	17	

*Estimated

HIGHER EDUCATION

Graduate and professional schools desegregated in 1958-59 under federal court order. Two Negroes enrolled at the University of Florida but were dropped in 1960 for failure to meet academic standards. At the beginning of the 1960-61 session a third Negro was accepted in the university law school. The University of South Florida at Tampa accepted four Negroes at the opening of the 1961-62 term. The 25 junior colleges are operated under the various county school boards where they are located and are subject to the state pupil assignment law. While most have separate campuses about 100 Negroes have been attending classes with white students in Dade County, upon occasion. Two Negroes have been assigned to the St. Petersburg Junior College and two to the Palm Beach County Junior College. College enrollments, based on Nov. 1 attendance figures:

	White	Negro	Date Deseg.
Predominantly White			
Senior Colleges			
Fla. State Univ.	9,659	0	
Univ. of Fla.	13,633	1	1959-C
Univ. of S. Fla.	2,980	4	1961-V
TOTALS	26,272	5	
Predominantly Negro			
Senior Colleges			
Fla. A&M Univ.	0	2,780	
Junior Colleges			
Bay County			
Gulf Coast	661	0	
Rosenwald	0	73	
Brevard County			
Brevard	1,561	0	
Carver	0	128	
Broward County* (2)	1,388 (total)		
Dade County* (2)	3,524 (total)		
Escambia County			
Pensacola	2,116	0	1961-V
Washington	0	186	
Jackson County			
Chipola	915	0	
Jackson	0	40	
Madison County			
North Florida	472	0	
Sewanee River	0	220	
Manatee County	1,272	0	
Marion County			
Central Fla.	811	0	
Hampton	0	318	
Palm Beach County			
Palm Beach	2,142	2	NA
Roosevelt	0	216	
Pinellas County			
St. Petersburg	4,131	2	1961-V
Gibbs	0	604	
Putnam County			
St. Johns River	561	0	
Collier-Blocker	0	61	
St. Lucie County			
Indian River	1,690	0	
Lincoln	0	119	
Volusia County			
Daytona Beach	3,852	0	
Volusia County	0	2,079	
TOTALS	25,516	4,057	
STATE TOTALS	51,788	6,842	

*No racial breakdown available for two separate campuses.

FACULTIES

No college faculties are known to be desegregated.

SPECIAL SCHOOLS

Two state industrial schools for boys and two for girls are segregated. The two schools for boys have duplicated facilities separated by a street. The girls institutions have two duplicated facilities in the same towns. The Florida school for Deaf and Blind at St. Augustine has no duplicated facilities but keeps the races separate.

ETHNIC GROUPS

All Indians go to regular white schools except for those attending two federally operated schools on federal reservations at Dania and Brighton.

LITIGATION

Augustus et al v. Board of Public Instruction of Escambia County

U.S. District Court for North Florida on March 17, 1961, ordered Escambia County to produce within 90 days a plan for desegregation in September, 1961. The school board voted to prepare a plan of gradual desegregation in the Pensacola and county schools, which will take effect in September, 1962.

Braxton et al v. Board of Public Instruction of Duval County

Class suit filed in 1960 in U.S. District Court, seeking complete desegregation at all school levels. White citizens group of Jacksonville petitioned to intervene as defendants, claiming their rights would be damaged if Negroes were admitted to schools attended by their children. Depositions have been taken, but hearing not yet held.

Florida v. Special School Tax District No. 1 of Dade County

Florida Supreme Court validated school bonds in 1955 case with racial aspect.

Gibson et al v. Board of Public Instruction of Dade County

U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in 1959 ruled pupil assignment was not good faith compliance, ordered Dade County to proceed with desegregation. County school board already had ordered Negroes admitted to Orchard Villa and since has assigned Negroes to other schools. With U.S. District Court approval the board has notified all parents of their rights under the assignment law.

Gibson et al v. Florida Legislative Investigating Committee

Florida Supreme Court upheld committee power to subpoena NAACP membership lists in 1960. Rev. Theodore Gibson sentenced to jail for contempt for failure to comply with order. U.S. Supreme Court in September, 1961, accepted the case for review.

Hall et al v. Board of Public Instruction of Broward County.

Suit filed in August, 1961, in U.S. District Court to desegregate school system. School board shortly voted to assign Negro children to three white schools.

Hawkins v. Board of Control

Five Negroes sought admission to the University of Florida in a suit filed in 1949 in a state court. The U.S. Supreme Court ruled in 1956 that Hawkins should be admitted forthwith but the Florida Supreme Court refused to accept the mandate. In 1957, by a consent decree, the Board of Control agreed to accept all qualified students regardless of race while plaintiff Virgil O. Hawkins agreed not to contest further the board's finding that he was ineligible because of a low score on admission tests. Three Negro students have been admitted to the University of Florida, the first in 1958, and five Negroes have attended summer sessions. Only one Negro now attends the school.

Holland et al v. Board of Public Instruction of Palm Beach County

Filed in 1955 to compel acceptance of one Negro boy in a white school. U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals ordered the board to proceed with desegregation. Compliance delayed by Holland's appeals to local and state school boards and a dispute over school district lines. Under a consent decree in September, 1961, Palm Beach desegregated the high schools.

Manatee County Board of Public Instruction v. State

Florida Supreme Court validated school bonds in 1957 case with racial aspect.

Mennings et al v. Board of Public Instruction of Hillsborough County

Plaintiffs' suit in 1959 for complete desegregation of Hillsborough County (Tampa) schools dismissed in U.S. District Court. Now in process of appeal.

State v. Lake County Board of Public Instruction

Circuit Judge Futch refused to validate $5.6 million county bond issue for seven Negro schools, holding desegregation was ignored. Florida Supreme Co reversed the ruling, which State School Supt. Ba said would jeopardize entire state school build program.

Tillman et al v. Board of Public Instruction of Volu County

Suit filed in U.S. District Court in 1960 asking co plete desegregation at all levels. School authori filed petition in Circuit Court (state) for decla tory decree that petitioners were not eligible sue, having no rights endangered. The petition sought to eliminate several white parents am plaintiffs. Motion and arguments heard but fi decision pending. The school board has deseg gated one school.

LEGISLATION

1957

HCR 61—Commended special committee studying w to preserve schools.

HCR 174—Interposition.

SCR 17—Condemned U.S. Supreme Court's "usur tion of powers."

Ch. 29746—Dealt with enrollment and transportat of pupils, setting out criteria that could be used maintain segregation.

Ch. 31380—Pupil assignment law. (Amended in 1 to incorporate wording taken from similar Alaba law approved "on its face" by U.S. Supreme Cou

Ch. 31389—Granted governor emergency powers to down violence.

Ch. 31390—Granted governor additional powers compel sheriffs to act in disorders at schools segregated by court order.

Ch. 31391—Permitted teacher dismissals on basis educational, sociological and psychological crite

Ch. 31498—Created legislative committee to inves gate organizations advocating violence.

1959

Ch. 228—Required separate schools for white a Negro children as part of state plan for public ed cation.

Ch. 230—Provided automatic closing and suspensi of schools in event national guard or federal troo used on state property.

Ch. 623—Established private school corporation la

Ch. 822—Provided maximum 20 years imprisonme for malicious injury to buildings and structures gunpowder.

Ch. 876—Made it unlawful to wear hoods or conce face in public.

Ch. 955—Included requirement that white and Neg inmates at Florida School for Boys be in "separa buildings, not nearer than one-fourth mile to ea other."

Cities where Negroes are members of boards of education

Arkansas
Jefferson County District (near Pine Bluff)

Kentucky
Hopkinsville
Louisville

Georgia
Atlanta

North Carolina
Forsyth County Board of Education
Winston-Salem

Kentucky - State Board of Education

Tennessee - State Board of Education
Memphis - Shelby County Board of Education
Nashville
Oak Ridge

Texas
Austin
Houston

Virginia
Dumfries
Hampton
Lynchburg
Newport News
Norfolk
Portsmouth
Richmond (after 4-yrs on board, Negro elected vice-chairman)
Fredericksburg

Washington, D. C.
4 of 9 members of school board are Negro

Cities where Negroes are members of city councils or board of aldermen

Florida - Riviera Beach

North Carolina - Lumberton, Raleigh, Winston-Salem, Gastonia (3)

Tennessee - Nashville (5), Oak Ridge

Texas - Galveston

Virginia - Dumfries, Port Royal (2)

In-Betweeners in South Carolina

Politicians (Any of the politicians may be told they were recommended by the Rev. Howard McClain of the Christian Action Council in Columbia. McClain has been working with these men and they wouldn't shy at the use of his name.)

Rep. (S.C. House) Heyward E. McDonald
300 Barringer Building
Columbia, South Carolina
Willing to take stand, although his past term was his first.

Rep. (S.C. House) LeGrand A. Rouse II
180 Library Street
Spartanburg, South Carolina
Active in trying to defeat recent tuition grant bill. Was spokesman for the minority vote against it.

Sen. (SC Senate) John Carl West
Box 198
Camden, South Carolina

Sen. (S.C. Senate) Francis B. Nicholson
Box 882
Greenwood, South Carolina

Sen. Earle Morris Jr. (S. C. Senate)
Box 97
Pickens, South Carolina

Educators

Say Mrs. Ledeen of the South Carolina Council on Human Relations recommended any one of these:

Mrs. C. E. Anderson
Supervisor, Adult Education
State Department of Education
Columbia, South Carolina
This one sounds particularly good:
Miss Will Lou Gray
1815 Devine Street
Columbia, South Carolina
Director and founder of the Opportunity School, for adult and special education. Highly respected and loved; now retired; outspoken.

Dr. J. Carlisle Holler
Supervisor of Instruction
State Department of Education
Columbia, South Carolina

Dr. R. Wright Spears
President of Columbia College
Columbis, South Carolina
On SCCHR (South Carolina Council of Human Relations) board

Professor Glenn Abernathy
Department of Political Science
University of South Carolina

Also, these college professors were recommended, but we have no entree for ~~your~~ you:

Dr. E. M. Lander
Professor of History
Clemson College

Dr. Ray Rutledge
Clemson

Dr. Dorothy Jones
and
Dr. Allen Edwards
Both in Sociology Department
Winthrop College
Rock Hill, South Carolina

Southern Women

(These are active in spheres other than Save OUr Schools ~~ty~~ groups!)

~~Mrs. Gedney Howe~~
~~554 Huger Street~~
~~Charleston, S. C.~~

Mrs. Gedney Howe
554 Huger Street
Charleston, S. C.
Active in United Churchwomen, Presbyterian Women, leader in migrant worker activities of United Churchwomen. Vigorous, attractive. Say Mrs. Ledeen recommended her.

Mrs. E. G. McCall
955 Charlotte Avenue
Rock Hill, South Carolina
President Presbyterian Women, Synod of South Carolina
Works in Rock Hill Council on Human Relations, outstanding.

Mrs. Sanford Howie
110 Argonne Drive
Greenville, South Carolina
United Churchwomen.

Mrs. Leon Bryan
1514 Wyndham Road
Columbia, South Carolina
Past president (last year) League of Women Voters (a very cautious organization in South Carolina)

Business and Professional men

Mr. LeRoy Strasburger
1601 Adger Road
Columbia
Businessman, active in Columbia Chamber of Commerce, on some state committee appointed by Governor. It's well known that the Columbia Chamber of Commerce played strong role in ~~desegregation of Columbia's lunch counter~~ encouraging desegregation of facilities in Columbia, so this ~~enough~~ should serve as introduction.

Mr. Thomas Boyle, Jr.
Boyle-Vaughn Insurance Agency
Columbis, South Carolina
Active Episcopal layman; on South Carolina Council board but has reservations. Use Mrs. Ledeen's name.

Dr. John Timmons (physician)
1321 Heatherwood
Columbia, South Carolina
Say Mrs. Ledeen recommended him.

~~Mr. O. Stanley~~

Mr. O. Stanley Smith, Jr.
1950 Gervais Street
Columbia, South Carolina
Influential businessman; last year was president of Chamber of Commerce; ~~on~~ Chairman of Governor's Committee on Technical Education in the state; conservative moderate. Use Chamber of Commerce as introduction.

Mr. Charles Daniels
Daniels Construction Company
Greenville, South Carolina
Former state senator; very conservative. First political leader in the state to speak out about the need for ~~upgrading~~ upgrading Negro economically, educationally. Taken some leadership in bringing about progress in the state. Mentioned extensively in ~~Cor~~ George McMillan's Saturday Evening Post ~~pic~~ piece "Integration With Dignity: the Inside Story of How South Carolina Kept the Peace," 3/16/61 (on Clemson integration).

~~Dr. John Crast~~

Journalists

Mr. James Rogers, Editor
Florence Morning News
Florence, South Carolina
Has taken lead in forming biracial committees

Mr. Ed Chaffin
Editor
Greenwood Index Journal
Greenwood, South Carolina

A/M

Andrew M. Secrest
Editor
The Cheraw Chronicle
Cheraw, South Carolina
A weekly. Secrest is on the SRC board and probably more nearly a lig liberal. You may want to check him out. He's forthright.

I don't seem to be able to find representative editorials from these papers. Would the Journalism Dept. then be able to help you?

Bham.
Elton Stevens
Col. William Rushton, Sr.
S Xockham

Glenn Brock--Mobile, Ala.
Hugh Grant--Augusta

Joseph Rogers--Clarendon Co. SC

Medford Evans--Miss.
Albert Freundt, Jr. Miss.
Rabbi Benjamin Schultz
The RTv. James Dees
The Rev. Edward Guerry, Charleston area
Rev. Cecil Brearley, Columbia

Tom WAring
Jesse Helms
W. D. Workman
Clarence V. Hanson, Jr. - Bham News
James Mills - Bham Post Herald
Hubert Baughan, South mag.

Mrs. Equen
Olive Bell DVvis
Mr. David W. Robinson Sr. - Columbia
Mr. Robert Hudson - Columbia

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOHN H. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
LESLIE W. DUNBAR, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. • ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

July 22, 1963

Dave:

Here's all I can get to you today. More to follow.

Writers, Editors, and Publishers

Maggie Dixon, managing editor Baton Rouge (La.) Morning Advocate. One of the only, or the only, woman managing editor in the country. Was an advisor, close friend of former governor Earl Long. See a book by A. J. Liebeling (Sp.?) "The Earl of Louisiana," (this also was a New Yorker series about about two and a half years ago) in which Maggie Dixon figures. She's recommended as a moderate by someone from Baton Rouge; should be very colorful and interesting.

Oliver Emmerich, editor McComb, Mississippi, Enterprise Journal. Former editor Jackson State Times. The latter paper folded. See enclosed Report L-30.

Eugene Patterson, of course.

Hugh Patterson, publisher Arkansas Gazette. Stood by and behind Harry Ashmore all though his and the Gazette's travails. Moderate influence in the city today.

Burt Strubby, Executive Editor (or some such executive position involving both papers) The Macon News and the Macon Telegraph. Recommended by Maggie Long, who formerly worked on one of these papers. I think just the fact of the progress made in Macon should be contact enough. (See enclosed New South.)

Also, George Doss, political editor, Macon News.

Ira Harkey, Pascagoula (Miss.) Chronicle. See enclosed reprint of articles. However, hold up on contacting this one. Paul Anthony may have recommended him to George Page as a liberal. I'll check.

Also, Coleman Harwell, Cookeville, Tenn.
/ See enclosed letter from Kay Jones, Tennessee Counnil

Grover Hall, Editor of the ~~Mong~~ Montgomery/Advertiser (Ala.). I'll try to get you further background on him.

Educators

Wallace M. Alston, President of Agnes Scott. Alston participated in and helped to prepare a widely ~~pub~~ circulated personal statement on the need for public schools, December, 1959, "Can We Afford to Close Our Public Schools?"

James S. Peters, Manchester, Georgia. Until recently Peters was chairman of the State Board of Education. Still on board. Fairly good voice of reason all during school crisis here. Rabid Talmadge supporter, who wrote Talmadge in a personal letter made public by Roy Harris that ~~the state~~ Talmadge would lose political ground by pushing school closing. See enclosed clip from Southern School News.

Politicians

Terry Sanford, Governor of South Carolina. See enclosed L-40.

Ed Wilson, Mayor of Macon, defeated candidate for Lieutenant Governor of Georgia. See statement in enclosed L-31, also New South/ enclosed.

James MacKay, DeKalb County Representative. See enclosed "Crisis in the Public Schools."

Karl Wiesenburg-Enclosed "The Oxford Disaster...Price of Defiance." Again, hold up on this one, until I can check to make sure George Page isn't calling him a liberal.

Ex-Memphis-Mayor Edmund Orgill. See enclosed note from Kay Jones, Tennessee Council.
This is all for now, but I'll have a report from South Carolina + Fla. tomorrow and will do some more checking in some other states.
Also, more background on segregationists, some more general background is still to follow.

Hurriedly,
Marge

Tennessee Council on Human Relations
2011 Grand Ave.
Nashville 12, Tennessee

To: Marge Manderson

From: Kay Jones

Just thought of another moderate. He's Coleman Harwell, editor of the Putnam County Herald, and The Citizen, both newspapers in Cookeville, Tenn. Also owns and edits papers in Sparta and Jamestown. As you see he has the news dispensing business pretty well in hand on the Cumberland plateau section of the state. These are all small places. He's the former editor of the Nashville Tennessean, and it was a big come down for him when the publisher fired him some years ago due to a disagreement. But then you don't have to tell that.

I suspect that Coleman Harwell considers himself a liberal, but I would not. He's no segregationist, but the kind who thinks all of these things take time, etc. He would be well known in Tennessee, and comes from one of "Tennessee's fine old families".

In Memphis you might try the ex-Mayor, Edmund Orgill. He's a member of this organization - for about a year, but a very quiet one. Was a candidate for Governor in 1958, and was defeated by Ellington. Was considered the liberal candidate. He's a business man, but can't recall his line. Use my name, but I'm not sure he will recall me except through the TCHR.

Kay Jones

July 19

Research-

THOSE WHO HAVE ANNOUNCED SUPPORT OF THE NATIONAL PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS BILL

Mayor Ivan Allen
Atlanta Constitution (editorially)
Rev. Heslip M. Lee, executive director of the Virginia Council on Human Relations
Senator ~~Yatbough~~ Yarborough (Texas)
Senator John Sherman Cooper (Ky.)
Senator Thurston Morton (Ky.)
American Municipal Association; delegations from Tennessee, Kentucky, North Carolina and Texas
~~Business Week (editorially)~~
Florida Human Relations Council
North Carolina Human Relations Council

The following Southern congressmen signed the discharge petition to take the Civil Rights Bill from the House Rules Committee: Texas; Graham Purcell, Albert Thomas, Clark Thompson, John Young, Jim Wright, Henry Gonzalez, Homer Thornberry, Joe Pool, Joe Kilgore and Jack Brooks. Tennessee; Fulton

The following southern representatives voted to pass the Civil Rights Bill out of the House: Bass(Tenn.), Brooks (Tex.), Carey (Tex.), Fulton (Tenn.), Gonzalez (Tex.), Pepper (Fla.), Perkins (Ky.), Thomas (Tex.),

AN INCOMPLETE LIST OF LOCAL PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS ORDINANCES

PASSED	BEING CONSIDERED	PROPOSED, VOTED DOWN
State of Kentucky	Durham	Austin
Louisville	Chapel Hill	Oak Ridge
		~~State of Georgia~~ Atlanta (pending)

AN INCOMPLETE LIST OF THOSE WHO HAVE ENDORSED EQUAL SERVICE IN PUB. ACCOM.

Atlanta Chamber of Commerce
Atlanta Retail Merchants Association
Atlanta Board of Aldermen
Atlanta Women for Progress (500 women representing 100 civic & religious organs.)
Atlanta Police Chief Herbert Jenkins
Charlotte Chamber of Commerce
Fayetteville (NC) Mayor's Coordinating Committee
Fayetteville Mayor Wilbur Clark
Raleigh Merchants Bureau
High Point (NC) City Council and group of business leaders
Rock Hill (SC) Chamber of Commerce
Chattanooga Chamber of Commerce
Austin Chamber of Commerce
Corpus Christi Restaurant Association
Manassas (Va.) Chamber of Commerce
Johnson City City Commission
Greensboro Merchants Association
Greensboro Chamber of Commerce
Knoxville Chamber of Commerce
Houston Restaurant Association
Greensboro Community Fellowship (1600 signatures of local citizens who in a full page newspaper ad pledged support of these restaurants etc that would desegregate)
A&W Drive-In Restuarant (national)
Gen. Capus Waynick (Gov. Sanford's liason aid)
Fulton County's 10 legislators
Gastonia Chamber of Commerce
Asheville (NC) City Council
Charlotte Observer

Southern

AN INCOMPLETE LIST OF BIRACIAL COMMITTEES THAT HAVE BEEN FORMED IN THE 11 ~~CONFEDERATE~~ STATES AND KENTUCKY. (Does not include private agencies. Most have been formed during the past ~~this~~ year.)

ALABAMA
Anniston
Birmingham
Huntsville
Montgomery

ARKANSAS
Pine Bluff

FLORIDA
Fort Lauderdale
Daytona Beach
Bradenton
Gainsville
Coral Gables
Melbourne
Delray Beach
St. Petersburg
Eustis
Tampa
Fort Pierce
Clearwater
Jacksonville
Cocoa
Fort Meyers
Miami
Orlando
Pensacola
Auburndale-
Pinellas County
Sarasota
Stuart
Tallahassee
Tampa
Vero Beach
West Palm Beach
Winter Park

GEORGIA
Marietta
Savannah
Brunswick
Columbus
Augusta
DeKalb County-
(unofficial)
Valdosta

KENTUCKY
Covington *
Henderson*
Hopkinsville*
Lexington*
Louisville*
Peducah*
Jeffersonville

LOUISIANNA
Baton Rouge
Hammond
New Orleans

MISSISSIPPI
Greenville
Gulfport
Clarksdale

NORTH CAROLINA
Dunn
Asheville
Elizabeth City
Charlotte
Hillsboro
Concord
Enfield
Dunham
Statesville
Fayetteville
Goldsboro
Greensboro
Henderson
Hickory
HIgh Point
Lenoir
Murfreesboro
Lexington
Williamston
Lumberton
Mount Airy
Monroe
North Wilkesboro
Raleigh
Oxford
Roxboro
Rockingham
Wilmington
Wison
Winston-Salem
Thomasville
Sanford
Albemarle &
Stanley County
Salisbury
Gastonia
Washington
Grantville County
Clinton
Laurenburg
Chapel Hill
(Mayor's Committee
on Human Relations)

SOUTH CAROLINA
Anderson
Florence
Charleston
Greenville
Newberry
Seneca
Beaufort

TENNESSEE
Athens
Oak Ridge
Knoxville
Haywood County
Humboldt
Franklin
Chattanooga
Memphis
Nashville
Jackson

TEXAS
BAytown
Corsicana
Dallas
Fort Worth
Houston
Marshall
San Antonio
Texas City
Tyler
La Porte
Galveston County
Marlin

VIRGINIA
Arlington
Hampton
Danville**
Newport News
Roanoke
Woodstock
Norfolk
Petersburg
Radford
Richmond
Fredericksburg
Staunton
Fort Lee
Martinsville
Tappahannock
Linchburg
Suffolk
Hopewell
Charlottesville

*Local commissions on civil rights sponsored by state commission

**formed by moderate business leaders from Chamber of Commerce and Retail Merchants Association in defiance of mayor and city council

NEGRO VOTING IN THE SOUTH SINCE WORLD WAR II

In a country where the government is based upon the consent of the governed, the right of the ballot is basic to all other issues. No man, denied the right to vote, can be a citizen in the full sense of the term. Where the right to vote is secured and is used, the ballot becomes the key through which many public problems and issues can be approached and resolved.

As former Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr., has said, "The right to vote is really the cornerstone of our representative form of government. I would say that it is the one right, perhaps more than any other, upon which all other constitutional rights depend for their effective protection.

Wherever, in the South, the Negro can and does register and vote in significant numbers, the political powers become strangely interested in the needs and concerns of the Negro, sometimes cynically, but sometimes significantly. During the last year Negro voters figured prominently in the election of mayors in New Orleans, in Houston, in Atlanta. This effective use of Negro votes is bearing fruit today in these important Southern cities.

Of course the great breakthrough in Negro voting in the the South was in 1944, when the Supreme Court, in the case of Smith v. Allwright, struck down the use of the white primary. This decision eliminated the most effective legal barrier to Negro voting. Since 1944, interference with the right of the ballot has come primarily not from discriminatory laws, but from the discriminatory application and administration of apparently non-discriminatory laws.

There was a spectacular increase in the number of Negroes registered in the South for the first few years following the Smith v.

Allwright decision. The rate of growth then slowed down. During the past two years it has been virtually static.

In 1940 there were only 200,000 Negroes registered to vote in the Southern states. Most of these were qualified to vote only in the general election. By 1947, 595,000 Negro voters were on the rolls, most of them fully qualified to take part in primary and in general elections.

In the five years from 1947 to 1952, the number of registered Negro voters nearly doubled, reaching a total of 1,008,614. After 1952, the rate of growth slowed. By 1956 there were 1,238,000, a gain of only 230,000 over 1952. According to a recent survey of Negro voting by the Southern Regional Council, there were 1,303,827 Negroes registered by the end of 1958, an increase of 66,000 over the 1956 figure.(1)

Slightly more than one fourth of Negro Southerners of voting age are now legally qualified to vote. Sixty per cent of the potential white voters of the South are on the registration books.

Of course, not all registered voters actually vote. Traditionally, fewer people, white or Negro, vote in the South than in other parts of the nation. In the 1956 presidential election, for example, the 11 states with the lowest voting participation in the nation were the 11 Southern states.

According to Gallup Poll surveys Negroes generally vote less than do whites even in the non-Southern states. According to the Gallup figures, in our national elections from 1948 through 1954, an average of 53% of Negroes of voting age participated, compared with a white average of 61%.

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(1). Voting statistics from Price, Margaret, The Negro and the Ballot in the South, 1959.

As you would expect, the level of Negro registration and voting varies widely throughout the Southern states. From county to county, from state to state in the South there is a strong negative correlation between the ratio of Negroes in the population and the level of Negro registration. Generally speaking, although there are exceptions, Negroes have the greatest freedom of the ballot where there aren't many Negroes. The higher the percentage of Negroes in the population, the lower the voting percentages tend to be.

Of 158 Southern counties where Negroes constitute the majority of the population, 16 have no Negro voters at all. In 49 other such counties the number of Negroes registered to vote is less than 5% of adults living in the county.

The state of Mississippi has the largest proportion of Negro citizens. As you might expect, Mississippi has the lowest percentage of Negro voters. In half of the counties of Mississippi, less than 1% of the Negroes of voting age are registered.(2)

When will the number of Negro voters reach the second million in the South? What are the prospects for the future? We can look forward to a long period of slow and steady growth. There is little probability of any dramatic change, either forward or backward. The second million must come increasingly from the less educated, from the lower economic strata, from among those less aware of current developments and less politically conscious. The second million will come the hard way, through intensive efforts, through educational activity. Even the passage of effective federal laws to safeguard voting rights would not result in significant immediate increases in Negro voting in many parts of the South.

(2). Statistics from Report of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1959, pp 51-52.

There are many factors working to discourage Negro voting in the South. These factors are political, legal, emotional, psychological. In some areas the tradition dies hard, even among Negroes, that politics is "white folks business." Apathy is widespread among people who are uneducated and underprivileged. In the South many of these people are Negroes. Some see the whole electoral process as futile. Offered the choice of voting for one of two extreme racists in most cases, potential Negro voters cannot be blamed for seeing little hope in the ballot.

Tensions growing out of the school desegregation conflict have caused new pressures against Negro voting. In recent years Georgia and Virginia have adopted new laws making voting more difficult for all citizens. In Louisiana during 1956 and 1957, over 10,000 Negroes were stricken from the voting rolls in an effort to eliminate Negro voting in 12 Louisiana parishes. The percentages of Negroes registered dropped as much as 95% to 99% in several of the parishes involved. (3).

The misuse of technicalities and administrative procedures to discourage Negro voting continues and has spread into new areas. Well known by now are the involved literacy and comprehension tests, the questions about the bubbles in a bar of soap or the number of rooms in the White House, the registration boards that don't meet, the lines that don't move, the applications which are never heard from again, etc. This kind of misuse of election laws was graphically illustrated to the shock and shame of the nation last year when the Civil Rights Commission hearings on the Tuskegee situation were televised across the land.

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(3). Price, Op. Cit.

Occasionally rawer and more direct methods are used to discourage Negro voting. InMcCormick County, South Carolina, economic pressure was used, and Negro farmers interested in voting could find no buyers for their produce. In Liberty County, Florida, 9 of the first 10 Negroes to register withdrew their registrations after a series of cross burnings, bomb explosions and shots fired through the houses of those involved. There are now, again, no Negroes registered to vote in Liberty County, Florida.(4)

Despite threats, violence, pruges, and dishonest administration of voting laws, the percentage of Negro voters in the South will inexorably, if too slowly, increase. There are powerful trends at work to encourage increasing political participation of Negro Southerners, trends which cannot be halted or reversed. I refer particularly to urbanization of the Negro Southerner, rising economic standards, improving educational opportunities, and national pressures upon the South.

Southern cities are the centers of Negro voting strength. Almost invariably the ratio of Negro voting is much higher in the cities than in the rural counties of the South. In Alabama 1/3 of all Negro voters are in a few cities. Even in Mississippi, what Negro voting there is occurs in the cities, in Jackson, Meridian, Biloxi, and Gulfport.

The Negro population of the South is increasingly an urban population. The trend away from the farm and into the city is marked and the momentum is increasing. Less than a quarter of the Negro population of the South today is classified as rural farm population. As Negroes continue to move from the rural areas into the freer and more politically conscious cities, they will continue to vote in increasing numbers.

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(4). Loc. cit.

Even within the framework of racial segregation Negro Southerners are steadily improving their economic and educational levels. There is a natural correlation between educational achievement and political consciousness, between standard of living and voting performance. Continued progress by Negroes economically and educationally will involve growing numbers in the process of government.

Studies in Georgia show that in those counties where Negroes are above the median educational level of the state, Negro voting registration is around 89% of those of voting age. The same survey indicates that where Negro communities achieve higher economic levels, they achieve also higher levels of registration and voting.(5).

The recent report of the Civil Rights Commission emphasizes this relationship between voting and economic standards. In Wilcox County, Alabama, one of the counties involved in the Commission's Alabama hearing, Negroes constitute over 70% of the voting-age population, yet none were registered to vote as of early 1959. In Wilcox County, only 10% of the dwelling units had hot running water and a toilet and were not dilapidated, according to the 1950 census.

In the first 25 counties from which the Commission received voting complaints, the percentage of nondilapidated dwellings with hot running water and toilets ranged from 10% to 54%. Twenty-two of the 25 fell below 50% in these minimum standards of housing quality.

A fundamental factor in the changing pattern of race relations in the South is the national pressure on Southern states, pressure exerted through the courts, through the legislative and executive branches of the national government, through public opinion and the national organs of mass media. This pressure is fairly consistent on the matter of insuring the right of the ballot. This was the one

(5). Price, Margaret, The Negro Voter in the South, 1957, p. 24.

aspect of the civil rights problem on which Congress was able to agree in approving the Civil Rights Act of 1957.

Discrimination in voting is the Achilles Heel of the segregationist position. Regardless of their views on other aspects of the problem, the American people and many conservative white Southerners really believe that all citizens should have the basic right of the ballot. Rarely do segregationist leaders defend the denial of voting rights as they try to defend school segregation. Even such persons as Senators Talmadge of Georgia and Eastland of Mississippi do not defend discrimination in voting. They attempt to deny that such discrimination exists in their states.

Despite their ambivalence on racial issues the American people and both political parties nationally will continue to press for the removal of all racial barriers to the ballot. The South will give ground on this issue before this pressure.

We face two major problems in our effort to extend the basic right of the vote to all citizens regardless of race or color. We face the problems of apathy and of administrative barriers. We need to attack the problem on two major fronts -- a continued and intensified educational effort to erase apathy and encourage involvement among the Negro people of the South, and direct action by the federal government to protect potential voters from threats of violence and from improper administrative practices.

It is quite clear that the federal government has the right to legislate to enforce the provisions of the federal constitution concerning the right to vote for federal officers. It is past time that the Congress and the President exert this proper authority. Only direct action by the federal government can effectively cope with

evasive and discriminatory tactics by registrars and public officials. It is time that the 15th amendment become a fact, not a theory.

The Civil Rights Act of 1957 provides that the Attorney General of the United States may institute civil action against the infringement of the right to vote. He may appeal for injunctive relief from the federal judiciary. This is an important step forward. To date, however, only three actions have been brought by the Department of Justice under this authority; in Terrell County, Georgia; in Macon County, Alabama; and in Washington Parish, Louisiana. None of these actions has yet proved effective. Not one person so far has gained the right to vote because of the Civil Rights Act of 1957.

The process of bringing civil action county by county, registrar by registrar, is hopelessly involved and ponderous. In the words of the United States Commission on Civil Rights, "it has become apparent that legislation currently on the books is inadequate to assure that all our qualified citizens shall enjoy the right to vote."

The Civil Rights Commission in its recent report makes a number of specific legislative recommendations. These include the proposal of a federal law directing that voting and registration records be preserved for at least five years, and a suggested constitutional amendment that would specify age and residence as the only requirements for registration. The commission also suggests that under certain circumstances the President be empowered to appoint federal registrars to register qualified citizens to vote in elections for federal officers.

These suggestions by the Civil Rights Commission are workable, reasonable and well within the power of the Congress and the President. They should be enacted promptly. There will be stringent Southern

objections, but the South is no longer solid and no longer wields a veto power in the Senate. With both parties pledged to the protection of voting rights, it will be interesting to see what action Congress will take during this election year.

Central Cities - 100,000 or More

Correll Cabinac
Ce 7-0259

Ala - Birmingham - 339,211
Mobile - 191,393
Montgomery - 133,546

Over 500,000 in Standard Metropolitan Area circled -

Arkansas - Little Rock - 105,737 ✓

Florida - Jacksonville - 197,948
Miami 284,492 ✓
(M. Bch., C. Gables, N. Mi. - separate)
St. Petersburg 177,927
Tampa 270,685
Tampa - St. Pete - 1 urban area

Ga - Atlanta - 484,825 ✓
Columbus - 115,741
Savannah - 147,537

Ky - Louisville - 382,329 ✓

La - Baton Rouge - 151,596 ✓
New Orleans - 621,259
Shreveport - 163,663

Md - Baltimore - 922,294

(over)

Miss - Jackson - 143,962

N. Carolina - Charlotte - 200,882
Greensboro - 119,184
Winston-Salem - 110,446

Oklahoma - Oklahoma City - 321,599
Tulsa — 257,752

South Carolina - None

Tennessee - Chattanooga - 127,796
Knoxville 110,089
Memphis 491,710
Nashville 167,357

Texas - Amarillo — 136,199
Austin 185,052
Beaumont - 118,791
Corpus Christi - 165,724
Dallas 672,424
El Paso 273,212
Fort Worth 347,368

Houston - 932,630
Lubbock - 125,951
San Antonio - 583,690
Wichita Falls - 100,455

Virginia - Newport News - 112,684
Norfolk - 276,897
Portsmouth - 106,884
Richmond - 218,486

Norfolk - Portsmouth

ATLANTA'S SCHOOL PROBLEM

(Remarks of Supt. Letson to group of Methodist ministers)

The most difficult problem Atlanta has faced in a hundred years was brought into sharp focus Saturday by the announcement that ten Negro pupils had been approved for admission to four white Atlanta high schools. Approval of admissions to Brown, Murphy, Grady and Northside brought the implementation of the court ordered placement plan a step closer and highlighted the problems the schools will face in September. It has been clear for some time that implementation of the placement plan was the only alternative to complete abandonment of public education. Tragic events in other cities have shown the futility of this approach, and Atlanta is fortunate in not having been charged the terrible price exacted by these desperate experiments.

This does not mean that a peaceful transition is assured. The question hangs in the balance and addresses itself with increasing urgency to every citizen of Atlanta. Certainly thinking people have a responsibility to help establish a climate of public opinion that will make possible the peaceful accomplishment of what we are required to do. This can only be done by a realistic appraisal of the facts as they exist. Such an appraisal is the first step in placing the problem with its many implications and ramifications in proper perspective. The church, as one of the foremost molders of opinion, cannot shirk its responsibility in this area without abdicating its position of moral leadership. Much evidence supports the fact that Atlanta churches have not and will not fail to exercise the leadership demanded by the seriousness of the problems we face.

Atlanta in September will be the focal point of worldwide attention because what happens here will have worldwide significance. Swiftly moving events since World War II have telescoped the gradual evolutionary method of accomplishing change that we have long accepted as normal. In this respect there is little to suggest that the world will ever be normal again because changes will continue to come with ever increasing rapidity. It becomes clearer every day that efforts directed toward the accomplishment of many national goals will be successful in proportion to our ability as a nation to accept and adjust to changes. Customs and attitudes that have been generations in the making are not easily changed under any circumstances, but changes become especially difficult when they must be undertaken at a tempo that meshes with the fast moving world in which we live. Thus the problems become more complicated, but their solution no less urgent.

The immediate problem for Atlanta is the peaceful acceptance of ten Negro pupils. Irrespective of differing opinions about the points at issue no thinking person can fail to be on the side of law and order in the present crisis. Our dedication to the freedoms we enjoy as Americans and our commitment to Christian ideals will be superficial indeed if we do not take a forthright position in support of lawful processes.

Citizens of Atlanta have often demonstrated their ability to face and solve difficult problems. The future is faced with confidence because Atlanta's heritage includes a spirit of fairness and goodwill. This asset, reinforced with the powerful good that resides in the city's hundreds of churches, plus the dedication of school staff and the maturity of high school pupils, suggests that Atlanta might be able to accomplish in September what few other southern cities have been able to do. The rewards for such an accomplishment, moral, spiritual and financial, will justify our best efforts.

"FIRST WE CLOSED OUR SCHOOLS, AND THEN ONE THING LED TO ANOTHER !"

Reprinted from THE ATLANTA JOURNAL

HELP
PRESERVE PUBLIC EDUCATION IN NEW ORLEANS

1. Form groups in your community to discuss the issues and bring the true facts to light. Others among your neighbors may not be well informed on the actual facts of the matter. Ask your friends to carry the word to their friends as quickly as possible.
2. Be open in your views. Indicate your interest to all concerned. Speak up when asked to express an opinion.
3. A **Speakers Bureau** has been formed to bring the facts to the people. If you belong to a club or community group, no matter what its size, one of these speakers will be happy to come free-of-charge or obligation of any kind to present the actual facts of the school controversy. Call EXpress 5201 for a time and date.
4. Send your membership dues of $1.00 or donations to the address below. Funds are needed to defray the cost of bringing this message to all of the people of New Orleans through the mass media of newspaper and television before the deadline of September 8th.

COMMITTEE FOR PUBLIC EDUCATION

P. O. Box 8192 - Gentilly Station

New Orleans, La.

choice

Legal Action in Louisiana

The United States District Court for the Eastern District of Louisiana ordered the Orleans Parish School Board to proceed with all deliberate speed to desegregate public schools in Orleans Parish, and toward this end to submit to the Court by May 16, 1960, its plan for accomplishing same. The Court's basic order was approved by the 5th Circuit Court of Appeals and the United States Supreme Court.

Meanwhile, when the Louisiana Legislature attempted to take away from the Orleans Parish School Board the power to classify schools, the Board moved to be dismissed as a party defendant. This motion was denied by the District Court and its order was again upheld by the Circuit Court of Appeals and the United States Supreme Court.

When the Orleans Parish School Board failed to submit a plan, the Court furnished its plan, and ordered the Orleans Parish School Board to commence desegregation beginning with the first grade when schools open in September, 1960.

The Court then denied the School Board's motion to stay the execution of this order and the denial was affirmed by both the Circuit Court of Appeals and the United States Supreme Court.

Therefore, this order is presently in full force and effect and must be obeyed by the Orleans Parish School Board when schools open in September.

We have only two choices. We can comply with the decisions and orders of the federal courts. Or we can completely abandon public education in the entire state of Louisiana.

QUESTIONS AND THEIR ANSWERS

Results of Closing the Schools in Other Communities

What happened in Norfolk?

Three Junior High Schools and three Senior High Schools were closed. About one-third of the locked-out students found no substitute for their closed classrooms. The others attended informal "tutoring groups" scattered widely across the city.

What happened in Little Rock?

Only four High Schools were closed. Out of the 3,700 displaced students, 27 percent went to

other high schools in Arkansas, 10 percent went to schools out of the state, 15 percent received no schooling at all. Others were in makeshift substitutes.

Effect on the Students

What happens when children have no school to go to?

Any one of a number of things. First, if they are old enough, they may go to work at some unskilled job – never to return to their "lost" education. And, when they do, they flood the job market creating employment problems.

Some will stay at home, dull and disinterested . . . boredom will set in and cause added stresses in family life. Already overburdened parents will find they have a new and pressing problem.

Many will roam the streets in search of excitement. The crime rate of the city will almost certainly increase as pranks turn into actual mischief.

Lucky ones will leave home to attend school in other states, possibly moving in with relatives. This will split families asunder and put added strain on those relatives who must care for them.

All in all, the closing of the schools (even for a brief time) will interrupt a youngster's normal development to a degree uncalled for in civilized society.

What about the "bright student"?

In these times of world stress when we vitally need our future scientists, doctors, lawyers, engineers, in order to safeguard the American way of life for coming generations, the loss of the "bright student" could be a real American tragedy. Many gifted students, should the schools close, will fall behind in their development – lose interest and drive.

What happens to the "slower student"?

Poor scholars suffer most from a school closure. They will lose precious time at their studies which may never be recaptured. It is imperative that every future citizen be as well qualified as possible to take his place in adult life in order to build a strong America.

Civic and Economic Results in the Community

How will closing the schools affect New Orleans business?

As Little Rock and Norfolk have already proved, what is "bad for public schools is also bad for business". Almost immediately, the economic health of our community will suffer an incalculable blow. Real estate volume and retail

trade will decrease appreciably when the schools are closed. New industries will be discouraged from coming into a troubled community where no public education is provided. Recruitment of employees will be seriously hampered. Skilled workers, technicians, college educators, professional men will not choose to settle in a city where there are no public schools.

Are these predictions supported by facts?

Yes. In Little Rock, the year before the school crisis, the number of new jobs totalled 1,003. During the two years that followed, there were **no** new jobs.

In Norfolk, the city estimated that closed schools cost the economy of the community **$172,000 a month.**

Why Private Schools are not the Answer

What has been the fate of private schools founded to evade federal court desegregation orders?

Financially, scholastically and legally, such makeshift "private" schools have failed. Schools set up overnight cannot provide the quality of education that our public schools have attained through many decades. These substitutes for schools are always poorly provided with the tools of education. Fewer courses are available. Classes meet in inadequate quarters, often attics and basements, without proper lighting or ventilation.

The "private" high school in Little Rock was abandoned for lack of funds. The "private" school system in Prince Edward county, Virginia, operated last year on voluntary contributions; however, during the next school year, parents will have to pay tuition.

What is the legal aspect of establishing private schools?

The legal outlook is extremely discouraging. First of all, there is no compromise point. If just one of the public schools is closed, every public school in the state must also be barred and shuttered. **Federal courts have found unconstitutional: the use of public money for private schools, the operation of private schools with publicly-paid teachers, the leasing or selling of public school buildings for the operation of private schools.**

What about private schools already in operation?

They will do their best, but it is a well known fact that they cannot begin to absorb even a small percentage of the 40,000 white children who now attend public school in New Orleans.

Waiting lists are long, and tuitions run approximately $400-$650 a year – a great burden for any family. At the present time only 2,372 children attend white non-sectarian private schools in New Orleans – how could these schools possibly expand overnight into a system that could absorb 18 new pupils for every student presently enrolled?

What Happens if We Face the Problem Squarely

How much integration will take place in the Fall of 1960?

No one knows. We can only judge by what has taken place in other communities. In Norfolk, after two years of integration, there are 21 negro students attending formerly all-white schools. In Nashville, there are 44 colored students scattered throughout 9 schools after 3 years of integration. This is the highest figure thus far. Compare this with Winston Salem – only 7 negro students after 3 years of integration . . . and Charlotte, N. C., with only 1 (again after 3 years). If we cooperate with the mandates of the Supreme Court, chances are integration in the numbers sense may be minor and may not affect all of the schools.

What about "pupil placement"?

Pupil placement has been authorized by the federal courts. Based on a number of deciding factors, the School Board will be able to control which pupils will attend what schools. This will work in favor of all concerned, and could mean that certain areas would remain all-white schools unless specific enrollment requests are brought to bear against them.

What is the Committee for Public Education?

The Committee for Public Education is a locally-organized, non-profit group of public school parents dedicated solely to the cause of concerted action in behalf of our public schools. The Committee believes wholeheartedly in the premise that good citizens united in a good cause can achieve remarkable success. Their aim is to preserve our public schools so that the children of New Orleans can be assured of the educational opportunities to which they are so richly entitled.

What You can do to Help . . .

Every individual who receives this brochure can actively participate in this important job. Everyone is needed. There is no time to be lost. Read the suggestions on the back of this folder and join with us now.

We no longer have a choice between integration and segregation . . .

The issue now is

EDUCATION or ILLITERACY

The tide of public feeling is running high as the date for the opening of New Orleans Public Schools draws near. No matter what our individual feeling in the matter, anxiety is the keynote . . . will the schools open? . . . will our children be provided with the education that is so imperative to their mental growth and well-being?

HERE ARE THE FACTS:
History

The 14th amendment to the United States Constitution states, in part, "No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States, nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

In 1954, the United States Supreme Court declared that to compel any person to attend schools segregated by race was a denial of "the equal protection of the laws," and therefore unconstitutional. In its second decision in 1955, the Supreme Court instructed federal district courts to see that school officials proceeded to comply with its 1954 ruling stating that, "The courts will require that the defendants make a prompt and reasonable start toward full compliance with our May 17, 1954, ruling . . ."

Although the people of many states do not agree with these decisions of the Supreme Court, the decisions have been upheld by the federal courts in every state wherein questioned. Despite the vigorous opposition of Governor Faubus and the Arkansas legislature, public schools were desegregated in Little Rock. Despite the so-called "massive resistance" laws of Virginia and the concerted determination of its able Governor Almond, the public schools of Virginia were also desegregated. Similarly, North Carolina, Kentucky, Maryland, Tennessee, parts of Florida and Texas have desegregated public schools.

Under our system of government, the Supreme Court interprets the Constitution. Whether or not we agree with the desegregation ruling of the Supreme Court, this ruling is binding on all federal courts, all state officials, all state legislators, all state courts and all citizens of the United States . . . and is backed by the full might and authority of the United States government.

FOWLER COMMISSION ON RACE RELATIONS
RECOMMENDED APPROACH
FOR
LOCAL BI-RACIAL COMMITTEES

GOAL I

To begin immediately to negotiate with responsible leaders and the persons directly involved in all matters involving racial problems.

GOAL II

To explore and discuss in good faith, race relations in the local community, the State of Florida, and the South in general, with no commitment other than to understand the viewpoint of all involved in order to reach a better understanding of what is happening and why.

1. In this discussion to obtain an understanding of the tensions, facts, and causes underlying the racial problems rather than attempting to find immediate solutions without total understanding.
2. To explore and understand the point of view of community leaders in the following areas: government, Chamber of Commerce, religion, press, police, education, social service agencies, service clubs, bar associations, medical associations, responsible community organizations and others.
3. To examine these viewpoints from the standpoint of isolating facts, values, and attitudes for further exploration and to take the necessary time to get the best available knowledge. These facts will include:
    a. Legal rights, responsibilities and obligations.
    b. The total community picture of race relations obtained either by community self study using only local resources or by community self study using local resources plus that of trained specialists. (Guide

material for community race relation studies will be forwarded at an early date.)

c. Knowledge from other communities of successful and unsuccessful approaches to racial conflict.

d. Evaluation by each committee member of knowledge gained in completion of Goal II.

GOAL III.

To develop a strategy:

1. To improve the general climate in the community by a responsible and peaceful approach rather than repression or avoidance of problems.
2. To intelligently treat the causes of racial tension by joint decision and joint responsibility at places of least resistance and of the greatest need.
3. To incalcate a sound understanding of, and respect for freedom -- its rights of choice, its responsibilities of human brotherhood if it is to endure.

GOAL IV.

Establishment of long range program.

GROUND RULES

Ground rules to be mutually agreed upon in formation of local Committees. All committee deliberations are to be conducted:

1. With mutual respect and dignity.
2. With an understanding and respect for the differing viewpoints of community leaders.
3. With an understanding and respect for the differing pressures and influences operating upon each and every member of the community.
4. With the express disclaimer of all illegal approaches.

5. With an understanding and respect of the underlying need for communication in an informal atmosphere.
6. With an understanding and respect of the rights of all citizens to choose and discriminate in their private racial relations.
7. With an understanding and respect of the importance of the racial problem to the American people and necessity of approach-int it through Democratic process rather than coercion and denial.
8. With an understanding and respect of the need for the utilization of every available resource.

The staff of the Fowler Commission has been charged with the duty of assisting all local committees. We look forward to the possibility of holding a series of regional and state-wide conferences bringing together representatives of local bi-racial committees, the State Commission, and its Advisory Committees together with outstanding specialists in the areas of race relations.

(Ra)

City of Henderson Commission on Human Rights

WHEREAS, the Board of Commissioners and the Mayor of the City of Henderson find that prejudice and the practice of discrimination against any individual or group because of race, creed, color, or national origin, is contrary to good public policy and detrimental to the peace, progress, and welfare of the City, and

WHEREAS, the lack of full participation of any individual in the privileges of full membership in the community retards the progress of the community, and affects the general well-being of all its citizens,

WHEREAS, for these reasons and to implement a constructive approach to the problems involved in improving intergroup and inter-racial relations leading to the elimination of discriminatory practices in the City.

NOW, THEREFORE,

BE IT ORDAINED BY THE BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS OF THE CITY OF HENDERSON:

SECTION I: That there is hereby established a City of Henderson Commission on Human Rights.

SECTION II: The Commission shall be composed of twenty-five members. The members shall be appointed by the Mayor who shall select persons who are nearly as possible representative of the several social, economic, religious, cultural, ethnic, and racial groups which comprise the population of the City of Henderson. In addition, each member shall be a resident of the Greater Henderson Area.

No elected or appointed official of the City of Henderson may be a member of the Commission.

SECTION III: Initially the members of the Commission shall be appointed to serve for a term of one (1), two (2), and three (3) years, and members appointed after the original appointment shall serve for a term of three (3) years each, except that if a vacancy occurs on the Commission other than as a result of the expiration of the term of an appointment, the Mayor shall appoint a successor for the unexpired term. Members may be eligible for re-appointment for additional terms.

SECTION IV: A quorum shall consist of nine members.

SECTION V: Members shall serve without compensation.

SECTION VI: The Commission shall endeavor to promote and secure mutual understanding and respect among all economic, social, religious, ethnic and racial groups in the City of Henderson, and shall act as conciliator in controversies involving intergroup and inter-racial relations. The Commission shall cooperate with Federal, State, and other City agencies in an effort to develop harmonious intergroup and inter-racial relations and shall endeavor to enlist the support of civic, religious, labor, industrial, and commercial groups and civic leaders dedicated to the improvement of intergroup and inter-racial relations and the elimination of discriminatory practices.

SECTION VI-A: The Commission shall receive complaints, conduct investigations, hold hearings, make studies and have such studies made as will enable the Commission to carry out the purpose of this Ordinance.

SECTION VI-B: The Commission shall recommend to the Mayor and to the Board of Commissioners such legislation as may be necessary to accomplish the purposes of this Ordinance.

SECTION VI-C: The Commission shall submit an annual report on March 1, of each year to the Mayor and to the Board of Commissioners.

SECTION VI-D: The Commission, on behalf of the City of Henderson, may accept grants and donations from foundations and others for the purpose of carrying out its functions.

SECTION VII: All expenditures shall be authorized by the Commission which shall elect one of its members as treasurer. The treasurer shall approve operational expenditures, and he shall make a semi-annual financial report to the Commission. Copies of such semi-annual financial report shall be sent to the Mayor and the Board of Commissioners.

SECTION VIII: The services of all other departments of the City of Henderson may be made available to the Commission upon its request for such services. Information in the possession of any department, board, or agency of the City of Henderson, may be furnished to the Commission upon its request, and to the extent permitted by law. Upon the refusal of the Director or Head of any department, board or agency of the City to furnish any information which has been requested by the Commission, the matter shall be referred to the Mayor who shall determine whether such information shall be furnished to the Commission, and the decision of the Mayor shall be final.

SECTION IX: The Commission shall have the power to adopt rules to govern its proceedings. The meetings of the Commission shall be opened or closed to the public as it may deem best in its discretion.

SECTION X: The Commission shall meet as often as it deems necessary, but it shall meet not less than once each month.

SECTION XI: The Commission shall elect a chairman, a vice-chairman, a secretary-treasurer, and such other officers, as it shall deem necessary. The Chairman of the Commission shall appoint such committees as the rules of the Commission shall provide and such other special committees from time to time as the Commission may deem necessary in order to carry out the purposes of this Ordinance.

SECTION XII: The Mayor is authorized to allocate adequate office space and to provide the necessary facilities in the City Hall or the City Hall Annex for said Commission if the office space and facilities are available.

SECTION XIII: If any provisions of this Ordinance or application of such provision or provisions to any person or circumstance shall be held to be invalid, the remainder of the Ordinance or the application of such provision to persons, or circumstances other than those as to which it shall be held to be invalid, shall not be affected thereby.

SECTION XIV: This Ordinance shall become effective upon its passage by the Board of Commissioners.

Approved on first reading December 18, 1962.

Enacted on second reading December 26, 1962.

Your Community Looks at Itself

EMPHASIS IS ON THE "SELF"

A Home Town Self-Survey is just what the name implies -- a local stock-taking with emphasis on the self.

Civic-minded people across the South are discovering that the way to get things done is to quit using the pronouns "they" and "you" and start using "I" and "we." No amount of professional surveying, no amount of advice by visiting experts, can accomplish much. Things start happening when you and other local citizens get together, find the facts, and put them to work.

The effectiveness of that approach has been remarkably demonstrated in Jacksonville, Florida, and Greenville, South Carolina. People in those two cities concluded that their biggest problems were those facing the Negro communities. They recognized that solving those problems wasn't the business of one race, or of one special group, but the whole town's business. In each case, they organized a Steering Committee made up of representative and influential citizens, including white persons and Negroes, city officials and civic leaders, ministers and church women, labor and business folks, doctors, lawyers, and housewives.

With the aid of local volunteers, the Committee itself went out and gathered the facts. Then the Committee made its report to the community -- a simple statement, from citizens to citizens, of what conditions were and how they might be improved. Finally, a follow-up group was formed to make the recommendations realities.

The people of Jacksonville and Greenville are proud of their self-surveys, and well they may be. For today they can look around and see the tangible improvements that have resulted -- such as better schools, more health facilities, newly paved streets, slum-clearance, parks, playgrounds. Most important of all, they can see results in a new quality of understanding, cooperation, and working citizenship which will go on paying dividends for years to come.

The Southern Regional Council is also proud of those successes. For, though the self-surveys were local jobs from start to finish, the Council's Manual for the Home Town Self-Survey and advisory services played a significant part.

During the past few years, the Southern Regional Council has helped to spread the self-survey idea to other Southern towns, where it has proved equally rewarding. This revised edition of the Manual is published in the expectation that many more communities will want to make use of it.

IT'S EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

A self-survey draws its strength from the citizens who take part in it. It will succeed in direct proportion to the interest, initiative, leadership, and hard work contributed by the major segments of the community. In fact, the chief advantage of the method lies in its democratic approach. Working together for common goals can unite people of differing backgrounds, occupations, and everyday interests as nothing else can. Once established, that kind of

PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

benefit your community long after the self-survey is

[illegible] more widely representative your Steering Committee is, [illegible] if any major group is omitted -- whether it be religious, racial, economic, or civic -- your self-survey will be seriously weakened.

Your community has its own pattern of civic life which will determine the make-up of the Steering Committee and its various subcommittees. But here are a few "don'ts" that will apply:

DON'T let the self-survey become identified with one particular group; there's no surer way to breed apathy and opposition in the community at large.

DON'T appoint minority-group "representatives" who don't truly represent their groups; nobody will be fooled and many people will be alienated.

DON'T fail to include public officials; their participation and interest are important assets and will do much to assure the success of the follow-up.

DON'T hesitate to add to the Steering Committee individuals who show outstanding leadership after the survey is under way; the initial selection, however careful, is likely to miss some of the people who can contribute most.

YOU'RE THE DOCTOR

Communities, like people, have their own personalities. And, like people, no two are exactly alike. You can get help, in the form of technical resources, from outside the community. But no one can tell you just what kind of self-survey your town needs. That's a decision for you and your fellow citizens to make.

This Manual is designed as a working document which can be adapted to the particular needs of varying communities. Some towns will want to do a self-survey of the total community -- including all or most of the fields outlined in the following pages. Others will want to single out only a few fields which are most in need of improvement.

In the case of Jacksonville and Greenville, the local Steering Committees felt that the whole range of conditions affecting the Negro population needed primary attention. Another city concentrated solely on housing -- housing for the entire population, white and Negro.

A second matter for the Steering Committee to decide at the outset is what geographical area the self-survey will cover. If your is an urban community, the survey may be confined to the city limits, or it may take in part or all of the surrounding county. If your community is rural, the survey may be county-wide, or it may be limited to a few neighborhoods. That must be determined by the make-up of the community: what local government provides most of the public services, how the people of the community make their living, and so on.

Whatever you decide, you will find appropriate sections in the Manual. The questionnaires and schedules are flexible models which your Committee can alter to fit the structure of your community and

the scope of your self-survey.

PAVE THE WAY

It's always good policy to let people know you're coming, and a self-survey is no exception. Your town doubtless has its touchy spots -- political factions, civic rivalries, personal feuds, and the like. These are danger points which your self-survey will steer around if possible. But no matter how tactful and nonpartisan your intentions are, your self-survey may arouse suspicions if you fail to lay the proper groundwork.

A safe rule is to spend as much time as necessary getting the community familiar with the self-survey idea and sold on its desirability. Usually the place to start is with the people who make things happen -- or keep them from happening -- in your town. Many of these key people will be in on the planning from the start as members of the Steering Committee. Others should be approached individually and be acquainted with the methods and aims of the proposed self-survey. That way, when you launch your fact-finding, you won't be faced with opposition born of misunderstanding.

It's a good idea to include the editor or some other appropriate representative of your newspaper at an early stage. He can be of great value to your Committee in working out the initial publicity by which the public will be informed of plans for the survey.

Don't rely wholly on newspaper publicity to get the story out. You can reach a number of people through their organizations, clubs, unions, churches, and so on. These memberships will be of major help later in providing volunteers for the fact-finding.

TEAMWORK IS ONE WORD

The speed and efficiency of your self-survey will depend a lot on how well it is organized. To put it another way, if the team is right the work will get done.

Your Steering Committee, of course, will be the governing body of the self-survey. Its job is to do the overall planning and directing and to approve the final reports and recommendations. But it will probably need help for the fact-finding and detailed work -- particularly if your survey takes in more than one field of community life.

The best way to handle the work load is to distribute it to subcommittees, whose chairmen will be members of the Steering Committee; that is, a subcommittee on housing, one on recreation, one on welfare services, and so forth. When large-scale fact-finding is involved, as in housing and transportation, the subcommittee can, in turn, enlist the aid of volunteers to complete the individual schedules. Again, be sure to make the subcommittees representative of the total community, including minority groups. Much depends, too, on the right choice of chairmen; pick people who know the fields their subcommittees are concerned with and who can give the energy and leadership required.

If there is a college or university nearby, don't neglect its resources. There will be people on its faculty -- social scientists, statistics experts, journalism teachers, and others -- who have skills you need. Students are often the best and most enthusiastic of volunteers.

...cal work and coordination will be needed. Reports ... material ...eographed, publicity releases prepared, ...alled. A ...isting office staff which can give part ... to these d... is a great asset. In Greenville, for ... community ...ncil served as the sponsoring agency, ... personnel ... the routine work, and provided a "head-... for the self-...vey.

...uch arrangement ... that, if at all possible, will help ...vey to roll more smoothly. Don't forget, though, that the ...belongs, not to just one club or agency, but to the whole ...ity -- and don't let the community forget it!

...EHIND THE FIGURES

...ow many? What kind? How often? For whom?

...ur fact-finding subcommittees will be answering questions ...s sort. But your self-survey won't be complete if you stop ... The schedules and questionnaires in this Manual are not ... to dictate all the information you will need; they are merely ...s to some of the basic data which you will want to expand.

...or one of many possible examples, let's suppose your subcom-... on health finds that the infant death rate is very high. ...ll have to look behind the figures to find the cause -- or, ...ikely, the causes. Inadequate hospital facilities, shortage ...tors, public ignorance about prenatal care, attendance at ...s by untrained midwives -- any or all of these might be major ...ibuting causes. A thorough survey will dig out the answer.

The strength of your findings and recommendations will depend ...w well you interpret the facts and figures that are collected. ...re are at least four steps to sound interpretation:

1. Subcommittees should make their initial reports as complete possible. In addition to filling out the questionnaires, they ...uld submit the results of personal observation, interviews, and ...other information which will make for fuller understanding.

2. Fact-finders should supplement their own observations by ...lting local people who work daily in the particular fields. ...e case of infant mortality, for instance, doctors, public ...h nurses, practicing midwives, and mothers themselves can give surveyors more insight into the problem.

3. Each subcommittee report should be given careful attention ... Steering Committee. Able persons representing many points ...ew, their discussions will strengthen the findings and recom-...ations in each field.

4. Once the reports have been worked over in the Steering Com-...ee, it is a good idea to submit them to the appropriate public ...vate agencies for corrections and suggestions. You probably ... accept every criticism that is offered, but you will be pro-... against errors of fact and judgment that might weaken your ... once it was made public. At the very least, you will have ...red yourself for the reactions of the groups most directly ...ed.

... about recommendations: If your data have been well in-... many of the recommendations will emerge almost automati-... example, if you have found the greatest number of in-

fant deaths among low-income families who rely on untrained midwives, two recommendations immediately suggest themselves: more free and inexpensive maternity care by hospitals, public health clinics, or private physicians; and training and licensing of such midwives as will be practicing in the community.

It's wise to check all recommendations for feasibility. There may be a legal or technical barrier to the step which seems most naturally to be called for.

The main object of the recommendations is not to point out blame but to get results. They should be honest, but they should also be tactful. Your Steering Committee will want to give painstaking consideration to wording them in such a way as to avoid needless controversy and antagonism. Sometimes, of course, you must choose between trampling on a few toes and being less than honest. That's likely to arise at some point in any self-survey. The only thing to do is state the facts calmly and objectively, with confidence that most people will recognize and respect the undistorted truth.

Recommendations are generally placed at the end of each section, so they can be readily understood in the light of the findings. If you have any doubt about whether the reason for a recommendation is clear, it's best to be absolutely sure. Include a note along with the recommendation, explaining why it is desirable and what its effect will be.

FACTS DON'T SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES

Many a shelf is filled with dusty copies of survey reports made by high-powered professionals. That's where the self-survey is different: It aims to let citizens see for themselves and then tell their fellow citizens about it. The facts are not ends in themselves but means to an end -- namely, concrete improvements.

Once your fact-finders have done their job and your Steering Committee has agreed on its recommendations, in one sense the self-survey is just getting started. You are ready then to begin telling the story -- as dramatically, as graphically, and as widely as you can.

The first step is to get the findings and recommendations into attractive, readable form, mimeographed or printed, depending on the resources available. You may want to do as other towns have done -- prepare two versions of the final report. One, the "official" report, will include all the subcommittee reports in full, plus any charts, tables, and supporting documents that are relevant. The other, the "popular" version, will aim more at brevity, simplicity, and eye-catching arrangement.

The popular version is the one you will want to get broadly distributed, and its effectiveness will depend on how readily the average citizen will pick it up and read it. He probably won't be interested in long statistical tables and wordy analysis. But he will be interested in photographs, drawings, illustrated charts, and punchy text that show him quickly and clearly how the survey's findings affect him and what he can do about it. There may be someone in your town -- an advertising or newspaper person, perhaps -- who is skilled in bringing facts and figures to life. If not, the Southern Regional Council will be glad to help you plan your publication.

e willing to run the final report in serial form -- or, at a summary of it. They certainly will open their news col statements by prominent citizens endorsing the survey's resu lling for community support of the recommendations. Favo itorials and photographs can also help stimulate public in

Keep in mind, however, that a daily newspaper is turned out peed by many hands; inaccuracies and damaging emphases can in very easily. To avoid that, cooperate closely with the r. If you are giving him complicated information, it's bes educe it to writing, as short and clear as possible. Invite to check back with you or some other informed person if ques s arise while he is writing his story.

If your town has a radio station, publicity through that me is equally desirable.

Take your story to the civic clubs and other organizations ich have regular meetings. One city set up a speakers' bureau ade up of leading citizens who had participated in the survey. e PTA wanted to hear about education, the Chamber of Commerce out industry and employment, the Council of Church Women about w enforcement, the Lions Club about all those subjects and mor

These are only a few of the ways to get your town to sit up i take notice of the survey's results. Church services, town eetings, and neighborhood get-togethers are some of the others. hatever the methods available in your community, use them often d use them well.

E PROOF OF THE PUDDING...

If your survey has had the right kind of participation, re- lts will start coming in even before the fact-finding is compl d. Officials begin to view shortcomings in public services in w light; commercial agencies serving the public begin to see emselves as others see them; civic groups become aware of need at never seemed important before.

These by-products of the fact-finding method are all to the od. But they shouldn't be allowed to take the steam out of th llow-up. An effective self-survey will go on producing result r years, provided interest and leadership are kept alive. Orga zed activity is the only way to guarantee that. The final act e Steering Committee should always be the establishment of a F w-up Committee which will meet regularly, keep the recommenda- ons before the public, and work with established groups on spe ic projects.

The logical people to serve on the Follow-up Committee are se who have shown the most interest and ability in the course self-survey. Often the simplest thing to do is to convert t eering Committee itself into such a body. In any case, it is ntial to keep enough of the original leadership active to pre- rve continuity and know-how.

Two years after its self-survey was completed, the Jackson- e Follow-Up Committee was still keeping tabs on progress and eporting to the public. And it was able to point to over sixty ive impressive achievements which grew, directly or indirectly, rom the survey. Since then the list has grown even longer.

That's a remarkable record, but it's within reach of any community willing to roll up its sleeves and go to work.

GETTING PROFESSIONAL ADVISORY HELP

Although your survey should remain a local undertaking all the way through, it can probably benefit from the advice of persons trained in community organization and experienced in the self-survey method.

The Southern Regional Council is glad to assist local groups planning to undertake a self-survey. You can call on the Council for --

Additional copies of this Manual, at a minimum price necessary to pay for publication and handling. You will need mimeographed copies of the questionnaires and schedules for the fact-finding of your survey. (Feel free to reproduce or modify any parts of the Manual.)

Visit by a trained staff member, if your group will bear the cost of the visit. The Council's representative will meet with your Steering Committee or other appropriate persons, advise on fact-finding procedures and interpretation of data, and pass on to you the experience of other communities.

Advice by mail. The Southern Regional Council will answer your requests for information, materials, or advice. Whenever possible, the Council will put you in touch with persons in your area who may also be able to help. Address your inquiries to:

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Master Copy

NEW STAFF

Louis L. Mitchell, Jr., Associate Pastor of St. Luke's Episcopal Church, Mountain Brook, Alabama, will become Executive Director of the Florida Council, effective July 1. At that time the FCHR office will be moved to Daytona Beach. Welcome to Lou, Betsy, and the five Mitchell children.

The present office of the FCHR is at 2867 Justina Road, Jacksonville 11, Florida, home of Dr. and Mrs. Ralph Dreger. For the past year the Dregers have conducted the affairs ot the Council and, as volunteers, have done a magnificent job of reorganizing FCHR.

NEW PROGRAM FILM AVAILABLE

On October 24, 1962, CBS Reports presented a one hour television program entitled "The Other Face of Dixie." The program told the story of school desegregation in four cities--emphasizing the positive aspects: Clinton, Norfolk, Atlanta, and Little Rock. It was shown on a nationwide basis but a number of local stations exercised their option not to show this item.

The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights has been presented with a copy of this film. It will be made available from the Commission wihtout cost to any civic, religious, or educational group. Inquiries should be directed to Peter M. Sussman, Assistant Staff Director for State Advisory Committees, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Washington 25, D.C.

PREDOMINANTLY WHITE HOTELS ACCOMMODATING NEGRO GUESTS

The predominantly white hotels listed below are reported (either by newsclips or by individual informants) to accept overnight guests without regard to race. Most of them were desegregated during roughly the last three years; some, however, have never been segregated. Hotels largely for Negro guests are not listed here; many also accept whites.

If you have positive information regarding non-segregated predominantly white hotels not listed below, we would be grateful if you would report their names to us, with documentation (either a reliable news report or information from a reliable individual). Be sure, if possible, that all facilities in those hotels you report to us are open to Negro guests--coffee shops, swimming pools, etc., managed by the hotel.

ARKANSAS
Little Rock: Marion Hotel, Grady Manning Hotel, Lafayette Hotel(there is still some question about the Albert Pike). Pine Bluff: Holiday Inn (SNCC newsletter)
FLORIDA
Miami Beach: Most hotels. Hollywood: At least one major hotel (probably the Hollywood Beach, but this is not confirmed). West Palm Beach: Town House. Daytona Beach: Star-in-the-South Motel (F. Pauley report)
GEORGIA
Atlanta: Peachtree Manor Hotel, Hilton Inn.
LOUISIANA
New Orleans: Airport Hotel.
KENTUCKY
Louisville: All hotels. Berea: Major hotels. Mammoth Cave: All hotels.
NORTH CAROLINA
Greensboro: Holiday Inn. Durham: Jack Tar Hotel, Holiday Inn, Washington Duke Hotel. Chapel Hill: Carolina Inn. Asheville: Battery Park Hotel, George Vanderbilt Hotel.
OKLAHOMA
Oklahoma City: All. Tulsa: All.
TENNESSEE
Gatlinburg: Some, depending on season. Johnson City: Inns of America. [redacted]. Oak Ridge: Holiday Inn. Townsend: At least one hotel (near Gatlinburg).
TEXAS
San Antonio: All. Houston: Rice, Shamrock-Hilton (swimming pool not open to Negroes), Lamar, Texas State, [redacted] Continental, Sheraton-Lincoln. Dallas: Hilton
VIRGINIA
Richmond: Jefferson, John Marshall, Richmond. Roanoke: Roanoke Hotel. Norfolk: Golden Triangle. Williamsburg: All.

F.A.
Rese(?)

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **PAUL RILLING**

~~The~~ polit leadership can no longer control — time is past

change under way, all areas, incr momentum

S can decide how much violency disruption — methods

~~time lag~~
~~facts of life 15 yrs ago~~

final q's
Baldwin

① Intro

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **PAUL RILLING**

③ The 5th, etc. ② last day or 3 days

meaningful

1 – Most ev/ly since '54
new areas, tactics, ldrship
change – progr

2 – Running – going nowhr
stgr society – neg, discrim
etc – minor ch, same pattern / pub implyt
schls – 7% etc. – 345,000
vtng – lith ch since '57
gnth – figs
pub accom –
lnch ctrs – 129 va, no, Tnn

colleges – univs

~~str~~ of signif
momentum, militancy
less room for maneuv

positive – neg lessons

positive –
fnd
stud mvt
realism
Gn. –

negative
NOT
pr edn
Fungh – Hay
Tokenism

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **PAUL RILLING**

Positive

① invlv of fed govt

— ec — pres com — Lockhard
staff — order — polit

— wotford, Reavis
Civ Rits Comissn

— Dept Jstce
New Orleans
St H — Pr Edw
marshalls in Ala
voting
ICC
diff tone, care

② stud mvmt

sit-ins — 129 — negotiated
theaters — 23, Nashville
Fr Riders
hr spd servl status
Greyhound
ICC
will succeed

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **PAUL RILLING**

mil tact tactics
mw mg gar
[mkt plan
opt 1 to cons
gr inv = drama
bargaining strategy
legal
withholding — boycott
mont, tusk, Wshr
— inv of masses ?! —
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injecting into
sensitive, volatile, ✓ potential
danger violence — cuts both ways
danger losing wh supt, S

Quillen
mat'l 23 - 61 - 7
S 13 - 52 - 22
strikes 27 - 57 - hurt
FR 20 - 70

less supt FR than strikes
interpretation

3 Ga
Univ - ctl
relat from st ins
sch / chang - MR hard con
impt as Va, st ins

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **PAUL RILLING**

4 – Realism –

until 58 – defiance, illusions
no more –
futurism, know
45% in '57
76% today
Waring, Jr to high Grades
bus concerns
LR, Norf, N Or –

NEG
1 – New Orleans – city that Cure
Birth of N. Or –
by spec sessns — will of ⅔
dozens of "laws" –
intimidatn of wh – boycott
infrnr laws –
schl bord –
st def – ld abdicatn –
no solutn in site –

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **PAUL RILLING**

Issued legal marriage
demonstration fertility
ctl, etc

2 – Pr Edw
2 yrs no schlg N
thousands out
pvt schls – tuitn grants
crt suit
tuitn grant – schl closing
St. H.

3 – Fugitt – Hagwood
ec pr – vtng
automatic
trust city
but – drawing surplus, fed crt

4 – Tokmism
4.9% of total N studs
808 – ark, Fla, La, NC, Tenn, Va

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **PAUL RILLING**

pattern not improving, holding
~~[illegible]~~
Vu, Tenn doubling
Vu 200, will have 400
last yr 100, etc
not others
schl brds probe for 1st
acceptable — worse admissions
54-55 — brds across bd
56-60 — starstep, pp
now — atlanta — ultimate
starstep <u>and</u> pp —
b-ruchers barrier
but some complacency — etc —
not gradism, but cynical irrsn

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **PAUL RILLING**

3 - Time lag - ~~in~~ 15 yrs ago

4 - Cont trnsn, violence

5 - incr militnce, agrsn -
in dir proportn
mod mg, actionist, extremism

6 - incr activity
- not nec progl

7 - ldrship - N, actionist
dangrs -

dangrs
int snat
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input, militancy
up to sth -

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extr, ldrshp

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **PAUL RILLING**

[illegible]

Irug process

2R – Ya – N. Or – Ga

not good [illegible] manipulative skills

[illegible] order – [illegible]

[illegible] to hippocampal [illegible]

– [illegible]

essen thru tobin

[illegible] behavior – attitudes

primers

1 – [illegible] attitudes not [illegible] succ.

– [illegible] – but [illegible] – econ

so [illegible] prop

2 – only thru [illegible] open [illegible]

[illegible] – 2410 – 71 – [illegible]

[illegible] – 2410 – 69 – 7

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **PAUL RILLING**

Inv process
LRZ

~~Premises~~ Conclns

1 – ch thru law, not prese
fed – natl opn
sit-ns negtl / pth
unsucc in id attitds
54 – 24 – 71 – 5
61 – 24 – 69 – 7
but merit, econom-c
defensive, weakned

2 – incr militance, aggressive
mil, impat of push in dir
prop to unyielding nstr of
resp to change
– incr activist in resp
mod, activist, extremism

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **PAUL RILLING**

inter activity, not mc progr

3 - Incr ~~[illegible]~~ disparsn of ldrship, chnls of expsn

confusion, new orgs, competitn lck of coord - indic of str

more invtrd - variety of techs - more pr, more outlets

new N ldrship - Lowy, Lonat ~~Baldwin~~ al Q pk2

dngrs - wh involvmt either or etc. - - -

unpredictable N -

S had grt opty for 50 yrs - the was lost

decsn of '54 - clear

cld hve determd timg, dirc of ch - intmt of grt opty was lost

wld hve been sndtd

s Bias
raining

Highlights

against two Negro
O'Fallon Technical
St. Louis was al-
ational Association
ement of Colored
in a complaint in-
O Pipefitters Local

00 St. Louis public
narrowly defeat-
time Jan. 23, was
to voters at a spe-
ch 6. At issue was
school construction
aimed at relieving
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ond Issue
. Louis
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ut two weeks after the
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down to defeat for the
N, February), the city's
rmen decided unani-
mit it along with other
alled of passage Jan. 23
election March 6. A
mpaign to obtain the
thirds majority was in-

proposed school con-
ovation is planned in
st central parts of the
gro occupancy is heavy
creasing in a westward
years. Negro Demo-
said they would attempt
st for the school bonds,
only 86 votes in Janu-

classrooms. The construction would eliminate the need for shuttling thousands of children, most Negroes, from their own districts to less crowded districts. If the shuttling continues next year without abatement, it will involve 6,000 children and cost $250,000, officials said.

In the predominantly Negro central west end section, where much of the proposed construction would be done, the classroom ratio now runs as high as 39 pupils to a room, even though almost 3,500 children are transported by bus to schools outside the district each day. A few years ago this area was an all-white residential section.

Also included in the bond issue proposal is a $3,174,700 new high school for the northwest part of the city, where officials expect a substantial enrollment increase.

★ ★ ★

Mississippi County Sets Vote on School Districts

A proposal for reorganization of school districts in Mississippi County in southeast Missouri will be resubmitted to voters this summer, a spokesman for the Missouri Human Rights Commission at Jefferson City told SOUTHERN SCHOOL NEWS. Last year, a proposal for placing all students in a single district was defeated.

The county has three high school districts—Anniston, East Prairie and Charleston. All are desegregated to some extent at the high school level. At request of Gov. John M. Dalton last December, Anniston school officials agreed to take some 18 Negro students from the Pinhook district of the county, but it would make no commitment beyond the current semester.

Hope was expressed by the Human Rights Commission spokesman that the proposal for school reorganization would succeed and would solve problems encountered this year relative to enrollment of Negroes. East Prairie high school was reported to have one Negro student, having desegregated last September.

# # #

Prince Edward

FLORIDA

More Negroes Transferred Into Schools With Whites

MIAMI

ASSIGNMENT OF ADDITIONAL Negroes to desegregated white schools continued in Dade County. School officials said that the changes now were being made on a purely routine basis as the residential status of individual pupils changed.

The net result was an increase in the number of Negroes at the nine desegregated schools, last reported at 513, and a decrease in the number of white pupils. However, figures on changes in the enrollment by races were not available because of the fluctuation.

Schools most affected were Allapattah Heights, Gladeview Elementary and Earlington Heights Elementary.

Earlington Heights Elementary, where Florida's first try at massive desegregation is being watched, continued to be the center of interest. There the Negro enrollment steadily climbed. At the same time, school officials said, the number of white children, last reported at 132, was almost unchanged. The white enrollment was declared to be "amazingly stable" under the circumstances.

Area Changing

"We expect that this situation may be changed next year," said a school administrator. "The area is obviously changing, as the 'for sale' signs on numerous residences would indicate. However, on the basis of our experience so far, we believe that many white children will continue in this school throughout this year and that some will return next year. What the situation will be then remains to be seen."

While some Negro parents take part on PTA activities, the faculty is still entirely white.

Desegregaton is no longer considered a major concern by the Dade school authorities. Assignment decisions now are based primarily on residence within school boundaries. The number of children in desegregated schools

Florida Highlights

The Dade County school board continued to transfer pupils to desegregated schools but this has become a routine administrative process governed largely by change in residential status.

A survey in Pinellas County showed that while no school desegregation had occurred at the elementary or high school level, pressures rising from the Supreme Court's school decision have brought changes in other areas.

Segregation may be injected in three developing congressional areas.

the St. Petersburg Junior College. The school board appointed a biracial citizens advisory group to consider the consequences and "to bring about an orderly system of desegregation."

Shortly afterwards seven Negroes in Tarpon Springs sought to enroll in a white school. They were turned down. In 1959 another group of 11 Negroes applied for registration at the Dixie Hollins High School and were denied admission.

In 1961 two Negroes were admitted to the St. Petersburg Junior College summer evening classes and two other to regular day classes. One Negro enrolled in an evening class for adults at the Tomlinson Vocational School. The Bishop Barry Catholic High School accepted three Negro students and the St. Paul's Catholic High School, o

The Times said pressure is growing in Pinellas County for further school desegregation.

Political Activity

Segregation Issue May Be Injected

Research

High Schools

Raleigh, N.C.
St. Louis, Mo.
Washington, D.C.

Colleges

Miami, Fla. *
New Orleans, La. *
St. Louis, Mo. *
Raleigh, N.C. *
Nashville, Tenn.
San Antonio
Washington, DC.

* Not all colleges or universities.

Athletic Programs

Presumably in Washington, D.C. and St. Louis, Mo. The other cities have either not desegregated or have desegregated at elementary levels only, [Raleigh has only 1 student at high school level.]

Elementary Schools

Galveston - Houston, Tex.
Miami, Fla.
Nashville, Tenn.
Raleigh, N.C.
St. Louis, Mo.
San Antonio, Tex.
Washington, D.C.
New Orleans, La.

Integration of School Systems
(Catholic)

"Working" on Atlanta, Savannah,
Charleston

Galveston - Houston — all
Catholic schools open to all
children on all levels

At Knoxville Catholic High
is integrated; don't know
about Nashville.

Raleigh I have no information
beyond public schools.

New Orleans he should
know about! Nothing —

Hospitals

Galveston - Houston, Tex. *

Miami, Florida

St. Louis Missouri

Washington, D.C.

* Each of these is desegregated "to some extent."

Hospitals -

Jane says that she has not heard from the hospitals in Galveston-Houston and Nashville does not report any desegregated. We have no information on the others, apparently. Jane checked this.

Dallas has also not responded to our questionnaire.

FACT SHEET ON CHATTANOOGA

1. In 1955, just shortly after the 1955 Supreme Court decision clarifying the original 1954 ruling, the Chattanooga school board announced the intent to comply as quickly as possible. In November, 1955, the school board attempted to organize a citizens advisory committee to assist it in working toward an attitude in the community that would accept compliance. The November meeting of the school board was packed with opponents of desegregation. There were wild charges and shouting, and the meeting ended in disruption when a test tube of tear gas was broken in the room.

2. The school board did not proceed with its plan to initiate any immediate effort to comply and gave up on the citizens advisory committee. Through the years, however, the school board has taken the position that they are not in opposition to the Supreme Court decision of 1954, but that the decision should not be implemented until the community climate permits, and that they have been engaged in a campaign of "elucidation" toward this end. In actuality, there is little evidence that anything whatsoever was done toward this end from November, 1955 until the last few weeks. During this period the personnel of the school board has been changed at least once.

3. In 1960, a group of Negroes filed suit in Federal court seeking admission to previously all-white schools in the case known as Mapp et al v. the Chattanooga Board of Education. During the litigation the Chattanooga school board brought in a proposed plan for gradual desegregation that would begin with the first three grades in the fall of 1962. The plan involved designating a number of white and Negro schools for desegregation during this first step action. The schools would be selected on the basis of their ability to live with the change. The time from 1960 until fall, 1962 would be available for "elucidation."

4. In the summer of 1960, United States District Judge Leslie R. Darr of the District court in Chattanooga ruled that the Chattanooga plan was not in compliance with the Supreme Court ruling and ordered the school board to bring in another plan by December of 1960. The Chattanooga school board appealed this decision to the 6th Circuit Court of Appeals. Meanwhile, the school board filed an alternate plan calling for desegregation on a grade-a-year basis beginning with the 1961-62 school year. There was no action on this plan, pending the appeal to the circuit court.

5. In an opinion announced November 13, 1961, the Appeals court upheld the action of Judge Darr. Jurisdiction in the case was then returned to the District court for further action. United States District Judge Frank Wilson, who has succeeded Judge Darr, now presides over the Chattanooga District court. The school board decided not to appeal the Circuit court decision.

6. Raymond B. Witt, Jr., a member of the school board and acting as attorney for the board, requested a pre-trial conference with

Judge Wilson. The attitude of the school board continues to be that they may yet be able to persuade the District Judge to approve their selective plan of desegregation. The pre-trial conference was held with the Judge on January 5. Meanwhile, Mrs. Constance Baker Motley, New York attorney for the NAACP, filed a proposal with the court asking total desegregation of Chattanooga schools beginning with the second semester, January 21. It is assumed that further litigation will take place later this year. Judge Wilson has said the court's calendar is filled until May 15. This would seem to rule out any desegregation prior to September, 1962.

7. To demonstrate good faith and prepare for any eventuality, the Chattanooga school authorities have proceded to implement the first steps of their proposed plan. Nine white and seven Negro schools have been designated for desegregation next fall. The school authorities claim that 84 Negroes are eligible to attend these white schools by residence and 189 white children are eligible to attend currently Negro schools. Those desiring to transfer were supposed to file notices of intent by January 1, 1962. The Negro community did not cooperate with these plans because of their opposition to the limited nature of the proposal.

8. Chattanooga is moving ahead with a rather comprehensive and impressive set of plans to prepare the schools in the community for desegregation when it should occur. A community committee has been appointed along the lines of the Dallas effort, headed by prominent business and civic leaders. Superintendent Bennie Carmichael has instituted the most far-reaching effort at preparing school teachers and staff that has yet been tried in the South, to our knowledge. There have been sessions with principals and student leaders and full-scale workshops involving all the teachers. These efforts have all been biracial, and outside consultants have been brought in.

Res Matl

NORTH CAROLINA

CHARLOTTE desegregated in 1957, with three (3) Negro children attending previously all-white schools. The number attending desegregated schools at the beginning of the 1961-1962 term was twenty-seven (27).

WINSTON-SALEM desegregated in 1957, with one (1) Negro student attending a previously all-white high school. The 1961-1962 term opened with fifteen (15) Negro students enrolled in otherwise white schools.

TENNESSEE

NASHVILLE desegregated its first grades in 1957; nineteen (19) Negro youngsters entered in September, but due to violence in connection with the opening of schools the number had dwindled to eleven (11) by the end of the month. In 1961-1962, the first five grades had a total of 270 Negro children in schools with whites.

VIRGINIA

CHARLOTTESVILLE desegregated in 1959, with twelve (12) Negro children in schools with white children. The enrollment in 1961 was thirty-five (35).

FRONT ROYAL desegregated for the first time in 1961. Three (3) Negro children were enrolled in white elementary schools.

Research Notes

Numbers of Negroes in Publicly Supported Colleges Throughout The South
(there are no figures about the number of Negroes in private colleges)

	Senior	Junior
Alabama	-	-
Arkansas	46	-
Florida	5	104
Georgia	5	
Kentucky	548	
La.	724	
Miss.		
N.C.	114	195
S.C.		
Tenn.	243	
Texas	619	445
Va.	56	

Research Mat (for Branstrip Times or Post)

No one ~~know~~ can find out abt use of MP's to assist local police in the enforcement of segreg laws - or any other way

R. Hurley doesn't keep files, but talk to Clarence Mitchell, who may have specifics

Dont
3 incident

AP

May '60 - a Negro soldier in w w/n n Aug was arstd by civil auth, paid $5.00 fine - No indication that military auth involvd

March '60 - 3 w sold @ Ft Benning went nto N. grill @ Columbus - Wn nt served refusd 2 lev - Pol wer cald - wer arstd

under Ga's new
sit in law makes
it mis 2 lv
prvt property & orderd
2 do so by owner -
3 pled guilty in
City Court, payed
$100. fines - UPI story
: Milit auth "apparently
took no hand in
the case."

Nov 14 1961 - AP story -

Incident concrn
ntgratd color guard
from Ft Bragg
which was returning
2 bas aft participtn
in Vet Day cerem
in Greensb N.C.

20 men in group - bo racs.
bus - stopd @ Cafe
on US 220
10 m S of Greensbro=
W told sargent could
not serv. called sherf-

No incident evolved -
Early stories made it more serious; PR release played it down -
Military authorities did take a hand in interpreting + playing down the event

→ AP story

PR was under impression gvn
Background yesterday,
wapro caln back
if he is quoting
directly.

Spcs

RE-CREATION OF REMARKS GIVEN AT NATIONAL NAIRO MEETING BY PAUL M. RILLING

Change is taking place in the South, with agonizing slowness, but in the right general direction. Token school desegregation continues to spread. There are now only three southern states without some degree of public school desegregation, Alabama, South Carolina, and Mississippi. Last fall more school districts initiated school desegregation than during any year since 1957. For the first year since the Supreme Court decision there was no violence or upheaval in connection with the progress of school desegregation. Southern communities are accommodating themselves to some change with less furor and hysteria than was customary a few years ago. School desegregation began in some southern communities this year almost casually. In Memphis, and in Tampa, St. Petersburg, Ft. Lauderdale, and Daytona Beach some desegregation began without final court orders and without prior public notice.

Student sit-in activities have successfully brought about the desegregation of lunch counters and department store restaurants in some 150 southern and border state communities, and this process of change is moving further South.

At least some local bus systems are desegregated in every state, and the Interstate Commerce Commission order, prompted by the Freedom Ride demonstrations, is receiving wide-spread acceptance and will ultimately achieve terminal facility desegregation throughout the region.

In the Southland today there is again fairly open discussion and debate on matters relating to changing patterns of race relations.

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There was very little such discussion in the Deep South between the years of 1956-1959.

It should be noted, however, that all of the changes that have occurred in the South since 1954 are superficial and peripheral well within the category of what Martin Luther King has called "minute readjustments in the face of great evil." The life of the average southern Negro has been barely touched as yet by the process of change. He continues to live and work in a fairly rigid segregated society.

With possible exceptions in Northern Virginia and in some Tennessee communities, southern school desegregation is invariably of the token variety. In all of the old Confederate states with the single exception of Texas, fewer than one-half of one per cent of the Negro public school students are attending desegregated classes. Although token compliance is spreading to new communities each year, there is little tendency for the process to deepen within a community from year to year. North Carolina has only 226 Negro students attending classes with whites in 13 communities after 6 years of experience with "school desegregation."

Token school desegregation in the South is rarely a first step toward elimination of racial lines in the schools. Rather it becomes the new status quo in public education. A few Negroes are admitted to "white" schools. The great bulk of students continue to attend segregated schools the first year, the second year, the third year, and the fifth year following the initiation of desegregation.

There has been a highly significant shift in southern attitudes, beginning with about 1959. Southern leadership is much

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[illegible] realistic today about the available alternatives. There [illegible] realized [illegible] that some change is inevitable [illegible] political and civic leadership has learned the value [illegible] violence or disruption. In Dallas and in Nashville [illegible] economic leadership led the way in planning for orderly [illegible] token school desegregations.

This new southern response to pressures for change is not a reflection of any change of heart or will. It does indicate [illegible] realism, an acceptance of some change, to avoid [illegible] and disorder, upheaval and economic loss. The South has [illegible] Little Rock, from Orgeron, from New Orleans. New tactics [illegible] have been developed to satisfy the minimum letter [illegible] court decisions while retaining the maximum degree of segregation. The South is gradually abandoning its more crude and [illegible] for the more subtle and sophisticated types of [illegible] well known in other parts of the country.

The type of change that has occurred in Southern attitudes [illegible] recent years is well illustrated by several Gallup Polls. When asked if they favored desegregation, a cross-section of Southerners responded only 24% in the affirmative in 1954. In 1961, in response to a similar question, the affirmative per centage was still 24. On the other hand, the percentage of southerners who see desegregation as inevitable increased from 45% in 1957 to 76% in 1961, according to the Gallup Opinion Survey.

While some changes go forward on the surface, currents [illegible] are intensifying in intensity beneath the surface. Negroes are [illegible] increasingly frustrated and impatient. They are disenchanted [illegible]

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[illegible] see as the betrayal of the promise of the 1954 [illegible] faith in political and legal means [illegible] constitutional rights.

[illegible] of direct action protest provide an [illegible] these frustrations, give many Negro southerners a sense [illegible] accomplishment. They improve the morale and the self image of the [illegible] southerner and, not least important, they have won important [illegible] areas where legal rights are not clear. These techniques [illegible] to be employed. They will make an important contri- [illegible] to the cause of progress. They will also create a more [illegible] atmosphere and as direct action tactics are applied in [illegible] areas of greatest resistance, the confrontation [illegible] may increase the possibility of explosions of violence.

One of the ironies of the profession of intergroup relations [illegible] that the South, which has grave need of the skills of the inter- [illegible] relations official, has fewer intergroup relations workers [illegible] any other section of the nation.

[illegible] of the Southern Regional Council in the present [illegible] situation is that of spot-lighting important trends and developments [illegible] the South, the wide-spread dissemination of the facts [illegible] the moral change, and the creation of channels of communication [illegible] communal involvement of members of both races. It is our [illegible] the public airing of facts and of research findings has [illegible] contribution to the growth of realism and the sense of [illegible] in the South.

[illegible] certainly educational agencies cannot be complacent about [illegible] attitudes in the South. Educational techniques can make [illegible]

considerable contribution [illegible] will assisting the South [illegible] in [illegible] increasing dignity.

Rec mail

Available in quantity from SRC:

The High Cost of Conflict: A Roundup of Opinion from the Southern Business Community on the Economic Consequences of School Closings and Violence - prepared by ADL

The Louisville Story - by Omer Carmichael and Weldon James

The Truth About Desegregation in Washington's Schools - by Erwin Knoll

Desegregation in the Baltimore City Schools -

If the Schools are Closed...A Critical Analysis of the Private School Plan - Donald Ross Green and Warren Gauerke

School Desegregation, the First Six Years - SRC

Report No. L-5 - Public Schools and the Economy of Virginia - SRC

Report No. L-11 - Little Rock Report...What Has Happened Since the School Crisis? - SRC

Report No. L-15 - Types of Desegregation Plans

Report No. L-21 - Public Schools and Community Development - SRC

Report No. L-8A - If the Schools Are Closed...A Critical Analysis of the Private School Plan (Press Release for pamphlet described above.)

Available in limited quantity from SRC:

Can We Afford to Close Our Public Schools? Southern educators.
15-20 copies available SRC

Private Business & Public Education in the South - Helen Hill Miller
20-25 copies available SRC

Background: Atlanta - OASIS (Atlanta plan is contained herein; can be reproduced.)
15 copies available SRC

Report No. L-6 - The "Davis Report" and the Truth Aboutthe Public School Situation in Washington, D.C. - SRC
5-6 copies available SRC

Available from sources other than SRC

Action Patterns in School Desegregation - Herbert Wey and John Corey
Phi Delta Kappa, Inc.
Eighth and Union, Bloomington, Indiana

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Available from sources other than SRC (continued)

Observations on Desegregation in Baltimore: Three Years Later - by Harry Bard. Reprint from Teachers College Record, Vol. 59, No. 5, February, 1958.
Available from:
Anti-Defamation League of B'Nai B'Rith
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

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ALABAMA

Human Relations Agency Resources

1. Alabama Council on Human Relations
   Room 1224 Comer Building
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   Norman Jimerson, Executive Director
   (ACHR has local Councils in several communities and members throughout the state.)

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2. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
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   610 - 1/2 W. 9th Street
   Little Rock, Arkansas
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3. Urban League of Greater Little Rock
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   Dr. Georgia Dreger, Acting Executive Director
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2. Jacksonville Urban League
   109 East Union Street
   Jacksonville, Florida
   Mr. James Steeley, Acting Executive Secretary

3. Greater Miami Urban League
   395 N. W. First Street
   Miami, Florida
   Mr. James W. Whitehead, Executive Director

4. Tampa Urban League
   615 Lamar Avenue
   Tampa, Florida
   Mr. Arthur D. Allen, Executive Director

5. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
   Mr. Robert W. Saunders, Field Secretary
   705 E. Harrison Street
   Tampa, Florida

6. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
   The Rev. A. Leon Lowroy, President, State Conference
   900 North Delaware Avenue
   Tampa, Florida

7. American Jewish Committee, Southeast Area Office
   1208 Congress Building
   Miami 32, Florida
   Seymour Samet, Area Director

8. American Jewish Congress, Southeastern Region
   Room 713 Congress Building
   Miami 32, Florida
   Harold Kramer, Executive Director

9. Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith Florida Regional Office
   330 Seybold Building
   Miami, Florida
   Nathan Perlmutter, Director

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Daytona Beach News Journal
Daytona Beach, Florida

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The Rev. Theodore R. Gibson
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GEORGIA

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1. Georgia Council on Human Relations
   41 Exchange Place, S. E., Room 502
   Atlanta 3, Georgia
   Mrs. Frances Pauley, Executive Director
   (GCHR has local Councils in many communities and members throughout the state.)

2. National Urban League Southern Regional Office
   250 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Room 511
   Atlanta 3, Georgia
   Clarence D. Coleman, Director

3. Atlanta Urban League
   239 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
   Atlanta, Georgia
   Robert A. Thompson, Director

4. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Southeastern Regional Office
   859-1/2 Hunter Street, N.W.
   Atlanta, Georgia
   Mrs. Ruby Hurley, Director

5. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People Georgia
   859-1/2 Hunter Street, N.W.
   Atlanta, Georgia
   Mr. Vernon Jordan, Field Secretary

6. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People Georgia
   State President: W. W. Laws
   2009 Florence Street
   Savannah, Georgia

7. American Jewish Committee, Atlanta Area Office
   41 Exchange Place, S. E., Room 703
   Atlanta 3, Georgia
   Charles Wittenstein, Executive Director

8. Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith Southeastern Regional Office
   41 Exchange Place, S.E.
   Atlanta 3, Georgia
   Monroe Schlactus, Executive Director

9. The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Room 200
Atlanta 3, Georgia
John B. Morris, Executive Director

10. Mennonite Service Committee
540 Houston Street
Atlanta, Georgia
Vincent Harding, Director

11. National Conference of Christians and Jews, Georgia and Alabama
1144 Bank of Georgia Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia
Don McEvoy, Director

12. Southern Christian Leadership Conference
334 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia
Wyatt Tee Walker, Director

13. Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
6 Raymond Street, N.W.
Atlanta 14, Georgia
James R. Forman, Executive Secretary

14. United Church of Christ
41 Exchange Place, S.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
Edward M. Brown, Consultant on Christian Human Relations

15. U.S. National Student Association Southern Student Human Relations Project
41 Exchange Place, S.E., Room 701
Atlanta 3, Georgia
Constance Curry, Director

16. American Friends Service Committee Merit Employment Project
41 Exchange Place, S.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
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Decatur, Georgia

Dr. Harry V. Richardson
President, Interdenominational Theological Center
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1. New Orleans Community Relations Council
   101 S. Wren Street
   New Orleans, Louisiana
   Mr. W. Theodore Baptist, Chairman

2. Urban League of Greater New Orleans
   504 Carondelet Street
   New Orleans 12, Louisiana
   J. Harvey Kerns, Executive Director

3. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
   Mrs. Doretha A. Combre, State President
   601 Enterprise Blvd.
   Lake Charles, La.

4. Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith ~~South~~ central Regional Office
   535 Gravier Street
   New Orleans 12, La.
   Irwin Schulman, Regional Director

5. National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice, Southern Field Service
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   New Orleans 13, Louisiana
   Henry Cabirac, Director

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New Orleans, Louisiana

John G. Lewis
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Baton Rouge, Louisiana

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Mrs. N. H. Sand
1447 Granada
New Orleans, Louisiana

MISSISSIPPI

Human Relations Agency Resources

1. Mississippi Council on Human Relations
   Chairman: Dr. A. D. Beittel
   Tougaloo Southern Christian College
   Tougaloo, Mississippi

2. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
   Field Secretary: Medgar W. Evers
   1070 Lynch Street
   Jackson, Mississippi

3. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
   President, State Conference: Dr. Aaron E. Henry
   635 Page Avenue
   Clarksdale, Mississippi

Individual Resources

The Most Rev. Joseph B. Brunini
Bishop, The Catholic Church
123 North West Street
Jackson, Mississippi

Hodding Carter, III
Editor and Publisher
Delta-Democrat Times
Greenville, Mississippi

Mrs. Martin Harvey
415 N. Farish Street
Jackson 2, Mississippi

Mr. Charles Butts
Editor, The Mississippi Free Press
1253 Valley Street
Jackson, Mississippi

Mrs. Schutt

NORTH CAROLINA

Human Relations Agency Resources

1. North Carolina Council on Human Relations
   121 E. Third Street, Room 301
   Charlotte, North Carolina
   Mr. Harry Jones, Executive Director
   (NCCHR has local Councils in several communities and members throughout the state.)

2. American Friends Service Committee Southeastern Regional Office
   1818 South Main Street
   High Point, North Carolina
   B. Tartt Bell, Executive Secretary

3. American Baptist Home Mission Societies
   Box 188
   Chapel Hill, North Carolina
   J. C. Herrin

4. National Conference of Christians and Jews, Southeastern Division
   P. O. Box 3587
   Greensboro, North Carolina
   Gordon W. Lovejoy, National Program Consultant

5. United Church of Christ Board of Homeland Ministries
   5606 Oak Street
   Guilford College, North Carolina
   Carl J. Landes

6. Winston-Salem Urban League
   610 Coliseum Drive
   Winston-Salem, North Carolina
   Sam D. Harvey, Director

7. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
   Kelly M. Alexander, State President
   323 South Brevard Street
   Charlotte, North Carolina
   (The NAACP has local organizations in many communities and members throughout the state.)

Individual Resources

The Rev. Thomas Thrasher
Chapel of the Cross
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Mr. John H. Wheeler
President, Mechanics and Farmers Bank
Box 1932
Durham, North Carolina

Dr. Raymond Wheeler
1900 Brunswick Avenue
Charlotte, North Carolina

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Top Knot
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Mr. Fred D. Alexander
2140 Senior Drive
Charlotte 8, North Carolina

Mr. Irving E. Carlyle
Wachovia Bank Building
Winston-Salem, North Carolina

Mr. Paul Green
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Department of Sociology
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Mr. McNeill Smith
700 Jefferson Street Building
Greensboro, North Carolina

Mr. J. Ray Shute
317 E. Windsor Street
Monroe, North Carolina

SOUTH CAROLINA

Human Relations Agency Resources

1. South Carolina Council on Human Relations
   1330 Laurel Street
   Columbia, South Carolina
   Executive Director: Mrs. Alice Spearman
   (SCCHR has local Councils in many communities and members throughout the state.)

2. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
   Field Secretary: The Rev. I. D. Newman
   P. O. Box 1204
   Columbia, South Carolina

3. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
   President, State Conference: Mr. Joe Brown
   270 Ashley Avenue
   Charleston, South Carolina

4. Penn Community Services
   St. Helena Island
   Frogmore, South Carolina
   Courtney Siceloff, Director

Individual Resources

W. E. Solomon
Executive Secretary, Palmetto State Teachers Association
1719 Taylor Street
Columbia, South Carolina

James McBride Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Andrew M. Secrest
Editor, The Cheraw Chronicle
Cheraw, South Carolina

The Rev. M. D. McCollom
P. O. Box 423
Walterboro, South Carolina

TENNESSEE

Human Relations Agency Resources

1. Tennessee Council on Human Relations
   2011 Grand Avenue
   Nashville 12, Tennessee
   Miss Katherine Jones, Executive Director

   (TCHR has local councils in many communities and members throughout the state.)

2. Memphis Urban League
   546 Beale Avenue
   Memphis 5, Tennessee
   Mr. J. A. McDaniel, Executive Director

3. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
   State Conference President: The Rev. Frank Gordon
   Rt. 5
   Netherland Drive
   Knoxville, Tennessee

4. The Methodist Church, Women's Division, Dept. of Christian Social Relations, Board of Missions
   Mrs. Robert L. Wilcox, Secretary, S.E. Jurisdiction
   16 Minnekahola Place,
   Chattanooga 5, Tennessee

5. National Council of Churches
   Department of Racial and Cultural Relations
   P. O. Box 1083
   Nashville, Tennessee
   Will D. Campbell, Associate Executive Director

6. Christian Life Commission, Southern Baptist Convention
   161 Eighth Avenue, N.
   Nashville, Tennessee
   Foy Valentine, Executive Secretary-Treasurer

7. Department of Race Relations
   Fisk University
   Nashville, Tennessee
   Herman H. Long, Chairman

8. United Presbyterian Church in the USA
   Department of Social Education and Action
   Mrs. Jean Russell
   824 Tusculum Boulevard
   Greenville, Tennessee

9. United Presbyterian Church in the USA, Regional Office, Church and Society
   2011 Grand Avenue
   Nashville, Tennessee
   J. Metz Rollins, Jr., Special Field Representative
   John H. Marion, Jr., Special Field Representative

Individual Resources

James Stokely
405 Clifton Heights
Newport, Tennessee

Mrs. J. F. Tillman
Palmetto Farm, RFD 1
Lewisburg, Tennessee

Stephen J. Wright
President
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Paul R. Christopher
Regional Director, AFL-CIO
216 Flatiron Building
Knoxville, Tennessee

James A. Colston
President
Knoxville College
Knoxville, Tennessee

Z. A. Looby
327 Charlotte Avenue
Nashville, Tennessee

The Rev. Kelly M. Smith
First Baptist Church
318 Eighth Avenue, North
Nashville, Tennessee

Robert J. Harris
Department of Political Science
Vanderbilt University
Nashville, Tennessee

Walter Sharp
Route 2, Beech Creek Road
Brentwood, Tennessee

Miss Margaret McCullouch
858 Whitford Place
Memphis, Tennessee

Mrs. Lawrence Coe
3580 Watauga Avenue
Memphis, Tennessee

Mr. George Barrett
Suite 927 Stahlman Building
Nashville, Tennessee

VIRGINIA

Human Relations Agency Resources

1. Virginia Council on Human Relations
   17 East Cary Street
   Richmond 19, Virginia
   Heslip Lee, Executive Director
   (Local councils and members throughout the state)

2. Richmond Urban League
   114 E. Leigh Street
   Richmond 20, Virginia
   Mrs. Janet J. Ballard, Executive Secretary

3. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
   State President: Mr. R. D. Robertson
   920 Lexington Street
   Norfolk 4, Virginia

4. Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith Virginia-NC Regional Office
   216 North Second Street, Room 306
   Richmond, Virginia
   Director: ?

5. The Presbyterian Church in USA, Board of Christian Education
   8 North Sixth Street
   Richmond, Virginia
   Malcolm P. Calhoun

6. Protestant Episcopal Church
   P. O. Box 853
   Lynchburg, Virginia
   Cornelius C. Tarplee

Individual Resources

Paul Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond, Virginia

Thomas W. Young
The Journal and Guide
Norfolk, Virginia

The Rev. Hubert Beckwith
Congregational Christian Church of Fairfax County
P. O. Box 186
Annandale, Virginia

The Rev. W. C. Brooke
St. Elizabeth's Episcopal Church
P. O. Box 4211
Roanoke, Virginia

David H. Scull
President
Turnpike Press
Annandale, Virginia

Edward E. Haddock
1133 West Franklin Street
Richmond 20, Virginia

Jr Rupert Picott
Virginia Teachers Association
316 Clay Street
Richmond, Virginia

Kentucky

City of Henderson Commission on Human Rights

WHEREAS, the Board of Commissioners and the Mayor of the City of Henderson find that prejudice and the practice of discrimination against any individual or group because of race, creed, color, or national origin, is contrary to good public policy and detrimental to the peace, progress, and welfare of the City, and

WHEREAS, the lack of full participation of any individual in the privileges of full membership in the community retards the progress of the community, and affects the general well-being of all its citizens,

WHEREAS, for these reasons and to implement a constructive approach to the problems involved in improving intergroup and inter-racial relations leading to the elimination of discriminatory practices in the City.

NOW, THEREFORE,

BE IT ORDAINED BY THE BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS OF THE CITY OF HENDERSON:

SECTION I: That there is hereby established a City of Henderson Commission on Human Rights.

SECTION II: The Commission shall be composed of twenty-five members. The members shall be appointed by the Mayor who shall select persons who are nearly as possible representative of the several social, economic, religious, cultural, ethnic, and racial groups which comprise the population of the City of Henderson. In addition, each member shall be a resident of the Greater Henderson Area.

No elected or appointed official of the City of Henderson may be a member of the Commission.

SECTION III: Initially the members of the Commission shall be appointed to serve for a term of one (1), two (2), and three (3) years, and members appointed after the original appointment shall serve for a term of three (3) years each, except that if a vacancy occurs on the Commission other than as a result of the expiration of the term of an appointment, the Mayor shall appoint a successor for the unexpired term. Members may be eligible for re-appointment for additional terms.

SECTION IV: A quorum shall consist of nine members.

SECTION V: Members shall serve without compensation.

SECTION VI: The Commission shall endeavor to promote and secure mutual understanding and respect among all economic, social, religious, ethnic and racial groups in the City of Henderson, and shall act as conciliator in controversies involving intergroup and inter-racial relations. The Commission shall cooperate with Federal, State, and other City agencies in an effort to develop harmonious intergroup and inter-racial relations and shall endeavor to enlist the support of civic, religious, labor, industrial, and commercial groups and civic leaders dedicated to the improvement of intergroup and inter-racial relations and the elimination of discriminatory practices.

SECTION VI-A: The Commission shall receive complaints, conduct investigations, hold hearings, make studies and have such studies made as will enable the Commission to carry out the purpose of this Ordinance.

SECTION VI-B: The Commission shall recommend to the Mayor and to the Board of Commissioners such legislation as may be necessary to accomplish the purposes of this Ordinance.

SECTION VI-C: The Commission shall submit an annual report on March 1, of each year to the Mayor and to the Board of Commissioners.

SECTION VI-D: The Commission, on behalf of the City of Henderson, may accept grants and donations from foundations and others for the purpose of carrying out its functions.

SECTION VII: All expenditures shall be authorized by the Commission which shall elect one of its members as treasurer. The treasurer shall approve operational expenditures, and he shall make a semi-annual financial report to the Commission. Copies of such semi-annual financial report shall be sent to the Mayor and the Board of Commissioners.

SECTION VIII: The services of all other departments of the City of Henderson may be made available to the Commission upon its request for such services. Information in the possession of any department, board, or agency of the City of Henderson, may be furnished to the Commission upon its request, and to the extent permitted by law. Upon the refusal of the Director or Head of any department, board or agency of the City to furnish any information which has been requested by the Commission, the matter shall be referred to the Mayor who shall determine whether such information shall be furnished to the Commission, and the decision of the Mayor shall be final.

SECTION IX: The Commission shall have the power to adopt rules to govern its proceedings. The meetings of the Commission shall be opened or closed to the public as it may deem best in its discretion.

SECTION X: The Commission shall meet as often as it deems necessary, but it shall meet not less than once each month.

SECTION XI: The Commission shall elect a chairman, a vice-chairman, a secretary-treasurer, and such other officers, as it shall deem necessary. The Chairman of the Commission shall appoint such committees as the rules of the Commission shall provide and such other special committees from time to time as the Commission may deem necessary in order to carry out the purposes of this Ordinance.

SECTION XII: The Mayor is authorized to allocate adequate office space and to provide the necessary facilities in the City Hall or the City Hall Annex for said Commission if the office space and facilities are available.

SECTION XIII: If any provisions of this Ordinance or application of such provision or provisions to any person or circumstance shall be held to be invalid, the remainder of the Ordinance or the application of such provision to persons, or circumstances other than those as to which it shall be held to be invalid, shall not be affected thereby.

SECTION XIV: This Ordinance shall become effective upon its passage by the Board of Commissioners.

Approved on first reading December 18, 1962.

Enacted on second reading December 26, 1962.

Sent to
John Hope

1. Richmond

Virginia Council on Human Relations
Heslip Lee, Executive Director
17 East Cary Street
Richmond 19, Virginia

Richmond Urban League
Mrs. Janet J. Ballard, Executive Secretary
114 E. Leigh Street
Richmond 20, Virginia

Malcolm P. Calhoun
Board of Christian Education, The Presbyterian Church in the US
8 North Sixth Street
Richmond, Virginia

Anti-Defamation League Virginia-North Carolina Regional Office
216 North Second Street, Room 306
Richmond, Virginia
New director unknown (replacement for Bob Kohler)

~~Paul Williams~~
~~3320 Gloucester Road~~
~~Richmond, Virginia~~ - ~~SRC Board Member, former SRC President~~

Thomas W. Young, Publisher
The Journal and Guide
Norfolk, Virginia - ~~SRC Board Member~~

J. Rupert Picott
Virginia Teachers' Association
316 Clay Street
Richmond, Virginia
SRC Board member

Dr. Edward E. Haddock
1133 West Franklin Street
Richmond 20, Virginia
SRC " "

Aubrey Brown
513 E. Main St.
Richmond 19

~~William Tazewell Reporter~~
~~Norfolk - Virginian Pilot~~
~~Norfolk, Va.~~

2. New Orleans

~~New Orleans Community Relations Council~~

J. Harvey Kerns, Executive Director
Urban League of Greater New Orleans
504 Carondelet Street
New Orleans 12, La.

~~Mrs. Dorotha~~

Irwin Schulman, Regional Director
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith Southcentral Reg. Office
535 Gravier Street
New Orleans 12, La.

Henry Cabirac, Director
National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice
Southern Field Service
1046 Baronne Street, Suite 2
New Orleans 13, La.

~~Miss Florence Sytz~~
~~1347 Moss Street~~
~~New Orleans 19, La.~~ - ~~SRC board member~~

Dr. Albert W. Dent
President
Dillard University
New Orleans, La. - ~~SRC board member~~

Mrs. Moise Cahn
40 Versailles Boulevard ~~- SRC board member~~
New Orleans, Louisiana - Active in New Orleans Community Relations Council

Mr. ~~Jack~~ John P. Nelson, Jr.
702 Gravier Building
533 Gravier Street - Attorney, ~~SRC board member~~
New Orleans 12, La.

~~Mrs. N. H. Sand~~
~~1447 Granada~~
~~New Orleans, La.~~

~~Betty Wisdom~~
~~707 Fern Street~~
~~New Orleans 18, Louisiana~~

3. Greensboro

Gordon Lovejoy, Regional Director
National Conference of Christians and Jews
P. O. Box 3587
Greensboro, N.C. (leaving as of July 1, 1963); replacement unknown.)

Mr. McNeill Smith
700 Jefferson Street Building
Greensboro, N.C. - ~~SRC board member;~~ former Chairman, N.C. Advisory Committee to Civil Rights Commission

Warren Ashby
Women's College, Univ. of N.C.

Mrs. Chase H. Benson
505 Woodvale Drive
Greensboro, N.C. - Secretary, NCCHR

Mrs. Guy B. Delafield
305 East Hendrix Street
Greensboro, N.C. - Executive Committee member, NCCHR

Rev. Julius T. Douglas
908 Salem Street
Greensboro, N.C. - Executive Committee member, NCCHR

Tarell Bell
AFSC
1818 South Main St., High Point, N.C. (close to Greensboro development)

4. Birmingham

Norman Jimerson, Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1224 City Federal Building
Birmingham 3, Ala.

Dr. Lucius H. Pitts, President
Miles College
Birmingham, Ala. ~~SRC bd member~~

Charles Morgan, Jr.
1512 Comer Building
Birmingham 3 - attorney

James Head title?
2013 First Avenue North
Birmingham

Rev. Herbert Oliver
Inter. Citizens Committee
Box 1443
Birm.
(~~I don't suppose high Birmingham would be appropriate~~)

Arnold Billingsley
[illegible] Fourth Ave.

5. Charlotte

Harry Jones, Executive Director
North Carolina Council on Human Relations
121 E. Third Street, Room 301
Charlotte, North Carolina

Kelly M. Alexander, State President
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
323 South Brevard Street
Charlotte, North Carolina

Dr. Raymond Wheeler
1900 Brunswick Avenue
Charlotte - ~~SRC board member, Ass't. Treas. NCCHR~~

Mr. Fred D. Alexander
2140 Senior Drive
Charlotte 8 ~~SRC board member~~

6. Nashville

Miss Katherine Jones, Executive Director
Tennessee Council on Human Relations
2011 Grand Avenue
Nashville 12

Will D. Campbell, Associate Executive Director
National Council of Churches
Department of Racial and Cultural Relations
P. O. Box 1083
Nashville

Dr. Foy Valentine, Executive Secretary-Treasurer
Christian Life Commission, Southern Baptist Convention
161 Eighth Avenue North
Nashville

Dr. Herman H. Long, Chairman
Department of Race Relations
Fisk University
Nashville

J. Metz Rollins, Jr. and
John H. Marion, Jr. - Both Special Field Representatives
United Presbyterian Church in the USA Regional Office
Church and Society
2011 Grand Avenue
Nashville

Nashville (continued)

Dr. Stephen J. Wright
President
Fisk University
Nashville — ~~SRC board member~~

Avon Williams
327 Charlotte Ave.
Nashville
Atty.

Mr. Z. A. Looby
327 Charlotte Avenue
Nashville, Tennessee — SRC bd member
- Attorney, ~~[illegible]~~ presently ~~City [illegible] member~~ (or formerly?)

Robert J. Harris
Department of Political Science
~~VA~~ Vanderbilt University
Nashville — ~~SRC bd member~~

M George Barrett
Suite 927 Stahlman Building
Nashville - President, TCHR

~~Substitute for Lem Graves, Avon Williams~~

John Seigenthaler
Rev Kelly Miller Smith - 1618 22nd Ave N.
Nashville

7- Jackson, Mississippi

Medgar W. Evers
Field Secretary
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
1070 Lynch Street
Jackson

The Most Rev. ~~Jesel~~ Joseph B. Brunini
Bishop, The Catholic Church
123 North West Street
Jackson — ~~SRC bd member~~

Mrs. Martin Harvey
~~412~~ 415 N. Farish Street
Jackson 2 — ~~SRC bd member~~

Mr. Charles Butts
Editor, The Mississippi Free Press
1253 Valley Street
Jackson

Mrs. Jane Schutt
955 Pecan Blvd.
Jackson
- Secretary, Mississippi Council on Human Relations;
State Advisory Committee to Civil Rights Commission

8. Montgomery, Alabama

Moreland G. Smith
3236 Bankhead Avenue
Montgomery 6

Clifford Alum
2 Felder Ave.
Montgomery Ala

9. Albany

Father H. W. Shipps
St. Marks Episcopal Church
401 Virginia Avenue
Albany

Albany Council on Human Relations

Dr. E. D. Hamilton
604 Mercer Street
Albany

Should be knowledgeable about employment at military bases

Slater King
1304 South Cleveland
Albany

Knowledgeable about employment in city proper

10. Savannah

Dr. W. W. Jamerson
458-1/2 W. Broad
Savannah

Nathaniel Polster
707 E. 16th Street
Savannah

E. H. Gadsden
Attorney
3107 Gilbert Avenue
Savannah

Hosea Williams

SE Ga. Crusade for Voters
416 W. Park Ave
Savannah

(Albany and Savannah contacts recommended by Frances Pauley)

11. Raleigh

Dr. Nelson H. Harris
Shaw University
Raleigh - NCCHR Exec. Committee member

Dr. Howard Miller
3421 Churchill Road
Raleigh - NCCHR Exec. Committee member

Mrs. Ellen S. Alston
222 Smithfield Street
Raleigh - NCCHR Exec. Committee member

E. E. Liebhafsky
N.C. State College
Dept of Agricultural Economic
Raleigh

12. Huntsville

Mrs. Jane Reed - ACHR
3604 Lookout Drive
Huntsville

Dr. John Cashin
1815 Lydia Drive, N.W.
Huntsville

13. Durham

Mr. ~~M~~ John H. Wheeler
President, Mechanics and Farmers Bank
Box 1932
Durham, North Carolina

Chmn. XCJ, Contact, SKC

Rev. Chan[illegible], Community Church, Chapel Hill, N.C.

~~Chapel~~ (knows Durham)

Also, Huntsville:
Dr. Raymond [illegible]

14. Columbia

Mrs. Alice Spearman
Executive Director
South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1330 Laurel Street
Columbia, South Carolina

The Rev. I. D. Newman
Field Secretary
NAACP
P. O. Box 1204
Columbia, South Carolina

W. E. Solomon
Executive Secretary, Palmetto State Teachers Association
1719 Taylor Street
Columbia, South Carolina

15. Charleston

Mr. Joe Brown
President, State Conference, NAACP
270 Ashley Avenue
Charleston

? Mrs. C. Smith Toms
69 Church St.
Charleston
— civic leader, former President Charleston League of W. Voters

Rabbi Burton L. Padoll
Kahal Kadosh Beth Elohim
90 Hasell St.
Charleston
— liberal, active in civic affairs

16 ~~DRIII~~ Dallas

Gustave Falk
Regional Director
Southwest Regional Office American Jewish Committee
523 Fideltiy Building
Dallas 2

Clarence Laws
Director
Southwestern Regional Office
NAACP
2600 Flora Street
Dallas

Jerome Crossman
President
Ryan Consolidated Petroleum Corporation
3400 Republic National Bank Building
Dallas SRC Board member

Douglas Jackson
Perkins School of Technology
Southern Methodist University
~~18 //Houston//~~ Dallas SRC Board member

17. Houston

Mrs. Ethel Dumbauld, Executive Secretary
Houston Council on Human Relations
3605 Fannin Street
Houston

~~M~~ The Rev. Charles R. Kelly
President
Houston Council on Human Relattons
406 E. Rittenhouse
Houston

Garnet Guild
Executive Secretary
American Friends Service Committee Southcentral Reggonal Office
4717 Crawford
Houston 4, Texas

HOUSTON (continued)

Theodore Freedman
Regional Director
Anti-Defamation League Southwest Regional Office
2405 San Jacinto Street, Suite 209
Houston 2

Mrs. James S. Crate
8510 Ferris Street
Houston 35 SRC Board member

Mrs. Charles White
2209 Southmore Boulevard
Houston 4 ~~SRC Board member,~~ school board member

The Rt. Rev. John E. Hines
Bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of Texas
520 San Jacinto Street
Houston 2 SRC Board member

Charles A. Shaw
President
Watchtower Life Insurance Company
2206 Dowling Street
Houston, Texas SRC Board member

Mrs. J. N. Rayzor
3207 Groveland Lane
Houston 19, SRC Board member

ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Statement on December Finances

Checkbook balance - December 20		$743.18 →
Salary Checks for two weeks	$231.70	
Witholdings for quarter	198.90	429.60
Estimate of other December bills	67.50	67.50
		$496.10
Estimated Balance - December 31, 1957		$247.08 →

Copy

ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Financial Report - November 30, 1957

Statement

Checkbook balance		$1284.90
Service charge (October)		1.13
		$1283.77
Outstanding checks		
#340	$ 3.50	
#349	18.00	
#351	4.00	
#352	6.00	
#353	6.20	33.70
		$1317.47 Bank Balance

INCOME AND EXPENDITURES

Checkbook balance - November 1, 1957		$1932.53
Deposits:		168.45
		$2100.98
Literature	$ .45	
Memberships	27.00	
New Souths	36.00	
Contributions	77.00	
	$140.45	
From October	28.00	
Expenditures		
Telephone	$ 42.60	
New South	18.00	
Travel	66.23	
Travel	193.02 (Lillian Smith)	
Hospitality	3.26 (Luncheon 11-11-57)	
Postage	11.00	
Literature & Newspapers	8.72	
Salaries	271.29	
Office Supplies	3.09	$ 817.21
	Checkbook balance	$1283.77

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ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Financial Report - October 31, 1957

STATEMENT

Checkbook balance		$1933.66
Service Charge		1.13
		$1932.53
Outstanding Checks		
#326	$16.00	
#328	5.00	
#329	7.50	
#330	8.22	
#331	40.00	
#332	3.10	
#333	28.00	$ 107.82
Bank statement balance		$2040.35

INCOME AND EXPENDITURES

Balance - October 1, 1957			$1218.10
Income		grant	1149.10
		local	188.47
		TOTAL	$2555.67
Expenditures			
Service charge	$ 1.13		
Salaries	340.80		
New South	76.00		
Telephone	46.00		
Postage	18.42		
Rent	30.00		
Witholdings & SS.	53.10		
Travel	38.00		
Newspapers	6.85	(2 months)	
Reprints	12.50		$ 623.14
		Checkbook balance	$1932.53

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

REPORT FORM FOR STATE ORGANIZATIONS

REPORT FROM Tennessee Council on Human Relations FOR Oct. 1, 1957 - December 31, 1957

RECEIPTS

DATE	CONTRIBUTIONS	MEMBERSHIPS	NEW SOUTH SUB.	SALE OF LITERATURE	REFUNDS	MISC.	FROM CENTRAL OFFICE	TOTAL FOR DAY	
Oct. 2 '57							(balance)		137 81
15 '57	750 00	(SRC)						750 00	887 81
Nov. 6 '57		5 00						5 00	892 81
18		5 00						5 00	897 81
20	5 00	5 00						10 00	907 81
27		5 00						5 00	912 81
Dec 9 '57	8 00	10 00						28 00	940 81
Dec. 10		5 00						5 00	945 81
TOTAL FOR ~~MONTH~~ quarter									945 81
CUMULATIVE FOR YEAR									

DISBURSEMENTS

DATE	RENT	POSTAGE	TEL. & TELEGRAPH	OFFICE SUPPLIES	TRAVEL	PRINTING	BOOKS, NEWSPAPERS & MAGAZINES	MISC.	TOTAL FOR DAY
Oct. 8 '57				20 60 (stationery)					20 60
9	50 00		18 00						68 00
Nov. 6	50 00		11 49						61 49
Dec 9	50 00		11 39						61 39
TOTAL FOR ~~MONTH~~ quarter									211 48
BUDGET									
CUMULATIVE									
BAL. IN BUDGET									On Hand 734 33

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

REPORT FORM FOR STATE ORGANIZATIONS

* The A.C.H.R. budget is for a Feb. 1 – Jan. 31 fiscal year, but for this report the budget is used as if it were for the S.R.C. Oct. 1 – Sept. 30 fiscal year. It is doubtful if this buget will be appreciably changed after Feb. 1, 1957. - Relf.

REPORT FROM Alabama Council on Human Relations FOR October 1 thru Dec. 31, 195

RECEIPTS

DATE	CONTRIBUTIONS	MEMBERSHIPS	NEW SOUTH SUB.	SALE OF LITERATURE	REFUNDS	MISC.	FROM CENTRAL OFFICE	TOTAL FOR DAY
Oct. 3	95 01	17 00	–	–	–	–	1000 00	1062 01
Oct. 29	108 00	19 00	–	–	–	–	–	127 00
Dec. 20	20 00	32 00	–	–	–	–	–	52 00
TOTAL FOR ~~MONTH~~ QUARTER	123 01	68 00	–	–	–	–	1000 00	1241 01
CUMULATIVE FOR YEAR	SAME AS ABOVE							

DISBURSEMENTS

DATE	RENT	POSTAGE	TEL. & TELEGRAPH	OFFICE SUPPLIES	TRAVEL	~~PRINTING~~ Electricity	BOOKS, NEWSPAPERS & MAGAZINES	~~MISC.~~ SALARIES	NEW South	MISC.	TOTAL FOR DAY
Oct. 1	62 50								68 00		62 50 ~~130 50~~
Oct. 2					40 00						40 00
Oct. 4					18 95						18 95
Oct. 10					7 80			41 68			49 48
Oct. 15								181 74			181 74
Oct. 18					39 16						39 16
Oct. 31								298 32			298 32
Nov. 11					19 05						19 05
Nov. 12	62 50		33 78	8 44	16 00	2 62	6 00		16 00		129 34 ~~145 34~~
Nov. 13		5 98									5 98
Nov. 15								269 67			269 67
Nov. 21			59 02								59 02
Dec. 1								269 67			269 67
Dec. 2	62 50								2 00		62 50 ~~64 50~~
Dec. 10				2 21	14 53	3 32	6 24				26 30
Dec. 14								269 67			269 67
Dec. 20			26 29		14 31						40 55
Dec. 31						3 96		269 67	20 00		268 13 ~~288 13~~
Dec. 23		4 50									4 50
TOTAL FOR ~~MONTH~~ QUARTER	187 50	10 48	119 09	10 65	169 80	9 40	12 24	1,530 42	106 00		2,049 53 ~~2,155 53~~
* BUDGET	750 00	200 00	540 00	615 00	1,325 00	36 00	55 00	7,500 00	–	100.00	11,121 00
CUMULATIVE	187 50	10 48	119 04	10 65	169 80	9 40	12 24	1,530 42	106.00	00.00	2,049 53
* BAL. IN BUDGET	562 50	189 52	420 96	604 35	1,155 20	26 60	42 76	5,969 58	–	100.00	9,071 47

NON BUDGETED ITEM

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

REPORT FORM FOR STATE ORGANIZATIONS

REPORT FROM Georgia Council on Human Relations FOR Quarter Oct 1 – Dec. 23 1957

RECEIPTS

DATE	CONTRIBUTIONS	MEMBERSHIPS	New South Sub.	Sale of Literature	REFUNDS	MISC.	From Central Office	Total For Day
Dec. 23	998 00	390 00					1000 00	2388 00
Total for ~~Month~~	998 00	390 00					1000 00	2388 00
Cumulative for Year								

DISBURSEMENTS

DATE	RENT	Postage	Tel. & Telegraph	Office Supplies	Travel	Printing	Books, Newspapers & Magazines	MISC.	Salaries & Consultant Fees	Total For Day
Total for ~~Month~~	115 50	70 00	69 89	17 07	354 84	53 05	186 00	200 00	1,004 86	2,066 49
Budget										
Cumulative										
Bal. in Budget										

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

REPORT FORM FOR STATE ORGANIZATIONS

REPORT FROM Fla. Council on Human Relations FOR Oct 1 Thru Dec. 21 1957

RECEIPTS

DATE 1957	CONTRIBUTIONS	MEMBERSHIPS	NEW SOUTH SUB.	SALE OF LITERATURE	REFUNDS	MISC.	FROM CENTRAL OFFICE	TOTAL FOR DAY
Oct 2	1065 00	6 00	4 00					1075 00
9		38 50	4 00		85 02		127 52	
22		30 00	20 00					50 00
24		50 00						50 00
25		15 00	10 00					25 00
Nov. 6		5 50	2 00					7 50
8		5 50	2 00					7 50
11		1 00	1 00					2 00
15		9 00	6 00					15 00
22		73 00	12 00					85 00
25		128 00	12 00					140 00
Dec. 1		3 00	2 00					5 00
5		63 00	10 00		64 00			137 00
6		31 00	4 00					35 00
7		6 00	4 00					10 00
9		39 00	11 00					50 00
10	2 50	5 50	2 00					10 00
11		33 00	2 00					35 00
15		31 50	6 00					37 50
20		41 00	4 00					45 00
21		8 00	2 00					10 00
TOTAL FOR MONTH								
CUMULATIVE FOR YEAR	1067 50	622 50	120 00		149 02		127 52	1831 50

DISBURSEMENTS

DATE	RENT	POSTAGE	TEL. & TELEGRAPH	OFFICE SUPPLIES	TRAVEL	PRINTING	BOOKS, NEWSPAPERS & MAGAZINES	MISC.	SALARIES	TOTAL FOR DAY
Oct. 10				7 69			24 00	(NS)		31 69
11									68 25	68 25
14									191 74	191 74
21			31 39		50 00			100 00		181 39
25	94 60							55 20		149 80
31					50 00				275 31	325 31
Nov. 5				3 60			26 50			30 10
12		17 50								17 50
15		7 50						10 00	91 34	108 84
21			35 04			209 30			191 74	436 08
22			35 32			67 70				103 02
25	94 60							31 05		125 65
29					50 00				295 08	345 08
Dec. 9			18 90							18 90
10	94 60	22 50		28 86				35 00		180 96
12				13 90						13 90
16		22 50							294 99	317 49
TOTAL FOR MONTH										
BUDGET	855 00	520 00	500 00	520 00	1245 00	300 00		300 00	7600 00	
CUMULATIVE	283 80	70 00	120 65	54 05	150 00	277 00	50 50	231 25	1408 45	2645 70
BAL. IN BUDGET	471 20	450 00	379 35	465 95	1095 00	23 00			6191 55	

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

REPORT FORM FOR STATE ORGANIZATIONS

REPORT FROM N. C. Council on Human Relations FOR October 1 to Dec. 20 1957

RECEIPTS

DATE	CONTRIBUTIONS	MEMBERSHIPS	NEW SOUTH SUB.	SALE OF LITERATURE	REFUNDS	From MISC annual dinner	FROM CENTRAL OFFICE	TOTAL FOR DAY	Balance 112 70
	556	711 06	136 00	17 00		115 50	1,000 00	2 535 50	
								2 648 20	
TOTAL FOR MONTH									
CUMULATIVE FOR YEAR									

DISBURSEMENTS

DATE	RENT	POSTAGE	TEL. & TELEGRAPH	OFFICE SUPPLIES	TRAVEL	Office ~~PRINTING~~ Equipment	BOOKS, NEWSPAPERS & MAGAZINES	MISC.	To SRC (new South)	TOTAL ~~FOR DAY~~
	105 00	116 00	69 33	75 22	94 19	75 00	23 30	3 81	216 00	777 92
						Salaries				1,575 00
						Fee annual dinner				125 15
										2,478 07
TOTAL FOR MONTH										
BUDGET										
CUMULATIVE										
BAL. IN BUDGET										

Cash available 2,648.20
Paid out 2,478.07
Balance $170.13

Please see explanatory note on other side of sheet.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
REPORT FORM FOR STATE ORGANIZATIONS

REPORT FROM Virginia Council on Human Relations FOR October 1, 1957 to December 20, 1957 195

RECEIPTS

DATE	CONTRIBUTIONS	MEMBERSHIPS	NEW SOUTH SUB.	SALE OF LITERATURE	REFUNDS	MISC.	FROM CENTRAL OFFICE	TOTAL FOR DAY
10/1/57	30 00	38 00	12 00		70 17			150 17
10/3/57	10 00	34 00	16 00					60 00
10/4/57		116 00	16 00			1000 00		1132 00
10/5/57	5 00	34 00	16 00					55 00
10/9/57	15 00	31 00	14 00					60 00
10/10/57		28 00	12 00					40 00
10/12/57	50 00	34 00	22 00	2 55				108 55
10/16/57		109 00	6 00					115 00
10/19/57	25 00	3 00	20 00					48 00
10/23/57	113 00	9 00	6 00					113 00
10/30/57	10 00	33 00	8 00					51 00
11/2/57	100 00	162 00	14 00					276 00
11/6/57		28 00	12 00					40 00
11/9/57	10 00	34 00	16 00					60 00
11/12/57	15 00	157 00	8 00	10 80		~~dinner receipts~~ 216 25		407 05
11/13/57		23 00	12 00					35 00
11/19/57		30 50	12 00			2 75		45 25
11/21/57		37 00	16 00					53 00
11/25/57		25 00	24 00					49 00
11/29/57	37 00	3 00	2 00			15 00		57 00
11/30/57		13 00	2 00					15 00
12/4/57	5 00	40 00	8 00					53 00
12/6/57	70 00	26 00	12 00					108 00
12/7/57	15 00	51 00	12 00					78 00
12/10/57	36 00	102 00	32 00	75				170 75
12/19/57		62 00	12 00	50				74 50
Estimated for rest of Dec.	200 00	15 00	10 00					225 00
Actual to 12/20 — TOTAL FOR MONTH	546 00	1272 50	342 00	14 60	70 17	234 00	1000 00	3479 27
Estimated for quarter — CUMULATIVE FOR YEAR	746 00	1287 50	352 00					3704 27

DISBURSEMENTS

DATE	RENT	POSTAGE	TEL. & TELEGRAPH	OFFICE SUPPLIES	TRAVEL	PRINTING	BOOKS, NEWSPAPERS & MAGAZINES	MISC.	Salaries	TOTAL FOR DAY
10/9/57		6 30	6 83						9 50	22 63
1012/57	100 00	21 00			15 55			36 46		172 01
10/25/57			26 20					7 50		33 70
10/26/57						14 35				14 35
10/31/57							*	190 00	480 00	670 00
11/1/57								33 75		33 75
11/12/57				4 57		14 00		⊕ 192 50		211 07
11/15/57	100 00	6 00		7 09				11 50		124 59
11/19/57								20 00		20 00
11/25/57			30 99							30 99
11/30/57						4 50	3 50	* 147 00	480 00	635 00
12/2/57								33 75		33 75
12/5/57						21 25		3 52		24 77
12/10/57							5 85			5 85
12/14/57		23 00		1 50						24 50
12/16/57	100 00									100 00
12/20/57						43 15				43 15
Bank service charges								3 70		3 70
Estimated other expenses to 12/31			25 00					* 137 00	475 00	637 00
								1 00		1 00
TOTAL FOR MONTH	300 00	56 30	64 02	13 17	15 55	97 25	9 15	679 68	1444 50	2203 81
BUDGET										
CUMULATIVE — Estimated total by 12/31/57								817 68	1919 50	2841 81
BAL. IN BUDGET										

⊕ Dinner cost
* Refunds to local Councils & New South subscriptions

Explanations of certain items:

Rent: Dr. Marion receives a salary of 4800 plus a house and office allowance of 1200. The latter is listed as rent. This was done to save the Council a bit on Annuity payments and to reduce Dr. Marion's income tax.

Travel: Dr. Marion has been able to finance most trips by engagements where he received travel allowance from an organization or group.

Secretarial help: Use has been made of volunteer help to supplement the paid secretary who is on a part-time basis.

KENTUCKY COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

REPORT FORM FOR STATE ORGANIZATIONS

REPORT FROM

FOR 1st Quarter — Oct. - Nov. - Dec. 1957

RECEIPTS

1st. Quarter DATE 1957	CONTRIBUTIONS	MEMBERSHIPS	New South Sub.	Sale of Literature	REFUNDS	MISC.	From Central Office	Total ~~For Day~~ for Quarter
	38 00	69 00			3 69		750 00	860 69
							100 00	100 00
TOTAL ~~FOR MONTH~~ Quarter	38 00	69 00			3 69		850 00	960 69
	Balance forwarded (1956-57 fiscal year)							169 03
CUMULATIVE FOR YEAR								1129 72

DISBURSEMENTS

Check ~~DATE~~ No.	RENT	Postage	Tel. & Telegraph	Office Supplies	Travel	Printing	Books, Newspapers & Magazines	MISC.	Consultant Fee	Total ~~For Day~~
249	35 00									35 00
250									22 00	22 00
251	2 75									2 75
252			15 09							15 09
253								(a) 5 00		5 00
254								(b) 100 30		100 30
255	Void									
256								(c) 17 00		17 00
257								(d) 5 40		5 40
258								(e) 75 00		75 00
259								(f) 100 30		100 30
260								(g) 17 00		17 00
261								(h) 5 40		5 40
262								(i) 50 00		50 00
263					73 70					73 70
264									7 50	7 50
265								(j) 51 50		51 50
266	4 48									4 48
267									25 00	25 00
268					8 00					8 00
269		15 00								15 00
270								(k) 50 00		50 00
271								(l) 23 63		23 63
272								(m) 16 00		16 00
	Misc:									
	(a) Petty Cash				5 00					
	(b)(f)(k) Salary - Office Secy				224 23					
	(c)(g) Withholding Income Tax				34 00					
	(d)(h) Social Security				10 80					
	(e) Auditor's Fee				75 00					
	(i)(l) Salary Exec. Director				100 00					
	(j) Moving Fee				51 50					
	(m) New South Subscription				16 00					
					516 53					
TOTAL FOR MONTH	42 23	15 00	15 09	— —	81 70	— —	— —	516 53	54 50	725 05
BUDGET									100 00	
CUMULATIVE	42 23	15 00	15 09	— —	81 70	— —	— —	516 53	54 50	725 05
BAL. IN BUDGET									45 50	

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
REPORT FORM FOR STATE ORGANIZATIONS

QUARTERLY REPORT FROM S.C. Council on Human Relations FOR OCTOBER - DECEMBER 1957

RECEIPTS

DATE	CONTRIBUTIONS	MEMBERSHIPS	NEW SOUTH SUB.	SALE OF LITERATURE	REFUNDS	MISC.	FROM CENTRAL OFFICE	TOTAL FOR DAY
Oct	210.91	82 50	50 00		24 75		1,250.00	1,618.16
Nov	67 00	66 50	42 00					175.50
Dec	70 00	130 00	30 00					867.00
TOTAL FOR MONTH	984 91	279 00	122 00		24 75		1250 00	2,660.66
for Quarter 1957-58								
CUMULATIVE FOR YEAR								

DISBURSEMENTS

DATE	RENT	POSTAGE	TEL. & TELEGRAPH	OFFICE SUPPLIES	TRAVEL	PRINTING	NEW SOUTH BOOKS, NEWSPAPERS & MAGAZINES	MISC.	SALARIES	TOTAL FOR DAY
Oct.	35 00	31 00	13 94				50 00	2 00	792 92	924 86
Nov.	17 50		142 27	19 93			42 00	7 40	684 52	785 62
Dec.	30 00	10 00	23 33	1 33			30 00	3 32	583 74	681 72
TOTAL FOR MONTH	82 00	41 00	51 54	21 26			122 00	12 72	2,061.18	2,392.20
BUDGET										
CUMULATIVE										
BAL. IN BUDGET										

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

HAROLD C. FLEMING
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

August 25, 1958

MEMORANDUM

To: State Organization Chairmen
and Executive Directors

From: Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director, SRC

Subj: Financial Assistance for 1959

The Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council has instructed the central staff to prepare recommendations for presentation to the Council at its Annual Meeting concerning financial assistance to the state organizations for 1959. What SRC is able to do will depend on two things - funds in sight and the needs and performance of the state councils.

To enable us to adequately evaluate the program development and financial needs of your state organization, we are asking you to prepare two documents. These should be in the central office no later than October first.

I

PROGRAM PROPOSAL. This should be a detailed narrative report containing: (1) a summary of the program activities of your Council for the period July 1-August 31, (i.e. the short-period quarterly report we agreed

upon at Fisk); (2) an analysis of conditions, forces operating in the state, prospective developments on the human relations front; and (3) the proposed program of your state organization for 1959 - including its relationship to item 2 above.

This should be in sufficient detail and in such form that it could be used with foundations in fund-raising efforts.

II

FINANCIAL REPORT. This report should contain three sections: (1) a summary report of total receipts and total expenditures for the fiscal years 1954-55, 1955-56, 1956-57, and 1957-Sept. 1, 1958; (2) the proposed 1959 budget for your state organization; and (3) what part of it you request from SRC. In relation to that last point, SRC's Executive Committee instructed us that requests for 1959 allocations to state organizations are not to exceed the 1958 allocation.

Please note again the deadline: these reports should be in SRC's office not later than October 1, 1958.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Atlanta, Georgia

November 14, 1958

MEMORANDUM

TO: All State Organizations

FROM: Fred Routh

SUBJ: Financial Assistance to State Organizations for 1959

At its Annual Meeting just held, the Southern Regional Council voted the following allocations to the State Organizations:

STATE ORGANIZATION	SRC ALLOCATION	STATE ORGANIZATION	SRC ALLOCATION
Alabama	$4,200	North Carolina	$4,000
Arkansas	3,600	South Carolina	3,800
Florida	3,500	Tennessee	3,500
Georgia	3,800	Texas	600*
Kentucky	2,000	Virginia	4,000
Louisiana	2,000*		

*Provisional - if required committment is made by state Councils.
Average allocation $3,181
Median allocation $3,600

In arriving at these allocations, several criteria were applied to each state group: the strategic importance of the state; general conditions in the state; past performance of state organization in program and fund raising; quality of Board and Staff; Foundation help, if any, received by state organization; amount requested; anticipated performance in 1959.

SRC's action was based on staff recommendations, which were discussed in detail by the Executive Committee and approved, and were given careful consideration by the full Council before adoption. The total budget for state aid for 1959 is $35,000, the same amount distributed this past year.

It should be noted again that SRC no longer has ear-marked funds for aid to state organizations as we did prior to 1958. The Fund for the Republic in its terminal grant to SRC chose not to continue, beyond its three year grant, ear-marked funds for state aid. Thus, all financial assistance to state organizations this past year, for 1959, and so long as it shall continue comes out of SRC's general budget. For 1959 we have to raise, from sources yet unseen, in excess of $50,000, if we are to meet all our obligations. Thus, while we wish these amounts could be larger, the funds available and in sight simply do not permit it.

Reworked by HCF for Adam Yarmolinsky (1959)

Draft of proposed letter to accompany request for financial assistance for the state organizations.

****

Dear Mr. Goofoo,

The attached memo is a request for financial assistance to the State Councils on Human Relations in the South. The total amount requested is twenty-five thousand dollars ($25,000). It is understood that this is a special "one-time" request and no expectation of continuing assistance is implied either by this request or, should it be granted, by its fulfillment.

We earnestly believe that the amount specified in the request for each state organization will make a significant difference in its ability to carry out a meaningful program in 1959. The less time state staff must devote to fund raising, the more time they will spend on program.

For purposes of tax exemption we request that any funds granted be channeled through the Southern Regional Council. Proper acknowledgement of the source of the funds will be made to each state organization; or, should you prefer, this may be kept confidential.

It is our belief that funds wisely spent in the South at this time is an investment in democracy -- a stake in a better tomorrow.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

The South today is in the midst of great social change; the rest of the nation and the rest of the world demand of the region a new pattern of behavior. Social change comes in differing degrees and at different speeds in various sections of the South. There is no solid South which is "one" in attitude toward the Supreme Court's school decision of 1954.

The Border States and the Upper-South moved toward compliance soon after the implementation decision of 1955. The Middle-South has moved more slowly and more reluctantly toward compliance since 1956. The Deep South is resisting or defying the law of the land.

Any program designed to assist the required social transition must be flexible and diversified; what is appropriate in one state is often impossible in another. Across the South today there are eleven active state Councils on Human Relations; each with their own program but related in loose association through the Southern Regional Council.

They are the only Southern interracial, professionally staffed human relations agencies operating on a state-wide basis and related to a regional effort. They are not, nor do they claim to be, causative factors of social change. In the struggle of the titans of federal and state governments the most they can do is ease the transition, assist communities which have decided to move ahead, and keep open the lines of communication.

In spite of this, knowledgeable leaders have testified to their effectiveness. No more eloquent tribute can be found than that contained in Martin Luther King's Stride Toward Freedom, referring to a local unit of the Alabama Council on Human Relations:

> Although the Montgomery Council never had a large membership, it played an important role. As the only truly interracial group in Montgomery, it served to keep the desperately needed channels of communication open between the races. Men often hate each other because they do not know each other; they do not know each other because they cannot communicate; they cannot communicate because they are separated. In providing an avenue of communication, the Council was fulfilling a necessary condition for better race relations in the South.

From Virginia out to Texas, from Florida up through Kentucky, there is, because of these state organizations, the beginnings of a new chain of communications between Negroes and whites.

Recognizing the diversity of the region, the state Councils have developed unique programs to deal with their special needs. In the Upper-South, this has included planning with public school officials for desegregation and working on problems of merit employment; in the Middle-South, it has meant some work with public officials but more extensive efforts to mobilize constructive community forces; in the Deep South, it often has been limited to keeping open the lines of communication, defending basic civil rights and civil liberties--a holding action. Yet, each in its time and place is essential to any social progress in a resistant region.

Today, four years after the 1954 school decision, as desegregation moves from the Upper-South into the Middle-South, as it approaches the Deep South, things grow more tense. Now, more than ever, there is need for keeping open the vital lines of communication, for a sane voice which says not all Southerners repudiate the law of the land, for a calm, more-than-legal approach to the South's problems.

Here follow, in telescoped form, the proposed programs of the state Councils on Human Relations for 1959:

ALABAMA. The Alabama Council on Human Relations will continue to work with a state-wide, interracial ministerial group which they helped form. Efforts will be made in the TVA counties of the northern section of the state to organize new locals. Crisis situations will occupy a good deal of staff time and energy. Getting the "story" out to national publications will be continued.

ARKANSAS. The Arkansas Council on Human Relations will continue major efforts in the Little Rock situation, serving as a clearing house for community action, a resource center for journalists, and as an instrument of communications

between white and Negro leaders. Other efforts will include the establishment of "locals" in the Western part of the state and increased emphasis on merit employment.

FLORIDA. The Florida Council on Human Relations will concentrate its efforts in the Dade County (Miami) area where desegregation is most likely. A state-wide conference on the prevention of violence is planned (this has been encouraged by the Governor). Work with Latin American farm workers in the state is included in the projected program.

GEORGIA. The Georgia Council on Human Relations is in the process of contacting key persons (ranging from moderates who believe in law and order to moderate segregationists) to help them face the alternative of some desegregation or no public schools, In Atlanta, special efforts are being made to organize a status Committee for the Preservation of the Public Schools. "Locals" will be strengthened in four other cities.

KENTUCKY. The Kentucky Council on Human Relations, using professional consultants, plans a pilot project on merit employment in the Louisville area in cooperation with the Urban League. The Council will work to further teacher integration throughout the state.

LOUISIANA. The Louisiana Council on Human Relations has become the New Orleans Council. Plans are made to prepare the community for the final court order to desegregate the public schools. Expert opinion places September 1959 as D-Day.

NORTH CAROLINA. The North Carolina Council on Human Relations has established contact with more than 150 public school officials, furnishing them with materials and, when asked, advice. The Council is participating in an interagency merit employment project. A major conference on "The International Implications of American Race Relations" is planned for the spring.

SOUTH CAROLINA. The South Carolina Council on Human Relations is

working with an increasing number of key people in the state, plans a series of conferences at Penn Community Center, and continues to be the only state-wide interracial group active in South Carolina.

TENNESSEE. The Tennessee Council on Human Relations has a new staff and a strengthened Board. Locals will be re-organized in the four main cities: Nashville, Chattanooga, Knoxville, and Memphis. Special efforts will be made to interpret events to mass media people. An interagency cooperative effort is planned in Nashville.

TEXAS. The Texas Council on Human Relations plans a special inter-agency effort in the Houston area (similar to one done last year in Dallas) to prepare the community for accepting desegregation orders from the federal court next fall. A continuing relationship with the group in Dallas is included in their projected program.

VIRGINIA. The Virginia Council on Human Relations is in the thick of it in Front Royal, Charlottesville, and Norfolk, advising with parents of Negro and white D-P's (displaced pupils). It works through locals in Arlington, and Northern Virginia. Its staff will continue to participate in the inter-agency effort in the state. Work with correspondents constitutes an important part of their efforts. Helping mobilize local opinion to save the public schools will be continued. It's Board members participate in the various Committees to Preserve the Public Schools.

PROPOSED FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE

The needs of these state organizations vary; for some, fund raising is an almost insurmountable task; for others, it is only difficult. There is a wide-spread feeling in the South that the only thing worse than an outside agitator is and "inside agitator." Local funds are not easy to come by in this field.

Any division of funds among the state Councils calls for careful consideration of a number of factors. In arriving at the following recommendations

several criteria were applied to each state group: the strategic importance of the state, general conditions in the state, past performance of the state Council in fund raising and program, quality of Board and Staff, the financial needs of the Council, SRC's 1959 allocation to each, and the anticipated performance in 1959.

STATE ORGANIZATION	RECOMMENDED AMOUNT
Alabama	$4,000
Arkansas	2,400
Florida	2,500
Georgia	2,600
Kentucky	500
Louisiana	1,000
North Carolina	1,500
South Carolina	2,600
Tennessee	2,000
Texas	900
Virginia	5,000
TOTAL	$25 ,000

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

HAROLD C. FLEMING
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

MEMORANDUM September 19, 1960

To: Executive Committee Members

From: Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

Re: Background for Meeting of September 27: Program Activities Since Last Meeting.

:

You will recall the decision at the last Executive Committee meeting that as much background material as possible should be sent to members in advance. Mrs. Alexander and Mr. Anthony will send you shortly the financial reports that are ordinarily presented at the meeting. This memorandum is to give you -- in rather rough and staccato form -- the highlights of program activities since our May meeting.

Appended to these comments of mine are itemized lists of noteworthy activities prepared by the various professional staff members responsible. We will be prepared to explain or amplify any of these brief notations in the course of program discussion by the Committee. A report of this kind can only serve as a sort of index to recent and current activities.

By way of preface, the summer brought no relaxation of working tempo for SRC. If anything, program demands accelerated. And it looks as though the Fall months will find us on an even faster track.

As you may have observed, our releases and reports have been getting an exceptionally good press. SRC stories were on the front page of the New York Times twice since the last meeting, making a total of three for the year. In every case, our clipping service has revealed wide use of the stories, as circulated by the wire services, in Southern as well as non-Southern newspapers. We have

also been heavily consulted by the television networks, news magazines, and national feature writers of various kinds.

Our relations with Federal civil rights agencies -- most notably the Commission on Civil Rights and the Department of Justice -- have been frequent and often fruitful. It is a reasonable hope that, after next January, SRC will have many opportunities to advise the new national administration in influential and useful ways.

In the interest of space, I have omitted the speech-making and conferences attended by me and one or two others, such as Paul Anthony. These have been more numerous than usual.

The staff has been inordinately helped in meeting the many demands for speakers before important audiences by our indefatigable President, Mr. Dabbs, and Vice-President, Mr. Wright, and occasionally by other board members. Undeterred by a serious accident and long-term hospitalization, Vice-President Josephine Wilkins has been doing yeoman's work in New York, interesting potential sources of new funds in SRC.

Our opportunities to counsel an infinite variety of visitors to the office -- intergroup relations workers, writers, scholars, foundation people, foreign visitors, government officials, etc. -- are limited only by available staff and time.

Amid this spate of activities, the staff has tried to apply coherent standards of policy and strategy, to keep a sense of priorities, to evaluate program emphases in the light of the constantly changing circumstances in the South. These broad questions of interpretation we must leave for discussion at the meeting -- and similarly with questions of fund-raising and purely organizational matters.

Southern Leadership Project

Since a recent overseas trip by the project director, Mr. Muse, made it impracticable to solicit a report from him, I will attempt a brief summary of the project's activities during the summer.

Most of Mr. Muse's consultations with community leaders since last May have centered on the lunch-counter situation. Among the cities where he counselled with city officials, businessmen, editors, and other local leaders were: Knoxville, Winston-Salem, Charlotte, Raleigh, Richmond, and Lynchburg. (He made field visits to other affected cities prior to the May meeting.) In several instances, the same community was visited more than once, thus giving continuity to his persuasive efforts.

Mr. Muse also established working relationship with a surprisingly enlightened and dynamic "power structure" group in Laurinburg, N. C. These business and civic leaders have shown an eager interest in the materials and advice that SRC offers.

It should also be noted that Mr. Muse has contracted with the Indiana University Press for publication of his recently completed book on the rise and collapse of "massive resistance" in Virginia.

Effective July 1, Mr. J. J. Brewbaker, retiring superintendent of the Norfolk public schools, began his association with the Leadership Project as part-time educational consultant. He brings to this position valuable assets. He is an able school man widely and favorably known throughout Southern educational circles. And he is experienced in both the calamitous effects of school closing and the start of successful desegregation.

Under Mr. Muse's direction, Mr. Brewbaker planned and carried out an impressive series of consultative visits to Southern cities where the school desegregation issue was under consideration. In each case, he went at the eager invitation of the local school superintendents; in some he met with other local leaders, addressed public meetings, and was interviewed by the press and television stations.

The most notable of Mr. Brewbaker's field visits was that to New Orleans and Baton Rouge, La., where the question of closed schools vs. integration is hotly contested. There, his counsel was warmly welcomed in off-the-record conferences with the school authorities. His public appearance, before the Committee for Public Education, was extensively and favorably treated by the press. The Baton Rouge experience was similarly rewarding.

The other cities where Mr. Brewbaker made consultative visits during the summer included: Knoxville and Chattanooga, Tenn.; Richmond, Roanoke, Martinsville, Pulaski County, Prince Edward County, Va.; Asheville, Charlotte, Chapel Hill, Durham, Raleigh, Winston-Salem, High Point, Greensboro, N. C.; Atlanta, Ga.; Tampa, Panama City, Fla.; Houston, Dallas, Tex.; Greenville, Spartanburg, S. C. At the annual conference of the Associated Public School Systems, Mr. Brewbaker had opportunities to talk with school superintendents of additional Southern communities. And, in order to arm himself with the facts of Washington, D. C., school desegregation, he visited Dr. Carl Hansen, superintendent of the District school system.

Following are brief reports of other principal staff members:

LESLIE W. DUNBAR, DIRECTOR OF RESEARCH

Publications Since May 1960:

1. Spearman & Meyer, Racial Crisis and the Press

2. Desegregation: the First Six Years

3. Tarplee, The Church in Areas of Racial Tension

4. "BiRacial Conventions Pose Added Problems for South," New South, September 1960.

5. Moreland, Lunch Counter Desegregation in Corpus Christi, Galveston, and San Antonio, Texas.

6. Price, Toward a Solution of the Sit-In Controversy

7. A Report on School Desegregation for 1960-61

8. L-18, Negro Buying Power

9. Dean B. R. Brazeal's several county voting studies, including the McCormick County report (April, 1960) were assembled together with a summary written in June by Dean Brazeal

10. Campbell's sermon, A Man Had Two Sons, was mimeographed for selected distribution

Publications Supported Financially

1. Patrick, Lunch Counter Desegregation in Winston-Salem, N.C.

2. Westfeldt, Settling a Sit-In

Studies in Progress

1. George McMillan - law enforcement as a basic issue of race relations (manuscript expected early September)

2. Elmer Johnson - Negro crime (first draft in)

3. Comparative analysis of Negro and white public schools in Georgia -- commissioned by Georgia Conference on Education Opportunities (research completed; to the printers by Sept. 15)

4. Robert Steamer - survey of federal rulings in school desegregation cases (manuscript in)

5. Adolph Reed - voting studies of Bossier and Webster Parishes, La.

6. William Howell - voting study of Orangeburg County, S.C.

7. Mary Ellen Goodman - Virginia's private schools

Service

Rather large assignments have been undertaken for Governmental Affairs Institute (voting), Florida Governor's Commission (everything), Commission on Civil Rights (law enforcement), Helen Hill Miller (economics), George McMillan (sit-ins), Emory Via (Georgia county unit system), Hearst editorial syndicate (sit-ins).

Outside Engagements

1. Lecture - Southern Labor School, Mobile, July

2. Consultation - Race Relations Progress Study, Texas Council of Churches, Austin, July

3. Paper - Society for the Study of Social Problems, New York, August

4. Lecture - sociology class, Oglethorpe University, July

5. Lecture and Discussion - Episcopal bishops, Washington, May

Staff Activities

Elizabeth Waters attended Fisk Institute on Race Relations

Montez Albright has worked with school committee of Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations

Marge Manderson did research for convention survey; writes Highlights for New South; has re-surveyed and will maintain on current basis sit-in record.

Pamela Coe, during her temporary employment, did research and writing for Georgia education study.

Rozelle Douglas, during her temporary employment, pruned and catalogued anew our pamphlet library.

JOHN CONSTABLE, DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION

New South Highlights

May - School Desegregation: the First Six Years -- Special issue.

June - Tilman Cothran's "The South's Potential and Responsibility"

July-August - Dr. Frank Graham's "Students 'Standing Up' for the American Dream"

September - Research Department's report on "Biracial Convention Facilities in the South" and further report on lunch-counter desegregation

News Releases

"Toward a Solution of the Sit-In Controversy" - used widely in news stories and editorials

"Racial Crisis and the Press"

"A Report on School Desegregation for 1960-61"
"Additional Lunch-Counter Desegregation"
Both of the last two have been used widely in press and editorials.

Special Aid to Conferences and Groups with Materials

National Student Association Congress

National Fellowship of Temple Youth

New Orleans Save Our Schools and Committee on Public Education

Distribution of Items Aside from Council's Regular Materials

"A Southern Point of View," by Eliza Paschall, reprinted from Atlantic Monthly.

"A Southern View of the South," by Harold Fleming, reprinted from the New York Times Magazine

"Settling a Sit-in," by Wallace Westfeldt (a report on Nashville in pamphlet form)

"Lunch-Counter Desegregation in Winston-Salem, N.C.," by Clarence H. Patrick

"Dime Store Demonstrations: Events and Legal Problems," by Dan Pollitt, reprinted from Duke Law Review

"Private Business and Public Education in The South," by Helen Hill Miller, reprinted from Harvard Business Review

"The Tragic Fellowship of Southerners," by James M. Dabbs, printed by Arkansas Council on Human Relations.

Speeches

To Friends work camp at Penn Community Services along with community people -- on SRC and race relations in general.

Special Activity

Active as observer with Committee on Appeal for Human Rights (Atlanta group) and Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (regional group).

Special work with Atlanta press. Both papers now have reporters assigned to cover race relations news.

PAUL RILLING, FIELD DIRECTOR

New Orleans Effort. At the request of the Stern Family Fund in New Orleans and with expenses financed by the Stern Fund, the field director arranged to spend a considerable amount of time in New Orleans counseling with two citizens committees there, working to forestall school closure this fall. To date, the field director has spent a total of some twelve days in New Orleans in the course of four separate visits. We have assisted with the preparation of materials, in strategy planning, and have channeled to these groups a number of the materials which have proven useful in similar situations in past years.

Noteworthy State Council Developments

1. Fund-raising. State fund-raising, spurred by the special matching grant, is running considerably ahead of last year. During 1959 the state councils raised a total of $33,324 from local sources. During the first six months of 1960 these groups have already raised a total of $32,400. Five state councils raised more money during the first two quarters of this year than they raised during all of 1959.

2. State Council activities in relation to the sit-ins.

a. The race relations discussion group in Williamsburg, Virginia was directly involved in contacts with business men leading to the desegregation of local drug stores, Woolworth, and Howard Johnson's in Williamsburg.

b. The Richmond Area Council on Human Relations in Virginia called on the cities of Richmond and Petersburg to appoint bi-racial negotiating committees. Such a committee has been appointed by the City Council of Richmond.

c. Human relations councils in Northern Virginia were closely involved in the successful desegregation of lunch counters in that area of Virginia. The groups issued public statements and letters and directly negotiated with drug and department store managers.

d. The North Carolina Council on Human Relations issued a series of bulletins and reports on the student protest movement in that state through the month of May. The Council also presented a report on the matter to the North Carolina Advisory Committee to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights.

e. The executive committee of the North Carolina Council sent letters to all store managers affected by the sit-in efforts. The director of the NCCHR worked closely with the chairman of the Mayor's committee in Charlotte, a long-time member of the Council.

f. In Nashville, Tennessee, the Nashville Community Relations Conference published several analyses of the sit-in incidents at strategic times and sponsored a workshop on related problems. The local group made the original request to the Mayor for the appointment of a negotiating committee. Dr. James Glasse, president of the Tennessee Council, was involved as an advisor to the Negro negotiating committee and was one of the Vanderbilt professors who originally resigned in protest against the expulsion of James Lawson from the Divinity School.

3. Tax-exempt status. The lack of tax-exemption by most state councils was a serious problem last fall. All but one of the cooperating groups now have tax-exempt status. The Florida Council has an application pending and is the one exception to the above statement.

4. The Bob Hughes situation, current. The Rev. Robert Hughes, director of the Alabama Council on Human Relations, spent Labor Day weekend in the Jefferson County jail on a contempt of court citation growing out of Hughes's refusal to produce the records of the Council and answer certain questions before the County Grand Jury. The Grand Jury was inquiring into information that had been given to Harrison Salisbury of the New York Times for his recent articles on racial tensions in Birmingham. Competent counsel was secured for Hughes and legal activity was carried forward in the state Supreme Court, in local courts, and a hearing was requested in the United States Supreme Court. On the day after Labor Day the Grand Jury issued a second subpoena which did not require Bob to produce his records. Bob

appeared before the Grand Jury and answered some questions to their satisfaction. That same weekend, the North Alabama Conference of the Methodist Church "involuntarily located" Bob,in effect stripping him of his regular ministerial status. A day later, this action was followed by a reinstatement of Bob's membership in the Conference for the purpose of permitting him to transfer to the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Southern Rhodesia. The circumstances surrounding the action of the North Alabama Conference are not necessarily related to Bob's brush with the Jefferson County Grand Jury. The Alabama Council now owes legal fees of around $7,000.

5. In Richmond, Virginia, an intercollegiate youth council has been organized under the sponsorship of the Virginia Council.

6. The Kentucky Council on Human Relations cooperated with the University of Louisville in the sponsorship of a two-week workshop on human relations for the teachers of social science core subjects in the integrated junior high schools of Louisville. Paul Anthony of the Council took part in these discussions.

7. The Arkansas Council on Human Relations cooperated this summer in an effort to explain to parents of Negro children the Arkansas Pupil Placement Law and the procedures necessary to apply for transfer to other schools. John Walker, associate director of the ACHR, was in charge of this effort which was partly responsible for a considerable increase in the number of applications for transfers by Negro students.

8. The Arkansas Council established a biracial discussion group at Pine Bluff, Arkansas. This group is now one of the few sources of strength for community stability as Pine Bluff moves towards desegregation this month.

Consultant Service Program

1. John Hope, chief consultant, was heavily involved as a consultant in the Nashville situation throughout the summer. He held a number of planning meetings with white and Negro groups and with public officials.

2. In June, three consultants went to Oklahoma City at the request of the Governor's Commission on Human Relations of Oklahoma. These consultants advised on the techniques of negotiating restaurant desegregation. As a result of this consultation, a Mayor's committee was appointed in Oklahoma City.

3. The CSP provided funds for several consultants to participate in a series of four ministers' workshops sponsored by the Virginia Council on Human Relations in various parts of the state of Virginia during May.

4. On April 22, 23, the CSP provided consultants for a two-day community conference on employment opportunity at Fisk University in Nashville. 75 persons participated, representing a good cross-section of the Negro community. Consultants were Dr. Henry David, executive director of the National Manpower Commission of Columbia University and Dr. V. W. Henderson, chairman of the Economics Department of Fisk University.

5. On April 25, 26, the CSP conducted a consultation with college administrators of predominantly Negro institutions of higher learning in South Carolina. The meeting brought together presidents, deans, and guidance personnel from five colleges and two junior colleges. The purpose of the consultation was to consider the curriculum needed to prepare Negro students for emerging opportunities. Dr. Horace Mann Bond of the school of education of Atlanta University and John Hope participated.

Other Activities

1. A four-day visit to the state of Mississippi during May for the purpose of renewing contacts with friends of the Council in that area and to explore possibilities of further action.

2. Speech to the student body of Talladega College on the anniversary of the Supreme Court decision on May 17.

3. Chairmanship of an interagency consultation on human relations programming in South Carolina, sponsored by the Penn Community Center. Chaired consultations in May and in August in relations to this effort.

4. In July, participated in the annual Labor School of the Kentucky State AFL-CIO, delivering a lecture on the state of race and community relations in the South.

5. Spoke on the status and future of public school desegregation in the South at a public meeting in Williamsburg, Va., sponsored by the local race relations discussion group.

6. In August, participated in the National Student Association Summer Seminar in Minnesota. Delivered several talks to that student group.

Executive Committee Memorandum - 11.
September 19, 1960

MRS. M. E. TILLY, DIRECTOR OF WOMEN'S WORK

This has been a year of national, state and local meetings, of teaching and hospital experiences. We have also been planning for weeks and months for the Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned to be held here November 15 - 16.

National Conferences Attended

February 17 - 19. National Organization of Women for Equality of Education (19 national groups) met in Washington, and out of it came a united appeal to the White House Conference on Children and Youth to give full support and direction to carrying out the Supreme Court Decision on integrated schools. I was one of the sponsors of the Conference and presided at one session.

In April came the meetings of the Board of Directors of the Civil Liberties Union in Chicago and the Board of Directors of the United Church Women in Minneapolis, Minnesota. The Southeastern Jurisdiction of the Methodist Church, Lake Junaluska, North Carolina.

September 5. I was the speaker at the 50th Anniversary of the National Urban League in New York.

September 13 - 15. Attended a brief Conference on Social Concerns, The Methodist Church.

State Meetings

Montgomery, Alabama - The Fellowship of the Concerned

The United Church Women of Georgia

North Georgia Conference Board Meetings

H.O.P.E. and Georgia Council on Human Relations

Teaching Activities

Integrated School of Missions, Berea, Kentucky

Central Jurisdiction, Methodist women

Christian Methodist Episcopal School

PROPOSED AGENDA

Meeting of the Executive Committee
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

SEPTEMBER 27, 1960

10:00 AM **GENERAL SESSION**

Invocation

Adoption of Agenda

Comments by the Executive Director on Program Report

Discussion of Program by the Executive Committee

11:00 AM

Decisions for Annual Meeting:

1. Change of Date, Proposed by Mr. Herbert Davidson
2. Invitation of Guests
3. Proposed Meeting Place and Schedule

Proposed 1961 Budgets (mailed in advance)
Mr. Anthony

Report on Fund-Raising
Mr. Fleming

Resolution of Charter and Tax-Exemption
Mr. Haas

Proposed Grants-in-Aid to State Councils
Mr. Rilling

Other Business

12:30 PM LUNCH

1:30 PM **EXECUTIVE SESSION**
(Staff on call)

3:00 PM **ADJOURNMENT**

SUGGESTED ALLOCATION OF SPECIAL GRANT FOR STATE GROUPS, 1960

State	Total Funds Raised, 1959*	Funds Raised Locally, 1959	Regular SRC Grant, 1960	Proposed Special SRC Grant	Suggested Conditions for Special Grant
Alabama	$7,093	$4,593	$4,200	$3,000	$1,500 immediately; $1,500 to match evenly local funds raised in excess of $2,500, between December 1, 1959 and June 1, 1960. Total local funds to qualify for full grant - $4,000.
Arkansas	$9,897	$1,897	$3,500	$2,000	$1,000 immediately; remaining $1,000 to match evenly local funds raised in excess of $2,000, between December 1, 1959 and June 1, 1960. Total local funds -- $3,000.
Florida	$9,015	$7,015	$3,900	$2,500	To be determined
Georgia	$3,295	$3,295	$3,500	$4,500	$750 immediately; $750 to match evenly local funds raised in excess of $2,500, between December 1, 1959 and June 1, 1960. Total local funds - $3,200. $3,000 to be made available to assist Georgia Council in employment of full-time State Director when and if GCHR carries through reorganization plans.
Kentucky	$1,000 (app.)	$1,000	$1,500	$500	To be made available immediately to assist with research activity.
North Carolina	$9,145	$4,145	$3,900	$3,000	$1,500 immediately; $1,500 to match evenly local funds raised in excess of $2,500, between December 1, 1959 and June 1, 1960. Total local funds -- $4,000.
South Carolina	$2,537	$2,537	$3,900	$3,000	$1,500 immediately; $1,500 to match evenly local funds raised in excess of $2,000, between December 1, 1959 and June 1, 1960. Total funds - $3,500

* does not include SRC aid

State	Total Funds Raised, 1959*	Funds Raised Locally, 1959	Regular SRC Grant, 1960	Proposed Special SRC Grant	Suggested Conditions for Special Grant
Tennessee (First yr.)	$1,138	$1,138	$3,500	$2,500	$2,500 to be used to match evenly local funds raised in excess of $1,000, between December 1, 1959 and June 1, 1960. Total local funds -- $3,500. (the TCHR, by past ruling of the Executive Committee, received the regular assistance for 1960 under special conditions. The third quarterly allotment to the TCHR will be made available only if they have raised $2,000 locally as of that time.)
Virginia	$8,704	$7,704	$3,900	$3,000	$1,500 immediately; $1,500 to match evenly local funds raised in excess of $3,500, between December 1, 1959 and June 1, 1960. Total local funds -- $5,000
Texas	--	--	--	$1,000	Dependent upon the submission of a program demonstrating a need for the funds and indicating how they will be used.

Total, Special Grant $25,000

* does not include SRC aid

La Miss

FINANCIAL INFORMATION ON STATE GROUPS

State		Special Grant 1959	Regular Allocation 1959	Suggested Allocation 1960	Funds Raised by States, [redacted]58	Funds Raised by States 1st ~~six~~ months, 1959	
Alabama	600	$3,500	$4,200	$4,200	$4,358	~~$6,335~~	7,093
Arkansas	250	2,500	3,600	3,500	-	9,000*	(0,897)
Florida	700	2,500	3,500	3,900	7,862	~~7,392~~	9,015
Georgia	300	2,500	3,800	3,500	3,700	~~2,138~~	3,245
Kentucky	150	1,000	2,000	1,500	-	1,000	
Louisiana		-	2,000	-	-	-	
North Carolina	700	12,500*	4,000	3,900	10,828**	8,298**	4,145
South Carolina	300	3,000	3,800	3,900	4,623	~~1,945~~	2,537
Tennessee	200	2,500	3,500	3,500	-	~~845~~	1,138
Texas		-	600	-	-	-	
Virginia	1400	3,000	4,000	3,900	7,872	~~7,851~~	8,704
State Aid Discretionary Fund				1,200			
Total		$23,000	$35,000	$33,000	$39,243	$44,804	

*includes $8,000 RBF

**includes $5,000 ~~Field~~ New World Foundation grant

4,600

Allocation of special state aid, 1960

These funds represent assistance to state groups over and above the "regular" assistance already approved for the state councils by the executive committee of SRC. It cannot be assumed that this additional aid can be secured in future years, so it should not be integrated into the regular budgetary plans of the councils. It is suggested that these additional state aid funds should be allocated in such a way as to encourage the councils to improve their fundraising and program achievements. Since fundraising is a perennial problem in all state councils it is thought that to make some of these special funds available on a matching formula would strengthen state financial efforts. It is recommended that the amount and conditions of assistance to each state council be dependent on the particular needs and potentialities of that council.

Suggested division of special aid funds — Total $25,000

Alabama	$3,000	made available on the basis of $1,500 immediately, up to $1,500 additional as of July 1, depending on fundraising achievement by that time.
Arkansas	~~$1,500~~ 2000	$750 now, up to $750 more July 1, 1960, depending on local fundraising achievement.
Florida	2,500	conditions open
Georgia	4,500	$750 now, up to $750 more July 1, depending on local fundraising success— $3,000 additional when and if the GCHR carries through a reorganization plan and employs a full-time director.
Kentucky	~~1,000~~ 500	$500 now, up to $500 more July 1, as above.
North Carolina	3,000	as above, on a matching formula.
South Carolina	3,000	ditto
Tennessee	2,500	nothing now, available as and if state fund efforts meet standards of matching formula.
Virginia	3,000	as in Ala.
Texas	1,000	dependent on the adoption of a program showing how the funds will be effectively used.

State	Regular SRC Grant 1960	Matching Grant 1960	Funds Raised 1st 2 quarters 1960	Proposed Field Grant, '60	Proposed Quarterly Grant	Proposed Matching Grant	Minimum Matching Figure
Alabama*	$4,200	$3,000	$6,179	$2,000	$3,900	$2,400	$3,000
Arkansas	3,500	2,000	1,275	1,300	3,200	2,000	2,000
Florida	3,900	2,500	4,281	1,300	3,400	2,000	3,700
Georgia*	3,500	4,500	3,793	1,300	3,500	2,000	2,500
Kentucky	1,500	500	--	500	750	750	1,000
North Carolina	3,900	3,000	4,496	1,400	3,600	2,100	2,700
South Carolina	3,900	3,000	3,520	1,400	3,700	2,300	2,000
Tennessee	3,500	2,500	2,820	1,300	3,500	2,100	2,000
Virginia	3,900	3,000	5,983	1,500	3,900	2,400	4,000
Houston						1,500	3,000
Mississippi Field Work				500			
State Aid Discretionary Fund	1,200				1,000		
Totals	$ 33,000	$24,000		$12,500	$30,450	$19,550	

* Proposed grants contingent upon employment of full time state staff

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PROPOSED ALLOCATIONS TO STATE ORGANIZATIONS, 1960

State	Special Grant 1959*	Regular Allocation 1959	Suggested Allocation 1960	
Alabama	$3,500	$4,200	$4,200	mny/ldr
Arkansas	2,500	3,600	3,500	- tchlishtng
Florida	2,500	3,500	3,900	- survey LA w Pln workshops
Georgia	2,500	3,800	3,500	
Kentucky	1,000	2,000	1,500	-
Louisiana	0	~~600~~ 2,000	0	
North Carolina	2,500	4,000	3,900	Chart, gr col jobs
South Carolina	3,000	3,800	3,900	workshops - cad crel
Tennessee	2,500	3,500	3,500	-
Texas	0	~~2,000~~ 600	0	
Virginia	3,000	4,000	3,900	- FR Pr ED survey
State Aid Discretionary Fund			1,200	
Total	$23,000	$35,000 23,000	$33,000	

* from anonymous donation

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~~35,000~~
~~33~~
33,400
+1,000

PROPOSED ALLOCATIONS
TO
STATE ORGANIZATIONS
For 1959

The proposed budget for 1959 allocates $35,000 for state aid. The staff recommends the following distribution of this amount among the associated state Councils, to be disbursed quarterly on receipt of satisfactory program and financial reports.

In arriving at these recommendations, the staff applied several criteria to each state group, as follows: the strategic importance of the state; general conditions in the state; past performance of state organization in program and fund raising; quality of Board and Staff; Foundation help, if any, received by state organization; amount requested; anticipated performance in 1959.

STATE ORGANIZATION	AMOUNT REQUESTED	STAFF RECOMMENDATION		SRC ACTION
Alabama	$5,500	$4,200	3,500	7,700
Arkansas	4,500	3,600	2,500	6,100
Florida°	4,000	3,500	2,500	6,000
Georgia	4,000	3,800	2,500	6,300
Kentucky	3,000	2,000	1,000	3,000
Louisiana	no request	2,000*	~~1,000~~	3,000
North Carolina	4,000	4,000	2,500	6,500
South Carolina	4,500	3,800	3,000	6,800
Tennessee°	5,000	3,500	2,500	6,000
Texas	request incomplete	600*	~~1,000~~	1,600
Virginia°	4,000	4,000	3,000	2,000
TOTALS	$38,500	$35,000	25,000	60,000

*Provisional - if required committment is made by state Councils.

Staff recommended average allocation $3,181

Staff recommended median allocation $3,600

33-

State Advisory Committees - Civil Rts Commission -

ALABAMA

Dec-Jan-Feb.	Memberships	$162.00 (excluding New South)	
	Contrib.	4,211.02	
		4,373.02	
Mar-Apr-May	Memberships	133.00	
	Contrib.	811.00	
		944.00	

Total raised first 6 months - $5,317.02

Balance on hand, May 30 - $4,288.53

Aug 30 3,307.10

Total budget 1959	$12,148.78
Requested of SRC	4,000.00
Received from SRC	4,200.00
Special grant	3,500.00
Total from SRC	7,700.00

Jun - Aug

250
788.15
1018.15
5317.02
6,335.17

Sept Nov

173 M
585 C
758
6,335
7093

ARKANSAS

Jan-Feb-Mch.	Memberships	$89.00
	Contrib.	233.50
		322.50
Apr-May-June	Memberships	48.00
	Contrib.	308.78
		456.78

(plus $8,000 from RBF)

Total raised first 6 months - $779.28

Balance on hand June 30 - $8,288.00

5,229

Total budget 1959	$20,170.00
Requested of SRC	4,500.00
Received from SRC	3,600.00
Special Grant	2,500.00
Total from SRC	6,100.00

M 58
C 110
168
~~457~~
~~$ 625~~
779
947
189 M
159 C
1895

FLORIDA

Dec-Jan-Feb.	Memberships	869.50
	Contrib.	1,321.11
		2,190.61
Mar-Apr-May	Memberships	578.50
	Contrib.	1,601.95
		2,180.45

M 313.50
C 2,707
3,020.50
4,371.06
7,391.56

Total raised first 6 months $4,371.06

Balance on Hand May 30 ~~348.43~~ 153.08

~~Its~~

Total budget 1959	27,255.00
Requested of SRC	4,000.00
Received from SRC	3,500.00
Special grant	2,500.00
Total from SRC	6,000.00

M 498.50
C 1,125.35
1,623.85
7,391.56
9,015.41

GEORGIA

Dec-Jan-Feb.	Memberships	514.00
	Contrib.	458.00
		972.00
Mch-Apr-May	Memberships	241.00
	Contrib.	606.00
		847.00

Total raised first 6 months - 1,819.00

Balance on Hand May 31 - 1,072.92

401.90

Total budget 1959	17,000.00
Requested of SRC	4,000.00
Received from SRC	3,800.00
Special grant	2,500.00
Total from SRC	6,300.00

Jan-Aug
258
61
319.
1,819
Total 2,138
387 M
870 C
1,157
3,295

400 mbrs

KENTUCKY

1. NO financial information supplied during 1959

2. NO financial requests submitted for 1959

3. NO financial information supplied end of ~~1958~~ 1958

Received from SRC - 1959 grant	$2,000.00
Special grant	1,000.00
	3,000.00

NORTH CAROLINA

Dec-Jan-Feb.	Memberships	605.00	
	Contrib.	635.00	
		1,240.00	
Mch-Apr-May	Memberships	815.00	
	Contrib.	316.00	
		1,131.00	

(plus 5,000 New World)

Total raised first 6 months	2,370.00
Balance May 31	1,518.70
	2,298.01

Total budget 1959	13,000	(not including New World grant ?)
Requested from SRC	4,000	
Received from SRC	4,000	
Special Grant	2,500	
Total from SRC	6,500	

602.00 M
326.00 C
928.00
2,370.00
3,298.00
+ NW 3,500

4 M

M 541.
C 200
741.
3,298
4,145

South Carolina

First quarter	Memberships	393.50
	Contrib.	496.00
		889.50

Second quarter - ~~no financial report~~

		531
		524.50
Total Budget 1959	10,500	1055.50
Requested of SRC	4,500	889.50
Received from SRC	3,800	
Special grant	3,000	1945.00 2Q
Total from SRC	6,800	100 M
		492 C
		2537

bal (2nd Q) - 80.08

3rd Q

M 215
C 342.50

557.50
197.50

754.50
91.00

845.50

TENNESSEE

Dec-Jan-Feb.	Memberships	197.00
	Contrib	none
		197.00
No second quarter report		81.00
		10.00
No financial information supplied nor a request for funds made		91.00
~~for~~ in 1958 for 1959		

SRC regular grant 1959	3,500
Special grant	2,500
	6,000

bal 248.91 (2,500)

4th

M 143
C 150
293
845.50

1,138.50

TEXAS AND NEW ORLEANS

NO FINANCIAL INFORMATION PROVIDED

PROVISIONAL GRANTS:	Texas	$600.00
	N.O.	2,000.00

VIRGINIA

Dec-Jan-Feb.	Memberships	1,158.75
	Contrib.	2,234.12
		3,392.87
Mch-Apr-May	Memberships	609.00
	Contrib.	1,446.50
		2,055.50

Total raised first 6 months - 5,448.37

Total budget 1959	12,000.00
Requested of SRC	4,000.00
Received from SRC	4,000.00
Special grant	3,000.00
Total from SRC	7,000.00

M 566
C 836.50
1402.50
5448.37
7850.87

gm

M 441
C 407.50
853.50
7850.87
8704.37

~~bal 1,343.37~~

Special Field Grant--$12,500

1960

Ala--	2,000
Ark	1,300
Fla	1,300
Ga	1,300
NC	~~1,500~~ 1400
SC	~~1,300~~ 1400
Va	1,500
Tenn	1,300
Ky	500
Cox	500
	12,500

1961

~~1960-60~~ Aid--$50,000

	Basic	Matching
Ala	3900 ~~3,800~~ ~~3900~~ ~~4,000~~	2,400
Ark	~~3,200~~ 3200	2,000
Fla	3,400	2,000
Ga	~~3,400~~ 3500	2,000
Nc	~~3,600~~ 3600	2,000
Sc	~~3,600~~ 3700	2,300
Va	~~3,800~~ 3900	2,400
Tenn	~~3,400~~ 3500	2,000
Ky	~~1,000~~ 750	~~500~~ 750
Hstn	~~1,000~~	~~2,000~~ 1500
Conting	1,000	-----
	~~30,200~~ 30,450	~~19,650~~ 19,370

12
2 500
4 500

Amounts approved except for Fla (3,900 approved)

PROPOSED STATE ASSISTANCE, 1961

State	Regular SRC Grant 1960	Matching Grant 1960	Funds raised locally first 3 quarters 1960		Final Q., 1960	Proposed Basic Grant	Proposed Matching Grant	Total SRC Assistance Possible
Check Alabama*	$4,200	$3,000	Total: 12,577	$8,478	4,099	$3,900	$2,400 1,500	$ 6,300
Arkansas	3,500	2,000	2,826	1,785	1,041	3,200	[illegible]	5,200
Florida	3,900	2,500	6,178	5,326	852	~~3,400~~ 3,900	2,000	5,400
Georgia*	3,500	4,500	4,599	4,109	490	3,500 approved	2,000	5,500
Kentucky	1,500	500		550	?	750	750	1,500
North Carolina	3,900	3,000	6,725	6,107	618	3,600	2,100	5,700
South Carolina	3,900	3,000	4,419	4,056	363	3,700	2,300	6,000
Tennessee	3,500	2,500	4,714	3,652	1,062	3,500	2,100	5,600
Virginia	3,900	3,000	7,747	6,713	1,034	3,900	2,400	6,300
Houston							1,500	1,500
State Aid Discretionary Fund	1,200					1,000		1,000
Totals	$33,000	$24,000		$40,376		$30,450	$19,550	$50,000

* Proposed grants contingent upon employment of full time state staff

DRAFT OF PROPOSED MEMORANDUM TO FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this Memorandum is to outline a proposal designed to encourage Southern communities to comply "with all deliberate speed" with the decrees of the Supreme Court in the segregation cases.

While there would be ample reason for such effort if Southern communities were left to their free choices, the reason is the more compelling in many areas because of pressure to preserve the present status. This pressure is both official and non-official.

For example, Louisiana sets aside a fund of $100,000 to employ segregation attorneys to defend local suits. Georgia authorizes use of state funds of an unstated amount for the same purpose,and, additionally, assigns two members of the Attorney General's staff to assist in defending such suits. That State also makes membership in NAACP ground for denying a certificate to teach. North Carolina with State funds creates an advisory commission (all white) to assist communities to institute a program of voluntary segregation. Instances might be multiplied, of the full weight and resources of states'being employed to dissuade communities from compliance with the decrees.

In addition, there have been spawned in the South a host of private organizations upon whose shoulders the mantle of the Ku Klux Klan has fallen, such organizations as Citizens Council, White America, Inc., Knights of the White Christians, Southern Gentlemen, Society for the Preservation of State Government and Racial Integrity, Maryland Petition Committee, Baltimore Association for States Rights, States Rights League, National Association for Advancement of White People, Virginia League, Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties and Federation for Constitutional Government. The states represented in

this list are Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana, Maryland, South Carolina, Delaware, Virginia and Tennessee.

There is, then, a truly impressive exhibition of official and privately organized resources and individuals whose sole purpose is to coerce or terrify communities into non-compliance with law. They etch the necessity for counter-action.

THE PLAN

The strategy to be employed in order to defeat this combination of public and private power seems to be self-dictated. If there is to be punishment for non-compliance, there should be reward for compliance. Stated otherwise, if there is to be from some quarters obloquy and reproach for those who seek to uphold the law, there should be from other quarters honor and approbation. If a community is to be subjected to pressure to be craven, there should be upon it an off-setting pressure to be bold. And, since a community may be bold without being wise, the reward should go to communities which exhibit both boldness and wisdom in their approach to integration.

As important as may be words of judicious praise, the reward should not consist of compliments alone. It should be tangible. It should be monetary and in an amount sufficient to be appreciated and striven for.

The plan, in brief, is that to each of ten units of school administration -- district, city or county, as may be determined -- there should go an award of $10,000.00 for its boldness and wisdom in accomplishing integration in the public schools "with all deliberate speed". Co-incidentally, there should be awarded to individuals -- trustees,superintendents or others responsible -- appropriately engraved gold medals.

The plan recognizes that the community is an entity and that the action is group action. It also makes acknowledgement that behind, and responsible for, the action is an individual or group if individuals.

OBJECTIVES

There would be three major objectives:

1. To accord deserved recognition to communities and individuals who have moved with courage and statesmanship.
2. To encourage hesitant or wavering communities or individuals so to move.
3. By publicizing the policies pursued in successful integration, to educate others as to proper techniques.

The award method possesses certain distinct virtues.

It is positive rather than negative. However deserved adverse criticism for failure to act may be, commendation for those who do act is believed to be more effective as an incentive to move. The carrot should be tried before the stick.

The method lends itself to widespread and favorable publicity. Awards recently made to a community and a library--there may have been others--for liberal action in fields at least tangential to public school integration were widely covered by press, radio and television.

In several Southern states, by operation of newly enacted legislation, counties and districts now have autonomy in assignment of pupils. They can integrate if they want to. Many such counties and districts are pondering their courses. Where the scales are nearly balanced, the distinction and monetary award which came to another Southern community may prove decisive.

Nobel and Pulitzer wisely appealed to men's competitive instinct and their natural thirst for well grounded approbation. Such would be the reason underlying the plan herein proposed.

Upon the individual, as distinguished from the community, level, there may be division within a board of trustees, or a superintendent may have his moments of doubt. The public recognition and acclaim which have come to other trustees or superintendents may be of crucial importance.

MECHANICS

To effectuate the plan, it is proposed:

1. That the Southern Regional Council should set up a board of seven Southern educators of both races whose respective institutions would be ineligible for any award. The board would determine the recipients. The board would elect from its members a chairman and a secretary. The Southern Regional Council would fill vacancies if any.

2. The board would have complete authority as to its choices, community and individual, for awards, but should select only one community and the individual or individuals concerned at a time and at intervals of not less than one month. It should take into account the resolution and tact displayed; the steps pursued, including their adaptabliity to other communities, and the results achieved, if results have become evident.

3. The board may make such investigation as it desires and use such evidence, information and reports as it deems credible in arriving at its decision. Records of the Southern Regional Council shall at all times be available to the board.

4. The board shall make no disclosure of its awards except to the Southern Regional Council in order that the Council may release at such times and under such circumstances as to secure maximum favorable publicity.

5. Awards shall be delivered only upon receipt by the Council from the responsible school official of a full report of the plans pursued by the community involved, with the views of the official as to merits or demerits of each step taken and suggestions for improvement. The Council shall have the right to publicize such report as it may see fit.

6. Awards to communities shall be ten in number in amount of $10,000.00 each. Individual awards in a number to be determined by the board shall be suitably

inscribed gold medals of the value of $50.00 each.

7. The board shall receive travel and maintenance allowance for purposes of conference and a per diem of $25.00 for each day spent in conference.

8. It is estimated that $5,000.00 will cover charges of the board and cost of individual awards. Hence, the amount of the grant should be $105,000.00.

8/13/55 MAW

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

MEMORANDUM

TO: Members of the Executive Committee

FROM: George S. Mitchell

RE: Fund for the Republic Grant

Here is a copy of the Fund for the Republic's letter of grant for the fiscal year October 1, 1955, to September 30, 1956. You will note that the grant is for $150,000, which is the amount originally agreed upon for the second year's operations; no additional funds were granted for the supplementary programs which we proposed.

We are in the process of preparing a draft of a press release, which must then be cleared with the Fund. Meanwhile, we ask your cooperation in keeping the news of the grant unpublicized.

10/3/55
rah

C
O
P
Y

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York September 26, 1955

Mr. Marion A. Wright, President
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, NE., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Wright:

I am pleased to advise you that the Board of Directors of the Fund for the Republic has approved a grant of $150,000 to the Southern Regional Council, Inc. for the fiscal year October 1, 1955, to September 30, 1956, to support the expansion of the educational work of the Council in twelve southern states, and to strengthen the Central Office in Atlanta.

In our grant letter for the eighteen-month period April 1, 1954, to September 30, 1955, we stated that the grant had been made with the understanding that the Fund,

> "...will consider future grants, on a showing of program accomplishment and ability to raise funds from other sources, of not to exceed $150,000 for the period October 1, 1955 through September 30, 1956; and of not to exceed $110,000 for the period October 1, 1956, through September 30, 1957. This grant carries with it the stipulation that there will be no commitment or intention on the part of the Fund to support the program of the SRC after September 30, 1957."

The present grant is made on the same terms as our first grant. However, we would like to take this opportunity to congratulate you and through you George Mitchell and his staff for the excellent progress made during the first year and a half of operation under the Council's expanded program. We appreciate the many difficulties that have confronted the Council in the past months, particularly in its successful endeavors to reorganize and staff the various state affiliates.

When the time comes for another appraisal of the operations of the Council by this Fund, we will, of course, want to look very closely at the actual accomplishments of the state organizations. We hope that during the next twelve months all the state chapters will build a record of achievement of which this Fund and the Council can be proud.

We look forward to receiving from Mr. Mitchell the same type of excellent quarterly reports he has furnished us during the first eighteen months of our support, and such additional informal progress reports as he may wish to give us.

You are at liberty to publicize this grant should you desire to do so. We would appreciate, however, the opportunity of reviewing a draft of any news release before it is made available to the public.

We have on hand a copy of your tax-exempt ruling under IRC #101 (6) and your statement of February 5, 1954, that the Southern Regional Council has not departed from the terms of the ruling.

I am enclosing our check for $150,000.00 and would appreciate receiving your acknowledgment of this payment at your convenience.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ David F. Freeman

David F. Freeman
Secretary

DFF/da

cc: George Mitchell

ys-9/29/55

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

HAROLD C. FLEMING
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

April 15, 1957

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

DRAFT

A PROPOSAL TO THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

September 30, 1957 will mark the end of the Fund for the Republic's assistance to the Southern Regional Council for a three and one-half year program of development of state organizations. This is a request for a further period of support of the work of the Council by the Fund.

Summary of the Proposal

The generous assistance of the Fund for the Republic has made it possible for the Southern Regional Council to create professionally staffed human relations councils in ten of the Southern states and to foster heightened interracial activity in two additional states. This aid, supplemented by funds from other sources, has enabled the Council to make a major contribution to Southern race relations during the momentous period that has followed the Supreme Court's decisions on school segregation.

It should be noted, however, that this program was developed and the first grant in the series made before the Supreme Court's school decision was rendered. The assumption then was that, once the legal principle was clearly defined, the problems of implementation would become community problems, to be solved by detailed local action. Hence the program placed major emphasis and the greatest part of the funds on the decentralizing effort to build state organizations with little

allowance made for the support of a strong, continuing central operation.

Instead of further breaking up of the "solid South," however, the last two years have witnessed a revival of regional solidarity under the leadership of the rural "black belt" counties. The unexpected severity of Southern reaction to the school decisions has created new and acute problems which cannot be met by activity at the state and local levels alone. In recent months, the Council has made a thorough appraisal of these problems and has sought to reexamine earnestly and objectively how it can make the most effective contribution in the period immediately ahead.

We have concluded that, to meet this challenge, the Council must expand and intensify its functions as an information center, a regional clearing house for organizational efforts in this field, a resource for enlightened public officials and private leadership throughout the region, and in general as a spokesman and rallying ground for the forward-looking elements within the South. Some measure of continuing aid to the state human relations councils is also essential. Obviously such a program calls for a budget sufficient to maintain a skilled, specialized staff and to meet the operating expenses necessary for the staff to work effectively, plus funds for aid to the state groups.

For these purposes, this proposal projects an annual budget slightly in excess of $200,000, or a total for a thirty-nine month period of $653,585. Of this amount, we ask the Fund for the Republic for $250,000 to be applied on a diminishing basis over the thirty-nine months following September 30, 1957. The Southern Regional Council would undertake to raise the remaining sum of approximately $400,000 from other sources, and the state organizations would be expected to raise the greater part of their budgets as well. We anticipate that

approximately twenty-five per cent of the Council's budget for this period would be used for direct aid to the state human relations councils or the equivalent.

We propose that the grant of $250,000 requested should be distributed as follows: $120,000 for the first fifteen months (October 1, 1957 - December 31, 1958); $75,000 for the year 1959; and $55,000 for the year 1960. The detailed basis for these overall figures is appended.

The Grant Period Ending September 30, 1957

Since April 1, 1954, the Fund for the Republic has made grants to the Southern Regional Council for the state organizations and the central operation totaling $500,000. In addition, the Fund has made three special purpose grants to the Council -- one for $5,000 to convene a selected bi-racial group of Southern leadership in anticipation of the Supreme Court's decision, one of $1,000 to publish a pamphlet in cooperation with the Southern Historical Association, and one of $50,000 to carry out a special fact-finding program.

As initially agreed, the greater part of the main grant has been distributed to the Council's state affiliates to assist them in maintaining professional staff and developing their activities. Of the $500,000, approximately $345,000 will have been spent for direct aid to the state groups by the end of this last grant year. The remaining $155,000 has been applied to the central program of the Southern Regional Council on a yearly diminishing basis. We estimate that during the three years ending September 30th the Council will have raised from sources other than the Fund nearly $200,000, and the state affiliates slightly over $100,000, or an aggregate total of approximately $300,000.

Since the Council has rendered frequent and detailed reports to the Fund, we will forego here any comprehensive account of the achievements which the past grants have made possible. Instead, we are submitting as an appendix a recent summary of the Council's various activities, as well as a folder of exhibits. These may be supplemented by the following general observations.

The State Organizations

In view of the special difficulties arising from the development of powerful, officially sanctioned resistance to desegregation in the South, we believe the three year state organization effort represents a creditable achievement. As a result of the Council's efforts assisted by the Fund, there are today ten human relations councils professionally staffed, actively at work in the South. These state bodies represent an impressive amount of courage, devotion, and skill displayed by white and Negro Southerners in the face of tremendous odds. They have, almost uniquely, provided an organized Southern expression of the forces for democratic change affecting race relations in the United States.

The programs of the state organizations have reflected the wide diversity of conditions to be found in the South. The Kentucky Council, for example, has worked closely with state and local officials through consultative services to desegregating school systems, through preparation of materials which have been distributed by the State Department of Education, and through educational programs aimed at promoting the full inclusion of Negro teachers in the desegregation process. In Mississippi, on the other hand, the state council has had to work in a climate of the harshest sort of pro-segregation orthodoxy officially enforced; it has been able to do little except provide one of the few remaining channels for communication between the races and demonstrate

in some measure the irrepressible quality of the belief in human freedom and dignity.

Between these two extremes lies a varied range of constructive activities. The Alabama Council, which has the participation of an unusually large number of church people, has performed effectively against great odds; it worked devotedly to prevent violence and help bring about peaceful acceptance of bus integration in Montgomery. The Arkansas Council, with an extremely able bi-racial staff, has given invaluable leadership in that state; its quiet efforts were largely responsible for the Hoxie school board's success in maintaining desegregation in the face of organized resistance. The Virginia Council has mobilized positive sentiment among ministers of that state and has built active local councils in such key communities as Charlottesville and Richmond.

These few highlights will suggest the quality of participation and activity that the state councils have achieved. Given a workable climate of opinion and influence, they can contribute greatly in the years ahead to the orderly implementation of integration within their respective states. However, their effectiveness -- perhaps their survival -- is imperiled by national and regional developments on which they can have little influence. If the investment in the state councils is to be protected, more resources and skills must be applied by the Council to this broader arena of opinion and action.

Southern Resistance to Desegregation

Since May, 1954, and particularly within the past year, something approaching a national crisis has been precipitated by political and private reaction to the Supreme Court's school decision. We will not attempt a lengthy analysis of these developments, which are well

known to the Fund for the Republic, but we list a few examples.

What began as attitudes of defiance in four deep South states has become a "united front" by eight states. This defiance is manifested not only in official actions and utterances directed at the Supreme Court and its decision, but has also taken the turn of punitive measures directed at individuals and groups within the states who favor a positive or even a more moderate course of action.

Accompanying this official posture have been the phenomenal growth of the White Citizens Councils and other resistance movements, serious reversals in the churches and the labor movement, the deterioration of political campaigns, and in general conformity or silence by most of the more responsible elements in the South. The example set by state office-holders and others in high places has stirred excitable rank-and-file Southerners to violence in several instances -- even in areas in Tennessee, Texas, Kentucky, and West Virginia where integration should have been expected to proceed without a ripple.

Any adequate appraisal of these negative factors must take into account the great concentration of power available to the extreme pro-segregation forces in the deep South. This includes virtually all of the state and local controlling institutions -- governors and attorneys general, legislatures and state created commissions, many grand juries, most of the state and local law enforcement agencies, most Southern congressmen and senators, and, under vigilante pressure, many influential private institutions such as newspapers, business organizations, civic clubs, and the like.

All of this has presented grave problems in national and international terms. The impact of the "Southern revolt" on the prestige of the United States abroad, particularly among Asians and

Africans, is of great concern to every thoughtful American. Domestically, the assaults on the authority of the Supreme Court, on respect for law and order, and on recognition of the rights of minority-group citizens are major threats to the national welfare. Pro-segregation laws and administrative actions in the South have seriously eroded such basic civil liberties as freedom of speech, association, and the right to due process of law.

It has been observed by the New York Times and others that what is needed is a mobilization of all the constructive forces the country can muster to deal with the problem of segregation wisely and effectively. Unfortunately, no such mobilization has taken place. Rather, the Citizens Councils and several Southern state governments are making an extensive and expensive effort to sway national opinion. In short, the climate of opinion has worsened. And instead of merely local problems arising out of local opposition to integration, we are confronted with a renewal of pro-segregation activity that is regional in its leadership and national in its impact. A measure of this fact was the nearly unanimous adoption of the "Southern Manifesto" by Southern members of Congress.

The Role of the Southern Regional Council

This situation imposes a tremendous responsibility on the Southern Regional Council. As the one South-wide body with experience, professional skills, and reputation in the field of race relations, it must perform on a broader and more effective scale than ever before, recognizing that it is dealing with causes and effects which are truly nation-wide in their scope. This we propose to do.

The Council's task, as we see it, includes but goes far beyond the stimulation of local action to deal with matters of desegregation

and democratic racial relations at the community level. It is essential that the Council play a broader role in creating a national and Southern climate of opinion in which positive local efforts can succeed. This means assuming greater leadership in educating and rallying those national and regional forces whose action or inaction at this time is crucial.

Within recent months the Council has revised its staff structure and program orientation so that it may better work toward these objectives. (An organizational chart, adopted in January, and a descriptive list of staff members are included in the appendices.) The major points in this new orientation may be briefly summarized as follows:

1. The Council suffered a loss in the recent retirement of Dr. George S. Mitchell as Executive Director after ten years of able and devoted leadership in this position. On the positive side, however, his leaving presented a challenge that has evoked new dedication and commitment from staff members and lay leadership alike. His successor, Harold C. Fleming, brings to the position the advantage of ten years' experience as a senior staff member identified mainly with the Council's central program activities.

2. The Council has already, of necessity, assumed a greatly increased responsibility for coordination and clearing-house work in cooperation with other agencies. This has been in response to the expressed wishes and requests of a large number of organizations, including the social action departments of the major religious denominations active in the South, the several Jewish agencies concerned with human relations, the trade unions, and such groups as the American Friends Service Committee, the NAACP, the YMCA, and the YWCA. The Council has twice served as convener of twenty-five of these agencies

for the sharing of ideas and joint program planning. At their request, the Council has also coordinated their concerted field efforts and will soon convene them again for a third planning session.

3. The Council has played a central part in the newly formed national Consultative Conference on Desegregation. Through this association and other channels, we have greatly increased communication and cooperation between enlightened Southerners and national forces concerned with desegregation.

4. The Council is called upon by various departments of the Federal Government for interpreation of Southern problems and for specially assembled information, largely made possible through the fact-finding grant from the Fund for the Republic. For example, the Department of Justice requested and was given the complete raw findings of the Council's special survey on the status of Negro suffrage in the South.

5. One of the main assets of the Council has always been its reputation with the press, Southern and national, as a dependable and authoritative source of information about all aspects of race relations in the South. The Council and its parent organization have served as a repository of such information since 1919. Many Southern editors and newspapers whose policies on racial matters are directly opposed to those of the Council are accustomed to relying without question on the Council's information services. This function too has greatly increased and continues to grow with each passing day. It is no exaggeration to say that the Council now serves in this way virtually all of the major national publications and a great many Southern ones. To the newspapers must be added a growing list of television programs.

6. The Consultant Service Program, established as a service to the Council's state affiliates, is greatly broadening its scope and

usefulness. Within the limit of resources, we are undertaking to make special consultants available to public or private leadership in Southern communities with outstanding problems or opportunities. Within the last few weeks, for example, upon official invitation, the Council has made available the consultative services of a Kentucky county school superintendent, who successfully carried out desegregation, to a local school board in North Carolina beginning quietly to plan for such a change.

7. Under the Apprentice Training Program initiated by the Fund for the Republic, the Council has received a grant of $5,000 from the New World Foundation to engage an apprentice staff member in the area of field services. It is our hope and expectation that this position will be permanently filled, thus increasing the amount of skilled field work that we will be able to perform from the regional office. The current demand for such services, from the Council's state and local affiliates and from a host of other community groups, far exceeds the availability of staff.

8. Under a special arrangement, the Council has recently acquired the services of a well-qualified staff member bearing the title of Labor Consultant. This staff member's function is to serve as a resource and a liaison person with the unions in the South, which hold great promise as an important influence for progress in race relations. Although this position was initially established on a temporary basis, it has already yielded such fruitful results that we are determined, if at all possible, to continue it as part of the regular staff structure.

9. All of the important activities that the Council has regularly carried on are being expanded and intensified to the limit of resources as the demands on the Council mount. In this category are the work with church women and other women's groups, the maintenance of

comprehensive reference files to service a stream of information requests, defense of the rights of such beleaguered dissenters as those at Koinonia Farm, the distribution of program materials, and the briefing of foreign visitors travelling in the South under the auspices of the State Department and other public and private sponsors.

In undertaking the reorientation illustrated above, the Council is strengthened by a large backlog of experience within its staff and lay leadership. What is involved is not so much the learning of new functions as the expansion and refinement of activities that heretofore have had to be carried on sporadically or too limitedly.

We do not wish to imply that the Council feels that it has achieved any fixed or final formula for its efforts in the South during the next three years. As recent experience has made all too clear, the situation is dynamic and volatile in the extreme. Any realistic approach in this area must be firmly grounded in recognition of the need for constant reassessment and flexibility. We do feel that we have achieved an orientation, a structure, and a range of staff skills sufficiently elastic and versatile to render a major service in the three year period of operation now being planned.

Financial Analysis

We are proposing a thirty-nine month grant period for two reasons. First, in our opinion the next three years will be crucial in determining the future pattern of race relations in the South. Despite the tension and difficulties of the last few years, the situation has not yet crystallized; it will do so as further court decisions and the possible spread of violence bring the issues to a head. Thus what is done or not done during the next three years will probably set the framework in which the longer-range working out of desegregation will take

place. If this is true, it clearly follows that this is the period in which to make the most effective contribution of which this organization is capable.

Second, we earnestly believe that sound program planning and able staffing demand a stable financial base for a substantial period ahead. The Council is fortunate in having a remarkably devoted and well-qualified staff, but we cannot expect to hold such people or to make maximum use of their skills if the financial fate of the organization is to hang in the balance month by month or even year by year.

It will be noted from the figures below that, while the grant requested is substantial, it is approximately forty per cent of the total budget projected for the period; if the amounts to be raised by the state organizations were taken into account, the percentage would be significantly smaller. This means that the Council is undertaking to raise more funds from other sources than ever before. We feel that the fund-raising objectives set are reasonable, since they continue the trend of increasing support to the Council during the last few years. By the end of the current fiscal year, for example, we anticipate that the Council will have raised from sources other than the Fund for the Republic approximately $87,000. This compares with $60,000 in the preceding fiscal year, and $52,000 in the year before that. The state organizations have increased their performance from an aggregate total of roughly $22,000 in the first year to a projected $45,000 in the current fiscal year.

Following is a summary of the budgetary considerations which underlie the grant requested of the Fund for the Republic. The first budget period was made fifteen months in order to round out the period from October 1, 1957 to December 31, 1957, thus putting the operation on

a calendar year basis. (A detailed breakdown of the annual budgets is furnished as Appendix A.)

Summary of Projected Budgets and Grant Request

15-month Budget (Oct. 1, 1957 - Dec. 31, 1958)	$247,665	
To be raised from other sources	127,665	
BALANCE REQUESTED FROM THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC		$120,000
1959 Budget	$201,960	
To be raised from other sources	126,960	
BALANCE REQUESTED FROM THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC		$ 75,000
1960 Budget	$203,960	
To be raised from other sources	148,960	
BALANCE REQUESTED FROM THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC		$ 55,000
TOTAL REQUESTED FROM THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC		$250,000
TOTAL TO BE RAISED FROM OTHER SOURCES		$403,585
TOTAL BUDGET, Oct. 1, 1957 - Dec. 31, 1960		653,585

APPENDICES

A - Breakdown of Annual Budgets, Oct. 1, 1957 - Dec. 31, 1960
B - Organization Chart
C - Descriptive List of Central Staff
D - "The South of Promise," a summary of program activities

EXHIBIT FOLDER

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

HAROLD C. FLEMING
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

May 30, 1957

MEMORANDUM

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

TO: Executive Committee

FROM: Harold C. Fleming

SUBJ: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC GRANT

:

I know that you will be pleased to see the enclosed copy of Mr. Freeman's letter informing us that the Fund for the Republic has approved a terminal grant of $200,000 to the Southern Regional Council for the three-year period beginning October 1, 1957. This grant was made in response to our request for $250,000 for that period. Despite the twenty per cent reduction, we may consider ourselves fortunate to have received a grant of this size at a time when the Fund is sharply reducing its grant-making activities.

The total amount of the grant has already been transmitted to us and has been invested in accordance with sound professional advice and the approval of the President and the Chairman of the Executive Committee. As a result, it will be possible to earn a significant amount of interest on these funds.

In terms of our projected budget for the thirty-nine months beginning October 1, 1957, this $200,000 amounts to approximately one-third of our estimated financial needs. You will recall that in our request we undertook to raise, from other sources, yearly amounts totaling $403,000 for the thirty-nine month period. In view of the amount finally approved by the Fund, we must find, elsewhere, a somewhat larger amount than this in order to carry on the program activities that we have projected.

With the aid of this grant, we propose to make available to the state groups the total amount of $40,000 during the coming fiscal year. The distribution of these funds among the various state councils will be determined by the Executive Committee on

the basis of written applications from the state groups.

Since no final decision has yet been made concerning publicity for the grant, we are asking that the information be handled with discretion by members of the Southern Regional Council staff, the Executive Committee and the state groups.

C
O
P
Y

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

May 17, 1957

Mr. Marion A. Wright, President
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Wright:

I am pleased to advise you that the Board of Directors of the Fund for the Republic, Inc. has approved a terminal grant of $200,000 to the Southern Regional Council, for the support of the Council's educational program in the South for the three-year period beginning October 1, 1957, or such longer period as the Council may determine. This grant is made for the purpose described in the Council's request to the Fund dated April 18, 1957.

We hope you will express to the Board and staff members of the Council and the state organizations our appreciation for their devoted work for the principles of equality before the law and equality of opportunity.

We look forward to receiving informal financial and progress reports at quarterly intervals, and copies of your audited financial statements as of the end of your fiscal year.

You are at liberty to publicize this grant should you desire to do so. We should appreciate, however, the opportunity of receiving a draft of any news release before it is made public.

We have on hand a copy of your tax-exempt ruling from the Treasury Department and your statement of February 5, 1954, that the Southern Regional Council has not departed from the terms of the ruling.

I have instructed the Guaranty Trust Company of New York to transfer funds in the amount of $200,000 to the Council's account in the First National Bank of Atlanta, Georgia. These funds will be available to you on May 20th.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ DAVID F. FREEMAN

David F. Freeman
Vice President

MEMORANDUM

January 9, 1956

TO: Members of the Executive Committee of SRC

FROM: George S. Mitchell

RE: The Future of the SRC

It will be recalled that at the Board Meeting at Tuskegee, November 9, 1955, upon the resolution of Miss Josephine Wilkins "the staff was directed to submit to the Executive Committee, at an early meeting, not later than the April meeting, proposals for the continued existence of the Council after the expiration of the grant from the Fund for the Republic."

The Executive Director has queried each principal staff member for the memoranda. The full memoranda are available, but for convenience they are compressed herewith:

C.H. PARRISH

States will need further subsidy after 1957. Without honest subsidy, some states would be tempted to soften program to get money. "Local financial support for Southern Regional Council program would appear to be in inverse relationship to need."

Central office function is to demonstrate integrated professional service. If strong states, central office can be skeleton one, but subsidy to difficult areas and coordinated provision of findings of research (by others) would continue to be needed.

G.S. ALEXANDER

Continuing need for "hub of communications."

Problem is money.

H.C. FLEMING

Five alternatives:

1. Liquidation.

2. Limited continuation, dropping all functions, except that of direct field servicing of state organizations.

3. Limited continuation, dropping all functions except that of information --i.e., publications, information

center for press, other agencies, and state affiliates.

4. Continuation at present level of operation, retaining all functions.

5. Continuation with expanded functions.

At least three years of need for central office after end of 1957.

If states were left alone, the weaker units would soon wither, leaving areas of most need least serviced.

Also the opposition sprouts region-wide organization, and its delusions call for skilled and united countering, regionally and nationally.

Main problem is money.

Plan ahead to find our maximum support and we could.

Go ahead on present scale - or go out of business.

FRED ROUTH

Need will continue in an era moving from accelerated change to jet-propelled transition. Foolhardy if we fail to assist the change, in expanded way.

At end of 1957 desegregation of schools will not have reached hard-core states.

Must continue to provide an integrated professional service to meet a multiplying need for just the skills involved.

MRS. DOROTHY TILLY

"Challenging opportunities... with adjustment to the inevitable enforcement of its... decisions. To retrench would... betray..."

"Poor indeed will be the South... with the field left to a Regional setup of the Citizens' Councils."

"A Finance Committee, really feeling the seriousness, could... secure the funds needed."

States can't stand alone for a while yet.

Need yearly conferences of Southwide groups in Social Sciences, Church Women, the heads of denominational Boards of Education.

Alter New South:

"We should face the fact that our publications, for the most part, reach only those whose social conscience is already quickened. However, these will continue to need something like New South. There should be found some way to reach the masses so easily persuaded by the propaganda of such organizations as the Citizens' Council. Simple factual material tied up some way with their Bible Belt South, I believe could be just as effective as Talmadge's Statesman, etc. This too, calls for more finances, but if it can be done-- it will strengthen the appeal for funds."

George Mitchell says we should plan for three further years, after the expiry of the help from the Fund for the Republic, which occurs in September, 1957. His plan contemplates three years of further modest aid to some of the States, and continuance on a reduced basis of the most essential services of a central office.

Argument on the States runs as follows. In 1957 we shall be aiding the States on a level of $8,500 for each State. Each will run to a total budget of over $15,000. After 1957 there will be some of the States which in all likelihood could not carry on in reasonable strength unless they had some extra help. SRC would be free of any commitment to help all the States alike, and could put help on the States that would need it most. How many? Say six. How much? Say an average of $6,000 each. Call it $35,000 of annual subsidy to State organizations, on a minimum basis; and $50,000 of annual subsidy on a reasonable basis.

On the central office, certain services would have to be saved. You should keep up an interchange through an organ like New South. You need a paymaster, by title a Secretary-Treasurer. You would have to have at least one man travelling out to the States a great deal; ideally a combination administration and program man. New South lives by having someone to collect information, that gets called a Director or Research. You would need two and probably three clerks. And you would need some sort of Director. In a budget, for minimum and for reasonable, it looks like this:

Possible Budget for
Southern Regional Council

Typical Year 1957 et seq.

States	Minimum	Reasonable
For subsidy	35,000	50,000
Central Office		
Salaries		
Executive Director	8,000	10,000
Secretary	3,500	3,500
Secretary-Treasurer	4,000	5,000
Director of Information	7,000	7,500
Director of Research	7,500	5,000
Clerk	3,000	3,200
Clerk	3,000	3,200
Field Man	7,000	7,500
	37,000	43,800
Travel	5,000	8,000
Rent	1,200	1,500
Supplies	1,000	1,200
Telephone & telegraph	1,200	1,500
Postage	800	1,000
Printing	10,000	10,000
Social Security	1,200	1,400
Miscellaneous	500	500
	57,700	68,900
Total, Central Office	58,000	69,000
Total, Central Office & State	93,000	119,000

In three years,
Central Office and State

Minimum	279,000	-	280,000
Reasonable	357,000	-	360,000

How do you get together such sums?

By all experience, there is something that the staff can raise aided by friendships of the past. I would estimate this as follows:

(1958-60)
Per Year

From Churches	10,000
From Labor	10,000
Subscriptions to New South	15,000
Individual Gifts	1,000
Sale of Literature	1,000
Honoraria	1,000
Total	38,000

Annually, on the minimum budget of $93,000, this leaves $55,000 to be raised by a finance committee.

On the reasonable budget, it leaves $81,000 to be raised annually by a finance committee.

If you go on a three year basis:

Minimum budget:

Needed - 3 years
$280,000
Staff to raise
$114,000
Balance, finance committee
$166,000

Reasonable budget:

Needed - 3 years
$357,000
Staff to raise
$114,000
Balance, finance committee
$243,000

All of which is to say that three more years would cost on a mimimum basis, say $165,000 more than is in sight; and on a reasonable basis, $240,000 more than is in sight.

STAFF MEMORANDA

in regard to

THE FUTURE OF SRC

C.H. PARRISH

The future of SRC would seem to center around Program, Organization, and Financing with priority being given to these items in the order of their listing.

Two questions to be considered in connection with program are:

What is the unique role of SRC as presently constituted?
Is there any need for SRC? Or more precisely - Will there be a need for SRC after the period of the grant from FFR?

Perhaps it would be fitting to say that what is unique about SRC is not what it does but how it does it. Ours is an integrated approach. We have in the past combined in various degrees advocacy, professional service and research. For the most part the emphasis has been on advocacy. We have urged equality of opportunity and we now urge compliance with the law of the land. We will have fulfilled our unique mission, however, if we can'sell' the integrated approach. We are in a better position than anyone else to promote this approach because we have been working at it longer than anyone else. Our future depends upon the extent to which we can incorporate this experience into a body of technical knowledge and thus make available to the South a much needed professional service. Our major function would be that of imparting to others the skills we have acquired. We are not staffed for research but we have a continuing function of disseminating the findings of other research workers. Under appropriate conditions our files should be available to responsible social scientists for research purposes.

Assuming the realization of the ideal of twelve financially secure, autonomous State organizations dedicated to the achievement of SRC goals, it is difficult to see the need for anything more than a skeletal regional organization to serve as a sort of clearing house that would facilitate communication among the affiliated groups. Even if this ideal is not reached, any movement toward it would involve a corresponding reduction of SRC staff and budget.

The prospect is not bright for financial support that would make the State organizations independent of help from outside their borders. It is unrealistic to expect memberships and individual contributions of small sums by many people to be nearly enough to keep State organizations going. Sizeable donations in "hard core" States will almost invariably turn out to be bribes to get us to turn aside from the school segregation controversy. Local financial support for the SRC program would appear to be in inverse relationship to Need. On the other hand, in a few states where the political atmosphere is more congenial to our purposes, effective State councils may be taken over and operated at public expense. This would be an extension into the South of the pattern of official recognition and backing of human relations programs. In any event SRC would have to look to outside foundation support for its continued existence.

If SRC demonstrated its ability to provide the unique professional service which will be in great demand throughout the South during the next few years, there should be no great difficulty in getting the necessary funds. This is the task before us.

G.S. ALEXANDER

Reasons for continued existence

There are a number of reasons that could be advanced for the continued existence of SRC. First of all there seems to be a definite need for the Council in the supervision and coordination of activities of the several State affiliates. As it now stands SRC furnishes the hub of communications between the State Councils. The need for effective communications in any organization cannot be overstressed. There is also a need for some central point where information can be disseminated and chanelled to the different State organizations. There is also a definite need for research which can best be performed by SRC on the regional level.

It is my conviction that the State affiliates would function less efficiently without the present services that are being offered by the staff of SRC. These services mentioned above, I think, can best be performed by a central office rather than on a limited scale by the separate State affiliates.

Financial Support

However, in order for the central office to continue on its present level a very difficult financial problem presents itself. Ways and means for providing financial support for the program of the Council would have to be given serious consideration by the members and staff.

HAROLD FLEMING

I think it would be useful for the Executive Committee to consider the main alternatives confronting the SRC after the expiration of the Fund for the Republic's grant. One formulation might be:

1. Liquidation.

2. Limited continuation, dropping all functions except that of direct field servicing of State organizations.

3. Limited continuation, dropping all functions except that of information -- i.e., publications, information center for press, other agencies, and State affiliates.

4. Continuation at present level of operation, retaining all functions.

5. Continuation with expanded functions.

Need

It seems to me unquestionable that the SRC on something like its present scale will be needed for a minimum of three years beyond the anticipated end of Fund help. We will be lucky if by October 1957 most of the State groups are able to continue effectively on their own. It would be over-optimistic to hope that they would be strong enough collectively to maintain a regional office. It would also be over-optimistic, in my opinion, to hope that they would continue effectively without a regional office. Those in the lower South will particularly still need not only the practical help of the regional office, but also the psychological support of feeling themselves a part of a Southwide movement. Left on their own, communication between the States would soon break down and the weaker and more embattled organizations would wither away. The stronger groups -- mostly those in the more advanced States -- might well survive; but the most difficult areas would be left unserviced.

Another point: There is plenty of evidence that the other side is consolidating its strength across State lines. Witness the inter-State spread of the White Citizens' Councils, the efficient communication between the various Southern hate groups, Senator Eastland's proposal for a regional commission to "tell the South's story." These people see well enough the strength that comes of regionwide coordination and they will be pushing hard for it in the next few years. This kind of solidarity among the pro-segregation forces can't be effectively countered on a State-by-State basis. It calls for a regional instrument -- namely, SRC.

Noteworthy, too, that one aim of Eastland's proposal is to propagandize the Jim Crow version of the "South's story" at the national level. Again, only a regional group can offset this kind of propaganda aimed at a national audience.

Realities

It's easy to promote the continuing need for SRC in vacuo. Clearly, however, there are practical obstacles -- notably financial. In addition to the current fund-raising effort, the Executive Committee might begin planning some activities for the last grant year that would spread awareness of the need for a continuing SRC. Examples:

1. One or more conferences of leading people in the State organizations to explore the question of whether and how SRC is to continue.

2. A carefully staged meeting of New York philanthopoids (The New Yorker's word for foundation people.)

3. Consultation with friendly agencies, church groups, labor people, etc., aimed at involving them in the problem.

Nothing new about these ideas, but given the critical stage of Southern transition and an impending demise of SRC, they might produce some results. A lot of these people, who now take SRC for granted as a Fund project, might be startled into some kind of fruitful concern. While we wouldn't want to make such approaches too early, planning should proceed during the next year.

Conclusion

At the moment, it is my conviction that SRC should either be continued on at least its present scale or be frankly liquidated. I don't think we can go back. To limp along on a much-curtailed basis would, I think, be self-defeating in terms of both morale and financial support. Moreover, I believe efforts to continue the SRC should be based on the overt recognition that it will probably have to be largely subsidized for the duration of its life by sizable grants from outside the South. We can realistically hope for indigenously supported State groups within the next three to five years. But I doubt that it is realistic to hope for an indigenously supported regional organization too.

FRED ROUTH

The decade now ending has been a period of accelerated change for the South; SRC has played an important role in assisting the region and its people to adjust to this change. Recently SRC has completed the first phase of a vastly expanded program in the South; the setting up of human relations agencies in the twelve States of the area. These agencies have needed considerable aid and assistance from the central office, not only financially, bur organizationally and program-wise as well. Today and tomorrow these organizations face and will face the necessity of assisting communities in their respective States to meet the challenge of desegregation and integration. They, along with religious, educational, and business institutions and organized labor, have looked and will continue to look to SRC for guidance.

Thus, the first question to be answered by any organization which asks, "What of the future?" has received an affirmative reply. Is there a need for the continued services of the Southern Regional Council? YES! If the past decade can be referred to as the "decade of accelerated change" the coming decade may well be referred to as the "era of jet-propelled transition." And the needs of the State organizations, the region, and the people for constructive guidance will be multiplied not lessened. The South is well on its way back into the main stream of the nation's life. There are strong forces however, out of the past, which work to keep the South isolated.

The Council would be grossly negligent, indeed foolhardy, if it fails to assist the forces of progress in the South in the coming decade. Its program must be expanded, not constricted nor terminated, if we are to work out constructive transition.

At the time that the grant from the Fund for the Republic expires we may expect that desegregation in the schools will be well under way in some of the Southern States but it is almost beyond hope that much change will have taken place in Alabama, Louisiana, South Carolina. Georgia or Mississippi. There will be work still to be done by a regional office to assist the State organizations to help bring about compliance with the Supreme Court decision.

The trend of the recent Supreme Court decisions is toward holding un-Constitutional the expenditure of public funds for segregated facilities or services. I.C.C. rulings demand non-segregation in inter-State transportation and in terminal and depot facilities. The President's Committee on Government

Contracts is working to end discrimination and segregation in all plants which have contracts with the federal government. Organized labor is united as never before and this gigantic force is seeking an end to discrimination and segregation in its locals. As big business and industry move into the South new demands for conformity to the national pattern will be felt even now.

The demands for change on the part of the South are multiplying; they are many times what they were only months ago. To assist the South and its people through this period of transition there is a need for an integrated organization which has had experience in assisting social change and has earned the confidence of both white and colored people.

There is in the South today only one organization which meets all of these requirements: The Southern Regional Council. A joint planning committee composed of representatives of the Board, the central staff, the State staffs, and competent social scientists should sit down together to examine the needs of the South in the continuing adjustment and to plan how the Council may help fill those needs. Its future must not rest on the continuation of funds from one source, no matter how generous. A well organized, far-seeing Finance Committee is a must. A professionally competent program planning committee is a must. An adequate professional consultant service is a must. A well-trained professional staff is a must. A dedicated Board of Directors is a must.

If the Council really cares about the South of the future toward which it has worked, then it has work yet to do. Let it never be claimed that the leaders of SRC said, as did Louis XV,

"Pres moi le deluge."

MRS. DOROTHY TILLY

The future of the Southern Regional Council as to finances seems dark -- but the future is bright with challenging opportunities and most definitely with direct responsibilities of SRC to help the South through the difficult days of adjusting itself to the inevitable enforcement of the Supreme Court decisions.

Never has there been more need of SRC than there will be in the next few years. To retrench would amount almost to betrayal of our section and of those organizations and individuals who have, through the years, sought direction from it.

Poor indeed will the South be without SRC with the field left to a Regional setup of the Citizens' Council.

I believe a Finance Committee, really feeling the seriousness of the situation in the South (the defiance of the supreme law of the land, the fear, intimidation, and terror engendered by the Citizens' Councils) and seeing in the situation the opportunities and challenges to the SRC could speak so convincingly they would secure the funds needed.

Needs

1. The State Councils will not be able to stand alone in another year or so without a coordinated and directing Central agency. Therefore, the Central office needs to be strengthened by both staff and space.

2. Yearly conferences of several days for each of the following South-wide groups. Leaders in the field of Social Sciences, Church Women, heads of denominational Boards of Education.

3. We should face the fact that our publications, for the most part, reach only those whose social conscience is already quickened. However , these will continue to need something like New South. There should be found some way to reach the masses so easily persuaded by the propaganda of such organizations as the Citizens' Council. Simple factual material tied up some way with their Bible Belt South, I believe could be just as effective as Talmadge's Statesman, etc. This too calls for more finances, but if it can be done -- it will strenthen the appeal for funds. (Talmadge spent one half million on trying to extend the County unit system to general elections. The other side $13,000 and won.)

George Mitchell says we should plan for three further years, after the expiry of the help from the Fund for the Republic, which occurs in September 1957. His plan contemplates three years of further modest aid to some of the States, and continuance on a reduced basis of the most essential services of a central office.

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	37,000	43,800
Travel	5,000	8,000
Rent	1,200	1,500
Supplies	1,000	1,200
Telephone & telegraph	1,200	1,500
Postage	800	1,000
Printing	10,000	10,000
Social Security	1,200	1,400
Miscellaneous	500	500
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$166,000

Reasonable budget:

Needed - 3 years
$357,000
Staff to raise
$114,000
Balance, finance committee
$243,000

All of which is to say that three more years would cost on a mimimum basis, say $165,000 more than is in sight; and on a reasonable basis, $240,000 more than is in sight.

MINUTES

HOPE Executive Committee Meeting - (Atlanta Chapter)

Fran Breeden's, September 14th, 8 P.M.

(1960)

Present were: Fran, Anne Nabors, Adele Blumenthal, Mary Green, Charles Wittenstein, Paul Rilling, Maxine Friedman, Beverly Downing, Florence Robin, Judy Neiman, Lanier Randall, Nan Pendergrast, and your secretary.

Fran and Judy read to us a number of letters from friends and contacts, both here and away, congratulating OASIS on the successful opening of schools.

Anne Nabors gave us a financial report. Since December 1958, we have collected $44,873.94. This includes OASIS funds, which, with OASIS expenditures, have been handled in the HOPE accounts. It does not include services and goods donated. We have spent to date $40,637.73. There are some bills outstanding, but it would seem that funds are adequate for our immediate needs.

There was stimulating discussion, round and round, about the various aspects and factors to be considered in regard to HOPE's future. It was unanimously voted that the Atlanta Chapter of HOPE disband as of October 15. This decision is really more in the nature of a technicality than anything else. The future status of the state-wide organization of HOPE, its office and files, etc., will be determined at a meeting of the Board of Directors, to be called by Beverly Downing as chairman, in the near future (probably early October).

Respectfully submitted,

Muriel Lokey, secretary

LWDV
AR

HOPE, Inc. - Board of Directors Meeting

8 PM, October 6, - Beverly Downing's house
(1960)

Present were Jim Dorsey, Anne Nabors, Lanier Randall, Arthur Huie, Fran Breeden, Martha Bryant, Nancy Hayes, Beverly Downing, Muriel Lokey.

It was determined that the feeling is unanimous that HOPE not be completely disbanded at this time.

Anne Nabors reported that we have $3,747.00 on hand; present bills to be paid will reduce the account to about $2,800.

Happily, there is complete agreement, arrived at with dispatch, on our future plans. HOPE will continue as before, with the same officers, on an inactive basis. We will keep our bank account (what is left after all obligations are paid) and be ready to go into action when and if we are ever needed. Pending such need, the Board will meet once a year. Beverly's address will be our mailing address. The HOPE office will be closed as of October 20.

Fran Breeden plans to write special thank you letters to special friends.

Guess what! We all think it would be fun to have a HOPE party -- probably to be on Saturday, November 4, at the Dinkler. You'll be hearing about it.

Respectfully submitted

Muriel Lokey, Secretary

1036 Somerset Drive NW.

Atlanta 5, Ga.

HOPE, Inc.

Minutes of quarterly board meeting of HOPE, Inc. held after a dinner at Hart's Peachtree Restaurant on October 19, 1960.

The dinner was a festive occasion, gathering over 50 people, including board and executive committee members, advisory board members, and special guests. A special surprise presentation was made to Fran Breeden in recognition of her retirement as chairman of the Executive Committee. The gift was an old brass "schoolmaster's" bell, inscribed "To Fran Breeden, for her devotion to keeping the school bells of Georgia ringing, October 1960".

After dinner, Fran Breeden called the Board meeting to order. It was voted to dispense with the reading of the minutes of the previous meeting, and to accept them as mailed.

Proposed by-law changes, which had been mailed to everyone, were read and adopted.

Fran relinquished the chair to Lanier Randall, the vice-chairman, in order to propose a new study of the charter and by-laws with the aim of making the organization as flexible and smoothly functioning as possible. Mr. Foreman moved that this be referred to the legal committee for action, and this motion was passed.

The Board then elected Anne Nabors a member, as its new Treasurer. Beverly Downing was elected the new chairman of the Executive Committee.

The resignation of Jim Hooten, the former delegated respresentative from Gainesville, was accepted with regret. It was voted to ask Gainesville for a new nomination to fill this vacancy.

Introductions were made of new committee appointees including:

Robert L. Foreman, Jr., Finance Chairman
Adele Blumenthal, Office Volunteers
Barbara Daupert, "Operation Last Chance" for North Atlanta
Florence Robin, "Judy's right hand gal"
Nancy Hayes, Advisor to Students for Open Schools

Nancy introduced Karina Lichirie who is Co-chairman with Linda Walter of the Students Groups. Karina spoke to us of the plans underway to organize college and high school students in the state in order that they may effectively voice their opinions.

Anne Nabors made her treasurer's report. Briefly it is as follows:

As of October 1:

Operating Account	$2,623
Salary account	3,123
Unpaid bills	289

In reference to the vote at the last Board meeting to go ahead with plans for a major fund raising campaign, Lanier Randall reported to the board that the committee, of which he was chairman, set up to discuss the implementation of this plan, felt that until the executive committee had evolved a

a full scale plan of action, the wheels of a major fund raising campaign could not be set in motion.

Anne Nabors, as Treasurer, requested that the system of check signing be changed from one out of two authorized signatures to any two out of four authorized signatures. The board voted to do so, and named Anne, Beverly, Betty Harris, and Jim Dorsey as the four. At the same time, the board voted 1) to ask the legal committee to make a specific recommendation to the Executive Committee in regard to bonding of the check-signers and 2) to ask the Executive Committee to act upon this recommendation.

Fran then turned the meeting over to Beverly, who, along with Judy and Frances Pauley, and other committee chairmen painted an exciting picture of HOPE's fall activities and plans leading up to the Legislature.

Judy spoke of the meetings to be held around the state this month (Athens, Savannah, Rome, Albany, Augusta and Columbus) and of the various ways in which maximum news value is being secured. Judy and Florence Robin have produced our brand-new-type newsletter, now ready to go out. Fund raising letters will follow.

Frances Pauley told of the expansion of the state-wide organization. She is making trips with Beverly to talk with Key people in various sections about finding our friends and building a quick-reaction type organization to go into action during the legislature. Various sections of the state have been assigned to chapters and individuals in furthering this aim. In reference to these plans, we heard a brief report from our out-of-town people: Dr. Richardson and Mrs. Burts from Macon, Frank Wilson from Marietta, Arthur Huie from Jonesboro, and John Wilkins from Athens.

Beverly expressed our gratitude to Mr. Foreman for accepting the responsibility of finance chairman; Adele Blumenthal reported on the Office Volunteers; Barbara Daugert spoke on her plans for her North Atlanta groups; and Lanier Randall described his plans for reaching the friends of open schools in South Atlanta. Beverly announced also that Mary Green will (after the election) serve HOPE as a political advisory chairman, and that Fran Breeden will be chairman of our activities pertaining to our assault on the legislature.

In concluding the meeting, Fran Breeden led a discussion of our State Advisory Board names. It was agreed to go on and print stationery with our current list of names, and also to appoint a committee to decide on additional names.

The meeting was adjourned.

Respectfully submitted,

Muriel Lokey
Secretary

P.S. When you write your personal letters to friends re: contributing to HOPE, we suggest that you include a brief explanation, to the effect that such letters are being written by Board Members who have not cross-checked names. Should a person receive more than one, just put it down to an enthusiastic Board!

Minutes, HOPE Executive Committee

November 11, 1960

The following people met in the Conference room of the Atlanta Red Cross building, 848 Peachtree Street:

Beverly Downing, presiding
Fran Breeden, Anne Nabors, Judy Neiman, Nancy Hayes, Florence Robin, Bob Foreman, Lanier Randall, Gerry Reed, Betty Harris.

Beverly called for reports, and these were made:

1) Nancy Hayes re: SPED (Student for Public Education). Students are participating in "Operation Last Chance" by distributing cards similar to the ones developed by Frances Pauley and Beverly. Efforts are being made to have student and faculty contacts on each campus and high schools.

2) Fran Breeden re: Legislative activities:

a. Mr. Cates, Exec. of Georgia Chamber of Commerce accepted several thousand copies of the condensed Sibley Report, for distribution at the Pre-legislative Forums, conducted over the state by the Chamber of Commerce.

b. personal contacts were made wherever possible in or near the cities in which the Forums were held, to be sure that the school question was discussed. It was not to be on the prepared agenda.

c. outlined plan to do some "groundwork" with legislators disposed toward open schools.

3) Beverly Downing (for Frances Pauley) re: State contacts made in interest of "Operation Last Chance":

a. Due to personal visits made by Frances and Beverly, there are people at work in Madison, Milledgeville, Douglas, Valdosta, Albany, Columbus, Augusta, Dublin, Macon.

b. The 4th District is the special responsibility of the HOPE Executive Committee, and has many unclaimed towns and counties waiting to be spoken for. To date, work has begun in LaGrange, Carrollton, and Clayton County.

Beverly pointed out that it is <u>vital</u> work, and fun to do. She urged members of the Executive Committee to volunteer for at least <u>one</u> town per member. This contact work should be completed by the middle of December.

4) Judy Neiman re: Public Information activities:

a. an estimated total of 500 people attended the four meetings in Rome, Albany, Columbus, and Augusta. Each meeting had excellent news coverage. Follow-up work was done in each city, with the happy results of increased activity in those areas.

b. fund-raising letters were sent to 2500 people. Each letter contained educational and promotional material.

c. in the works, are a new pamphlet, and a Newsletter. The latter will be a pre-legislative fact sheet, and will be given as wide distribution as funds will allow. In the meantime, Athen HOPE will mimeograph a fact sheet for immediate consumption, and will pay for its cost.

Paul Rilling

Minutes of HOPE Quarterly Board Meeting held on Friday, February 17th, 1961, at 8 P.M. at Fran Breeden's. Present in addition to the hostess and your secretary were Betty Harris, Beverly Downing, Anne Nabors, Jim Dorsey, Florence Robin, Lanier Randall, Nancy Hayes, Charles Demere, and Arthur Huie.

Anne Nabors gave the treasurer's report, roughly as follows: Our special salary funds have been spent; we have about $1800, but with salaries and outstanding bills this will last about a month. Fran announced that a request has already been made for continuance of the salary fund, but that we must get busy and raise operating funds. Florence suggested that we continue to send fund appeals by mail to Atlanta people, and that we keep in touch with state people, informing them of HOPE's status and activities.

In a discussion of the future relationship between chapters of HOPE, and the Atlanta organization, it was pretty generally agreed that the chapters cannot give direct help to Atlanta in preparing for desegregation this fall. However we are also agreed that it is necessary for Atlanta to keep in communication with its contacts throughout the state, for many reasons. At this time there is a more clear division between state activity of HOPE and local matters than there has been in the past. Beverly will plan on directing HOPE's state-wide activities from Athens, and Fran will be chairman of Atlanta's current local efforts.

Fran brought to the group a proposition made to us by a representative of the Encyclopedia Brittanica, that in exchange for the use of our mailing list, we would receive a commission on sales. There was no enthusiasm for accepting this proposition.

Fran announced that Frances Pauley has resigned from the executive committee. We are sorry to lose her and we will miss her; she has done a monumental job for us and we are extremely grateful. It was also announced that Judy Neiman has resigned as P. I. chairman, but that Florence Robin has agreed to take over as chairman, and Judy will continue to work with Florence.

Fran told of her conferences with Dr. Letson, Superintendent of Atlanta schools. He plans to speak at each high school this spring to present the plan for desegregation and to ask for cooperation and acceptance. He hopes PTA's will promote meetings and study groups at each high school. HOPE can help in reaching as many parents as possible.

Florence reported on the plans of the inter-group committee for a city-wide campaign by newspapers and tv to prepare Atlanta for peaceful desegregation.

Mary Green was unable to come, but urges the necessity of our working in preparation for the coming city-wide elections which will undoubtedly have a critical bearing on the school issue.

Nancy Hayes discussed with us possible future courses of action in our work among students.

Betty Harris brought to us the request of the United Church Women that we "join hands" again for some state meetings focused on peaceful desegregation. It was agreed that HOPE's contribution can best be made after Atlanta's "D-Day." Betty was asked to suggest to the UCW, that they go ahead with their spring meetings, and that we will talk with them later on possible fall meetings in the state.

Respectfully submitted,

Muriel Lokey, Secretary

For your information - BMH

Minutes of "Exploratory Meeting" February 23, 1961, called by HOPE, Inc. to discuss ways and means of working toward peaceful transition to desegregation in the Atlanta High Schools.

Present: Mrs. Edward Askren, HOPE Advisory Bd., YWCA Bd., United Church Women

Mrs. Ed S. Cook, Jr., HOPE Volunteer, PTA

Mr. & Mrs. Leonard Fisher, Spring St. PTA Co-presidents

Mrs. Wm. Green, Atlanta Council of U.N., Atlanta UCW, YWCA, Teen-age SS groups

Mrs. Phil Narmore, Pres. Atlanta Council of UCW

Mr. Joe Scott, retired principal of Bass High School

Miss Elizabeth Wellington, retired school-teacher of Atlanta system

Mrs. Jake Harris, HOPE Executive Director.

After introductions, Mrs. Harris gave a brief description of HOPE's role "Then, and Now," and explained the purpose of this meeting:

- - - - to discuss ideas re: peaceful desegregation

1) who is doing what?
2) what should be done?
3) who should be involved?
4) what should HOPE's role be?

In the open discussion that followed, these comments and suggestions were made:

Mr. Fisher - thought it doubtful that the PTA will move, in concert, with direction from the Atlanta Council. A committee to discuss school desegregation has been appointed at Spring Street.

Mrs. Fisher - suggested that perhaps something on this subject might be introduced at the March Conference of the 13th District of PTA.

Mrs. Narmore - reported that she has appointed a committee from the Atlanta UCW, to discuss and plan for their contribution to this effort. They are thinking in terms of discussions and study groups held in churches. They will of course approach the subject from the point of view: What is the Christian thing to do?

Mr. Scott - pointed out some advantages that he believes Atlanta has:

-- 11th & 12th graders are concerned with finishing High School, and will not readily be partners in any effort to disrupt their education

-- the majority of the parents will have this same concern.

He agreed that we must all work together toward a good climate of acceptance, so that extremists (KKK, etc.) will not get the upper-hand.

Mrs. Askren - informed us that the Y-Teen Council is planning discussions on this subject this spring. These may possibly be interracial.

She also informed us that the Public Affairs Committee of the Y.W.C.A. is planning discussions. Their approach will be from the psycological aspect, trying to help people understand the fundamentals of predjudice.

Mrs. Green - injected the thought that if Mayor Hartsfield does not offer for re-election, we must all work hard to elect a good mayor; we should also be aware of the Board of Education election.

Miss Wellington - suggested that the PTA might be more apt to work constructively, now that the "open school" laws have been passed. She reported that Mr DeVaughn, Principal of Brown High, will welcome help from groups such as ours.

Mrs. Cook - reported that a recent attempt failed to get the Atlanta PTA Council to organize study groups on this subject.

Mr. Scott - suggested that cooperation might be secured from the three Community Councils: Bass, Hoke Smith, and South West.

All - were in agreement that every effort should be made to get as many groups as possible to work constructively toward "calm acceptance, and peaceful transition"; that this effort should be coordinated by HOPE, Inc., and that this should be done openly, without fear of antagonizing. There seemed to be a consensus that HOPE had proven its worth, and should continue to be the rallying point of open school efforts.

The attached memo (prepared previously by Mrs. Harris) was distributed and read. Subsequent discussion brought out these suggestions:

1) at Mrs. Harris' conference with Dr. Letson on Monday, Feb. 27, that he be informed of the interest of this group, and of their proposals of activities, but that he be also asked if a joint conference with Mr. Latimer, himself, and representatives from the group, might not be desirable.

At this subsequent conference, our approach would be, can we not all join to-gether, to make possible a calm and dignified acceptance, and peaceful transition?

At this point, Mrs. Harris asked if those present would serve as a Steering Committee. All agreed, (Mrs. Narmore will be Mrs. Green's alternate) and suggested that the committee be enlarged to include people to represent other segments of the Atlanta community: business, legal, religious, youth work.

Negro representation was discussed. It was pointed out that the Atlanta Council on Human Relations is working on the school problem, on an interracial basis. A decision was not reached, but some members expressed the belief that the Steering Committee would be strengthened by including Negroes.

It was agreed that the following contacts be made before the next meeting, on Tuesday, 11 A.M. at the HOPE office:

1) Mr. Scott - Bass Community Council President (who is also a Baptist minister)

2) Mrs. Green - will investigate Retirement, Inc. as a source of volunteer help; also, James Downing of Downing Motors, Treas. Grady PTA, member P'tree Christian Church

3) The Fishers - Dr. Stuart Oglesby, Jack Woodside (active in Explorer Boy Scouts); they will also ask Hamilton Lokey for suggestions re: legal representation

4) Miss Wellington - Mrs. Mildred Chester as her alternate

5) Mrs. Harris - Mrs. Oze Horton (who was asked to this meeting, but was out of the city).

Mrs. Harris asked for help in securing Student Directories in the High Schools. Several people volunteered to try to do this.

Respectfully submitted,

Betty M. Harris
Acting Secretary

P.S. Please handle minutes confidentially.

<u>NOTE</u>: Next meeting to be held on ~~Monday~~ Tues, Feb. 27, 11 A.M., HOPE Office.

Suggestions prepared for discussion for Feb. 23 meeting,
held in HOPE office

LET's TALK ABOUT ----

1. Community organization in each white High School neighborhood, to enable parents and students to begin now to make definite preparation for

   a) calm acceptance of the fact of possible desegregation in their High School
   b) peaceful transition.

2. Possible timing, and ways of work

--- In March

a) confer with Dr. Letson on details of project. (Monday next, at 2:30)
b) carefully select from one to five parents and students in each High School. Discuss project, getting their suggestions, etc. Get their committment to spearhead the work. Suggest that where possible, they work with PTA, and with the cooperation of the Principal and Area Superintendent.
c) possible conferences with many groups represented.

Suggestions of possible sources of these "key people":

1) PTA, teachers, Principal, Area Supt.
2) leadership of Community Councils (such as Bass, South West, etc.)
3) leadership of youth groups (Key Clubs, "Y", Scouts, etc.)
4) Ministers and youth workers in churches near school
5) HOPE card-file. This might be helpful to check against Student Directories, in schools where they are available.

3. ---- In early April

Plan an orientation program for the leadership group, to enable them to crystallize their thinking into an action plan, with focus and direction.

This meeting should be carefully planned, and should have inspiration, education, and group dynamics as integral parts.

It might be done on an area basis, or a city-wide basis.

4. ---- In April and May

This is where the real work would be done, by each local school leadership group.

If needed, a Steering Committee might function to encourage and advise from time to time.

In each school, ways of work would doubtless differ. At least some of the following would probably be included:

--- discussions, study groups
--- development of a "Code of Conduct" similar to the one worked out at Brown High
--- a definite operational plan for D-Day.

MEMORANDUM TO HOPE SUPPORTERS
March 21, 1961

Dear Friend:

We welcome your reaction to this report of HOPE's thinking, as Atlanta prepares for desegregation this Fall. We will keep you posted on further developments.

Sincerely,
Fran.

Georgia heaved a collective sigh of relief when the Legislature passed Governor Vandiver's school bill package. Now, we all felt, the way was cleared for peaceful compliance with the law. Now, unconstitutional statutes were swept aside, and in their place were a series of laws under which Georgians could control their educational destinies without force or coercion.

We have every reason to feel relieved; even self-congratulatory. For over two years HOPE supporters have labored to achieve just this result.

But let us intrude on this mood of relief by analyzing the prospects before us when school opens in Atlanta this Fall on a desegregated basis.

Let us interrupt our congratulations by examining the nature of the victory — its grave weaknesses, as well as its strengths.

We will find that what has been taken is a small first step. We have not reached the end of the road, now even as Mr. Churchill has said, the beginning of the end, but only the end of the beginning.

What follows then is an appraisal of what the school laws mean; what steps are necessary to translate them into reality; and what role HOPE can play in keeping our schools open in an atmosphere of dignity and calm.

THE NEW SCHOOL LAWS -- WHAT THEY ARE

All the statutes in conflict with the 1954 Supreme Court decision have been swept away. Laws which forbade desegregation and which withheld money from schools which did desegregate are now off the books.

The new laws permit pupil placement under local option; i.e., the admittance of Negro students to formerly white schools provided they meet certain scholastic, residence and psychological criteria left in the hands of local school boards. The criteria set up here in Atlanta indicate they will be used to keep desegregation to a token basis.

The laws further propose that no student can be forced to attend schools with a child of another race; that those not wishing to attend may apply for state-grants-in-aid permitting a student to attend a private segregated school if his public school is desegregated. Just how these grants-in-aid will be awarded has not yet been spelled out in detail.

Also, a community may, on petition of 15% of its registered voters, hold a referendum on whether or not the school shall be closed in the event of desegregation; or this referendum may be initiated by the local school board.

HOW WILL DESEGREGATION COME?

Although desegregation all over the state is now theoretically possible, it is going to come community by community, court suit by court suit, and not all at once. Atlanta, under federal court order since last May, will be the first to desegregate under the Atlanta School Board plan already approved by Federal Judge Hooper. This would desegregate the 12th and 11th grades of high school this Fall, and then a grade a year in descending order from then on.

Obviously, the pattern of desegregation through the state will determine HOPE's activities. Atlanta this Fall will be the first focus of attention; Atlanta HOPE supporters will therefore carry the major burden of activity. As other communities face desegregation, the focus will shift to them. For HOPE supporters realize that all the laws in the world will not prevent lawlessness. There must be community acceptance of the law, and this means careful, coordinated community planning. It is now more important than ever before for communities outside Atlanta to keep their organizations strong and active so they can learn from Atlanta's experience, make their own advance plans, and continue the job of creating the climate for successful desegregation.

ADVANCE PLANNING IN ATLANTA

HOPE supporters have been meeting informally for some months with representatives of other groups to discuss what can be done on a community-wide basis. The following are the questions with which the voluntary organizations are now dealing:

1. How can widest community support be mobilized by voluntary organizations through special meetings by existing religious, womens,fraternal and civic associations? Can we enlist both official school spokesmen and representatives of civic groups to address these meetings?

2. Would small informal neighborhood "coffees" of high school parents to answer sepecific questions and allay possible fears be helpful?

3. How can parents in presently white high schools be prepared? What are the mechanisms for calling a special PTA meeting in every high school before school re-opens? If PTA leadership in a particular school is hostile, how can parents who are friendly be found and urged to speak up within PTA if possible, informally if not?

4. How can voluntary organizations stimulate the mass media to undertake a public information campaign? What broad-gauged activity would capture the imagination of the whole population of Atlanta?

5. How can the news media be encouraged to tie Atlanta's future growth to peaceful desegregation this Fall? To point out the irreparable harm that would be done to business, tourism, major league sports, etc., by riots and rowdyism?

6. How can we best use existing literature prepared by voluntary organizations and see that it gets wide distribution?

7. What role should the clergy play to encourage peaceful desegregation, especially among high school age youngsters?

8. What can voluntary organizations do to unite community support for keeping schools open in the event of a referencum?

DOUBLE JEOPARDY: APATHY AND COMPLACENCY

There is nothing dramatic in these questions. There is no legislative crisis here to make the morning headlines -- no ugly riots to stir the conscience. The work of preventing incidents in the Fall will be demanding, slow and even tiresome. For those outside Atlanta it will seem far removed from their daily lives.

These are the double dangers that HOPE now faces. For if we in Atlanta do not work hard for our objectives this Spring, crisis -- even chaos -- will greet us in the Fall. New Orleans is a grim reminder of that possibility.

If we fail to make a financial investment in HOPE in the Spring -- then the extremists will declare a dividend of trouble in the Fall.

We cannot let these things happen. We here must set the example that will pave the way for smooth transition for every other community in Georgia. And as our plans mature, we must turn to all HOPE supporters for their advice, guidance and help. We know that we will be able to count on your generous response.

PAGINATION INCORRECT

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Atlanta 3, Georgia

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3/29/61

Minutes of meeting of HOPE Executive Committee
held on March 10th at 8 P.M., at Fran Breeden's

Present in addition to the hostess and the secretary were: Betty Harris, Gerald Reed, Nancy Hayes, Lanier Randall, Anne Nabors, Charles Wittenstein, Mary Green, and Barbara Daugert.

Anne Nabors presented the hard cold facts of our financial situation. In short, we have enough money in hand to last until the end of the month. We are anxiously awaiting word of the hoped-for renewal of our salary funds.

Anne and Charles are going to look into the matter of moving our offices. We must vacate present quarters anyway; it might be advisable to move to another more convient section of the city rather than to move into different space in the same building. Anne will inquire about cutting down to one telephone for the present.

A Newsletter is "in the works."

Nan Pendergrast is reactivating the "Speakers Bureau" in preparation for the coming months.

Betty Harris gave an interesting account of her work with a group of citizens, concerned with peaceful transition to desegregation in the public high schools. In addition to an enlarged Speakers Bureau, a group is actively involved in making community contacts to

1) open channels of communications
2) help create a climate of acceptance.

Dr. Letson, Dr. Stephens, and Area Superintendents have been most helpful in giving suggestions and guidance. Among other things, activities have included meetings with the Advisory Boards of three Community Councils: Bass, Southwest, and Fulton. The program as presented by the chairman, Mr. Joe Scott (just retired as principal of Bass High) was well received. Other committee members have taken jobs of talking with parents and others, to encourage them to exercise positive leadership on the local level of their own High School Community. An exciting result of a meeting with Dr. Stephens (ass't to Dr. Letson) and Area Supt's. is a proposed TV panel presentation, on the schools' closed circuit, into each elementary and high school, where PTAs will gather with other community leaders. They will discuss their roles after hearing Dr. Letson and other key figures speak. These plans are tentative.

Nancy Hayes suggested to the group that in view of the changing circumstances, a new name and a new "focus" might be worth considering for SPED ("Students for Public Education.") Discussion followed concerning the roles of students and facuty, in the public and private colleges, as related to the matter of desegregation, and to HOPE. Nancy also asked that,for the present at any rate,a replacement be found for herself.

Mary Green gave an illuminating report of the recent Third Annual Conference of the U. S. Civil Rights Commission, at which she was a speaker. Then she went on to recommend, as Political Activity Chairman, that we pay very close attention to the coming city-wide elections, because their outcome will vitally affect the atmosphere of the first school year of desegregation.

Fran explained the new reorganization proposals: that the present Executive Committee of HOPE be now known as the Executive Committee of the Greater Atlanta Chapter of HOPE; that she will serve as chairman for the present; that Beverly will serve as chairman of the Board of Directors of HOPE, operating out of Athens. These proposals seemed sensible to the group and were accepted.

Respectfully submitted,

Murial Lokey (Mrs. Hamilton)

P.S. For many reasons, it was later decided to remain at 50 Whitehall St. The office is now at 813. Come to see us!

MINUTES of Community Contacts Committee
March 21, 1961

Present: Mr. Joe Scott, Chairman; Mrs. Stanley Daugert, Mrs. George Douglas, Mr. and Mrs. Leonard Fisher, Mrs. Wm. Green, Miss Katherine Park, Mr. R. Q. Pugh, Mr. Lanier Randall, Mrs. Wm. Shelfer, Mrs. Jake Harris

Mr. Scott reviewed the work of the committee, up to the present. As a part of this, he called on the following for special reports:

- - - Mrs. Green, on the meeting with the Southwest Council Advisory Committee

- - - Mr. Fisher, on the announcement he made at Grady PTA, re: the program. On the whole, it was well received

- - - Mr. Pugh, on the ministers meeting (of the Bass area), at which Mr. Scott presented the program. Again, it was well received, and its importance was emphasized by Mr. Bennett, Principal of Bass High

- - - Mrs. Shelfer, on the program plans of the Bass Community Council. These include a panel at the April meeting, as well as a presentation at the annual meeting in May. Both will deal with the vital subject under consideration

- - - Mrs. Harris, on the tentative plans for the TV panel programs.

The group discussed the proposed plans, and made several constructive suggestions, which Mrs. Mrs. Harris was asked to pass on to Dr. Letson and Dr. Stephens.

We faced the practical problem of getting community leaders to attend the TV panel program. It was decided that we should miss no opportunity to let individuals and groups, especially in the High School areas, know about the program, once the date is set.

Mr. Randall told of plans to enlicit the help of Ministers through the Atlanta Christian Council,of which he is a lay member. He will coordinate his efforts with those of Dr. Stuart Ogelesby, of the Speakers Bureau.

Mr. Pugh suggested that the Community Councils be encouraged to reach out beyond their own jurisdictions, to invite neighboring groups to their programs concerning the school issue.

Mr. Scott reported that he and Mr. Pugh were welcomed by the Fulton Advisory Board. Almost immediately they decided to devote their April meeting to the subject, and invited Mr. Scott to speak to the Fulton Community Council.

Members agreed to make contacts in these areas:

The Fishers - Grady

Mrs. Green - Dykes, North Fulton, Northside, plus some business contacts.
Miss Park Mrs. Green said that Mr. Downing had agreed to help.

Mrs. Shelfer - Bass, East Atlanta, Murphy, Roosevelt

Mr. Scott - Fulton, George, Sylvan
Mr. Pugh

The following members will be asked to take these assignments:

Miss Wellington - Brown
Mrs. Douglas - Southwest, Therrell, West Fulton.
Mrs. Cook

The Hoke Smith Council voted against allowing Mr. Scott to present our program to its Advisory Board. At present, we lack an entree into the Smith High School Community.

The guide for speakers will be distributed to PTA presidents after Dr. Letson addresses the Council on April 6.

Mrs. Green will consult Mr. Downing and other business men, on the best way to get it into civic and service clubs.

The Committee will meet again, on call, when there is a need.

Betty M. Harris, Acting Secretary

Minutes of HOPE Executive Committee
April 13, 1961

In addition to the hostess and the writer, the following met at the home of Betty Harris: Fran Breeden, Betty Boyd (Mrs. James E.), Ted Davidge, Jim Dorsey, Anne Nabors, Gerry Reed.

Fran presided, and first called on Anne for the Treasurer's report:

Salary account	- $1,387
Operating account	- 1,876
	$3,263.

Anne and Betty Harris said that the initial response to the recent fund-raising letter is very encouraging. However, our financial situation is still doubtful,as far as our having adequate funds to last even until October first.

After discussion, it was agreed to plan for special letters to a select group of large givers, asking for funds to help us finish the job. It was suggested that these letters be mailed between May 15 and May 30. Florence Robin will be asked to draft the letter. Muriel offered to help with the selection of recipients.

The subject of tax-exemption was discussed by Jim and others. The consensus seemed to be that it would be unwise to pursue it, in view of the oft-time political nature of our activities.

Betty Harris described the currently expanding efforts of the Inter-group Committee on Schools, now structured into four sections: Civic and Service Organizations, Religious groups, Youth-Serving agencies, Speakers Bureau. Each section has its chairman and/or Steering Committee, which is coordinated by Jane Hammer. Fran is,of course,playing an important role as chairman of HOPE. Her activities include conferences with Dr. Letson, serving on a sub-committee to enlarge the Inter-group Committee, and a member-at-large on the over-all Steering Committee. She is also contacting parents in Dykes High School. Florence Robin, Judy Neiman, Charles Wittenstein, and Art Levin are serving as Communications Specialists. Betty and Paul Rilling are staff consultants. Widespread and diverse groups are being brought into this effort to mobilize the entire community to prepare for peaceful desegregation.

We were pleased to welcome Betty Boyd, who replaces Nancy Hayes, as college student liaison. We appreciate Nancy's fine contribution which she will continue to give as much as possible. Betty's report included:

— a YMCA sponsored meeting at Tech of about 150 students and about 50 faculty and other interested persons. She was encouraged by the constructive ideas expressed

— a trip to Athens with Nancy Hayes and Betty Harris. Beverly Downing had arranged conferences with Jim Popovitch (faculty member), and Corky King (student adviser, Westminister Fellowship) in the morning, and with Dean Wm. Tate in the afternoon. Several good suggestions were gleaned from the discussion of their experiences on the University of Ga. campus. These will be shared with the people who may be helped by them, in other institutions.

Fran sent a gift of money in the name of HOPE, to the Methodist Church in Athens where Mrs. Benson was an active member. Beverly said that all the family appreciated the thought, especially her father.

Respectfully submitted,

Muriel Lokey

Ga - HOPE

HELP OUR PUBLIC EDUCATION

HOPE, INC.

50 WHITEHALL ST., S. W., ATLANTA 3, GA. JA 5-8460 - 5-8469

AN INVITATION

The air is full of fall-out; the woods are full of spies;
The courts are full of lawsuits, the Russians full of lies.

Berlin is filled with tension, and Africa's aflame.
But Georgia, bless her heart, has made herself a name.

She's run HOPE out of business, in the best way we could ask.
Now each of us is free to choose another noble task.

But before we launch ourselves into the next consuming cause,
We need a brief hiatus -- a nice, refreshing pause.

To give us strength to better serve our city, state, our nation,
We suggest a tasty smorgasboard -- perhaps a small libation.

A touch of light fantastic, some conversation fey,
And just to salve our consciences, let's "dutch it" all the way.

So shorten that black taffeta, brush off that good blue serge.
Let's reaffirm our friendships in one delightful splurge!

Date: Saturday, November 4, 1961
Place: Dinkler-Plaza Hotel, Atlanta, Georgia
Time: Cocktail hour, 6:30 P.M. (C.O.D.)
Dinner hour, 8:00 P.M.
Cost: $4.00 per person

Hope to see you, and your spouse (if any)!

Fran Breeden
Beverly Downing
Muriel Lokey

RSVP by note or call to:
Mrs. Hamilton Lokey
737 Woodward Way, NW - CEdar 7-4215

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HELP OUR PUBLIC EDUCATION

HOPE, INC.

50 WHITEHALL ST., S. W., ATLANTA 3, GA. JA 5-8460 - 5-8469

October 16, 1961

Dear HOPE Supporter:

The 1961 General Assembly changed the laws of Georgia; our public schools are, and can remain, open.

The purpose for which HOPE was incorporated has been accomplished. In addition, the public schools of Atlanta have been desegregated with peace and dignity. For these facts we are deeply grateful, and conscious that it is a reality because people such as you, working with groups such as HOPE, gave the time, effort, money and moral support to make it true. Just a year ago there was intense concern that public sentiment could not be sufficiently mobilized so that our legislators would feel the need to act. But, with your help, when the legislature met in January there were groups in 128 communities and thousands of individuals dedicated to the proposition that we were going to maintain uninterrupted public education. We were heard.

Since its organization three years ago over $40,000.00 has been contributed to HOPE, Inc. However, the services and goods donated, and the volunteer hours expended could never be counted. I would like to see an honor roll of those who accomplished the goal; the names of the people all over Georgia who gave their hearts to a cause, and worked for it. However, we shall have to be satisfied with the victory, but let us note well what a determined people working together can accomplish.

HOPE, Inc. has closed its office door but we are in business on a "stand-by" basis. Each community must be ready when the time comes to desegregate. Atlanta has given us a blueprint; a beautiful and effective plan whereby we saw the world salute our capital city, and we shared the pride she so richly deserved. I moved to Atlanta just before school opened and observed with admiration and respect what a great city with a soul can do. "Our people" in Atlanta were in the nucleus of that soul--it was called OASIS. Other communities can do as well, but be assured that it doesn't "just happen." The people who worked in OASIS may be consulted or any member of HOPE will be happy to help in any way we can. Just write us, HOPE, Inc., 1036 Somerset Dr., NW, Atlanta 5.

Thank you for the part you have already played. It was the force of a concerted effort which made uninterrupted public education a reality.

HELP OUR PUBLIC EDUCATION

Sincerely, Beverly Downing

(Mrs. Benson Downing), Chairman
State Board of Directors

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PHOTO BY BILL DIEHL

"I want to take this opportunity to congratulate Governor Vandiver, Mayor Hartsfield of Atlanta, Chief of Police Jenkins, Superintendent of Schools Letson and all of the parents, students and citizens of Atlanta, Georgia, for the responsible, law abiding manner in which four high schools were desegregated today.

"This was the result of vigorous efforts for months by the officials of Atlanta and by groups of citizens throughout the community.

"Their efforts have borne fruit in the orderly manner in which the desegregation was carried out with dignity and without incident.

"Too often in the past such steps have been marred by violence and disrespect for law.

"I strongly urge the officials and citizens of all communities which face this difficult transition in the coming weeks and months to look closely at what Atlanta has done and to meet their responsibility, as the officials of Atlanta and Georgia have done, with courage, tolerance and, above all, with respect for the law."

PRESIDENT JOHN F. KENNEDY

Press Conference, August 30, 1961

REPRODUCED WITH PERMISSION

January, 1963

INTERGROUP AGENCIES

1 - AFL-CIO Department of Civil Rights
Don Slaiman, Assistant Director
815 - 16th Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

2 - American Baptist Home Mission Societies
J. C. Herrin
Box 188
Chapel Hill, N. C.
942-2804

3 - American Friends Service Committee Community Relations Division
Jean Fairfax, National Representative for Southern Programs
160 North Fifteenth Street
Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania
LOcust 3-9372

4 - American Friends Service Committee Southcentral Regional Office
Garnet Guild, Executive Secretary
4717 Crawford
Houston 4, Texas

5 - American Friends Service Committee Southeastern Regional Office
B. Tartt Bell, Executive Secretary
1818 South Main Street
High Point, North Carolina
882-0109, 2-0100, 3-6416

6 - American Jewish Committee, Atlanta Area Office
Charles Wittenstein, Director
41 Exchange Place, S. E., Room 703
Atlanta 3, Georgia
JAckson 3-8451

7 - American Jewish Committee, Southeast Area Office
Seymour Samet, Area Director
1208 Congress Building
Miami 32, Florida
FRanklin 3-4749

8 - American Jewish Committee, Southwest Regional Office
Gustave Falk, Regional Director
523 Fidelity Building
Dallas 2, Texas
RIverside 7-3531

American Jewish Congress, Southeastern Region
9 - Harold Kramer, Executive Director
Room 713 Congress Building
111 N. E. 2nd Avenue
Miami 32, Florida
FRanklin 9-6195

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith Florida Regional Office
10 - Nathan Perlmutter, Director
330 Seybold Building
Miami, Florida

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith Southcentral Reg. Office
11 - Irwin Schulman, Regional Director
535 Gravier Street
New Orleans 12, Louisiana
JAckson 2-9534

12 - Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith Southeastern Reg. Office
Monroe Schlactus, Director
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Atlanta 3, Georgia
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Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith Southwest Reg. Office
13 - Theodore Freedman, Regional Director
2405 San Jacinto Street, Suite 209
Houston 2, Texas

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith Virginia-N.C. Reg. Ofc.
14 - Robert Kohler, Director
216 North Second Street, Room 306
Richmond, Virginia

Congress of Racial Equality
15 - Richard Haley, Assistant to National Director
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York
CO. 7-6270

Disciples of Christ, United Christian Missionary Society
16 - Louis Deer
222 South Downey Avenue
Indianapolis 7, Indiana
FLeetwood 7-1166

The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity
17 - John B. Morris, Executive Director
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Room 200
Atlanta 3, Georgia
JAckson 5-7975

Jewish Labor Committee
18 - Emanuel Muravchik, Director, Field Services
25 East 78th Street
New York, New York
LEhigh 5-3700

Mennonite Service Committee
19 - Vincent Harding
540 Houston Street
Atlanta, Georgia
688-0594

The Methodist Church, Women's Division, Dept. of Christian Social Relations, Board of Missions
20 - Mrs. Robert L. Wilcox, Secretary, Southeastern Jurisdiction
16 Minnekahola Place
Chattanooga 5, Tennessee
267-2598

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Southeastern Regional Office
21 Mrs. Ruby Hurley, Director
859-1/2 Hunter Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia
MUrray 8-8868

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Southwestern Regional Office
22 Clarence Laws, Director
2600 Flora Street
Dallas, Texas

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice, Southern Field Service
23 Henry Cabirac, Director
1046 Baronne Street, Suite 2
New Orleans 13, Louisiana
523-2901

National Conference of Christians and Jews, Southeastern Div.
Gordon W. Lovejoy, National Program Consultant
24 P. O. Box 3587
Greensboro, North Carolina
273-8800

National Conference of Christians and Jews, Georgia and Alabama
Don McEvoy, Director, Georgia and Alabama
25 1144 Bank of Georgia Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia
688-7510

National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., Department of Racial and Cultural Relations
26 Will D. Campbell, Associate Executive Director
P. O. Box 1083
Nashville, Tennessee
CY. 1-7850

National Council of Jewish Women
27 Miss Hannah Stein, Executive Director
1 West 47th Street
New York 36, New York
CIrcle 6-3175

National Council of Negro Women
28 Miss Dorothy Heights, President
29 Miss H. Elsie Austin, Director
1318 Vermont Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C.
COlumbia 5-4434

National Labor Service
30 Harry Fleischman, Director
165 East 56th Street
New York 22, New York
PLaza 1-4000

National Urban League Southern Regional Office
31 Clarence D. Coleman, Director
Heman M. Sweatt, Associate Director
250 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Room 511
Atlanta 3, Georgia
MUrray 8-8778

Penn Community Services
Courtney Siceloff, Director
32 St. Helena Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

The Potomac Institute, Inc.
33 Harold C. Fleming, Executive Vice President
Arthur J. Levin, Staff Director
1501 - 18th Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.
332-5566

The Presbyterian Church in USA, Board of Christian Education
34 Malcolm P. Calhoun
8 North Sixth Street
Richmond, Virginia
MIlton 3-6691

Protestant Episcopal Church
35 Cornelius C. Tarplee
P. O. Box 853
Lynchburg, Virginia
VI. 5-8995 or VI. 6-8937

Southern Baptist Convention, Christian Life Commission
36 Foy Valentine, Executive Secretary-Treasurer
161 Eighth Avenue, N.
Nashville, Tennessee
ALpine 4-1631

Southern Christian Leadership Conference
37 Wyatt Tee Walker, Director
334 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia
524-1378

~~35~~ Southern Regional Council
Paul Anthony, Director of Field Activities
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia
522-8764

38 Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
James R. Forman, Executive Secretary
6 Raymond Street, N.W.
Atlanta 14, Georgia
688-0331

39 Union of American Hebrew Congregations
(staff unknown at present)
816 Congress Building
Miami 32, Florida

40 Unitarian Service Committee
Ernest Lent, Director
9 Park Street
Boston 8, Massachusetts

41 United Automobile Workers, AFL-CIO, Fair Practices and Anti-Discrimination Department
Earl H. Henderson, Field Representative
3304 Capital Trail
Cranston Heights, Wilmington, Delaware

42 United Church of Christ Board of Homeland Ministries
Carl J. Landes
5606 Oak Street
Guilford College, North Carolina

43 United Church of Christ Council for Christian Social Action
S. Garry Oniki, Associate Secretary on Race Relations
289 Park Avenue South
New York 10, New York

44 United Church of Christ
Edward M. Brown, Consultant on Christian Human Relations
41 Exchange Place, S. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
JAckson 3-0775

45 United Church of Christ, Fisk University
Herman H. Long
Department of Race Relations
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

United Presbyterian Church in the USA, Department of Social Education and Action
Mrs. Jean Russell
824 Tusculum Boulevard
Greenville, Tennessee

United Presbyterian Church in the USA, Regional Office, Church and Society
J. Metz Rollins, Jr., Special Field Representative
John H. Marion, Jr., Special Field Representative
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Nashville, Tennessee
CY. 2-2509

U.S. National Student Association Southern Student Human Relations Project
Constance Curry, Director
41 Exchange Place, S.E., Room 701
Atlanta 3, Georgia
JAckson 3-8322

YMCA's, Southern Area Council of
Thornton W. Merriam
Dunbar Reid (in absentia, 1962-63)
706 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia
JAckson 1-0352

YWCA National Student Council
Miss Rosetta Gardner
41 Exchange Place, S.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
JAckson 5-2372

YWCA Southern Regional Office
Miss Florence C. Harris, Correlator
41 Exchange Place, S.E.
Atlanta 3, Georiga
JAckson 5-2381

REP. JOHN J. FLYNT
Seeks Jury Trial Guarantee

Flynt Measure Aims at Blanket Injunctions

Atlanta Journal Bureau
1426 G Street, NW

By HAROLD DAVIS
Journal Washington Correspondent

WASHINGTON, D.C., Jan. 17—A bill to prevent any future use of the type court injunction employed in Clinton, Tenn., has been introduced by Rep. John J. Flynt of Gritfin.

In Clinton, a presiding judge issued a blanket injunction against the people of the entire county.

The injunction forbade anyone from interfering with the processes of intergration. Violators were to be declared in contempt of court and were to be tried before the judge issuing the injunction.

* * *

MR. FLYNT'S BILL seeks to guarantee that a person cited under such a general injunction would get a trial by jury, rather than before the judge alone.

The congressman introduced his bill late Wednesday. In accompanying remarks, he said:

"This bill seeks to prevent one man from attempting ever again to enjoin the entire citizenry of a community, city, county, or state, or even a nation."

Mr. Flynt's measure would not change the present law which says a judge may try persons without a jury who act contemptuously in the presence of the court. It also would continue to allow a trial-by-judge for persons who have been specifically mentioned in an injunction.

* * *

IT WOULD, however, forbid the enjoining of a whole community, and then trying of the alleged violators by judge alone.

Mr. Flynt's speech excited the interest of a number of his colleagues in the House. The congressman said if his measure is considered on its merits alone, it will be passed.

The Griffin congressman submitted his bill to several Georgia jurists and lawyers before introducing it and received commendatory comments.

Among those commenting favorably were Judge James T. Manning of the Cobb Judicial Circuit; Sol. Gen. Luther Hames of the Cobb Judicial Circuit; State Rep. Colbert Hawkins of Sylvania; Judge Samuel Boykin of Coweta Judicial Circuit; attorney Charles Bloch of Macon, and attorney Alex A. Lawrence of Savannah.

trained.

Atl. Const. 1/18/57

Flynt Cites Clinton, Offers Jury Trial Bill

WASHINGTON, Jan. 17 (AP)—Rep. Flynt (D-Ga) today introduced a bill to guarantee the right of jury trial in certain federal court contempt cases. He said he specifically had in mind school integration cases.

Flynt told the House his bill would apply to "citations for contempt of court which involve acts committed outside the presence of the court by persons not parties to the litigation involved."

The Georgian said the legislation was prompted by contempt cases in Clinton, Tenn., where the high school was racially integrated on federal court order last fall.

Sixteen persons were arrested last month and charged with criminal contempt on grounds they interfered with integration at the school. Their trial before U.S. Dist. Judge Robert L. Taylor, who ordered integration has been postponed indefinitely.

Attorneys for the 16 say they'll ask for a jury trial if the judge rejects their request for dismissal of the cases.

Flynt said:

"This bill if enacted will protect the liberty of Americans regardless of where they may live. It will of course prevent further abuses of legal process such as took place in Clinton, Tenn., when a federal district court judge took it upon himself the power not to interpret the law but rather to make law."

"It will prevent judge-made chaos throughout the nation and will prevent a second attempt of reconstruction in the South."

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TR. 5-4541
WORLD'S LARGEST

James B. Carey

Taft-Hartley Spurs Race-Hate

RACE HATRED. IUD Secretary-Treasurer James B. Carey told the conference how race hatred is being exploited by southern employers in an effort to defeat union organizing. Carey, who is president of the IUE, showed delegates a copy of the *Jackson* (Miss.) *Daily News* which featured a picture of a Nigerian girl dancing with him in Europe. Despite this race-baiting, IUE won the election.

James B. Carey, IUD secretary-treasurer and IUE president, called upon the National Labor Relations Board to "set aside elections when employers use bigotry and race-hatred to defeat unions."

Speaking at the IUD Industrial Relations Conference, Carey charged that throwing out elections because the employer resorted to using bigorty would only be consistent with the Board's present ruling that union victories can be set aside if the union gives the workers mistaken information about wage rates in other companies.

Having just received a report of an IUE victory at the Vickers plant in Jackson, Miss., Carey told of the tactics used by that company in a futile effort to defeat the union's organizing drive.

Unfair Practices

He said the company attempted to make "racial mixing" the main election issue rather than organization. Displaying a front page picture in the *Jackson Daily News* which showed him dancing with a Nigerian girl, Carey said the local press "went all-out" to help the company exploit race hatred.

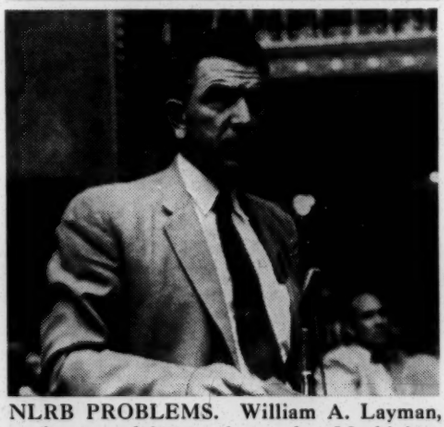
"The inflaming of race hatred and the promotion of bigotry is un-American and contrary to national policy," he declared. "As such, the NLRB should certainly re-evaluate its present policy and make such action an unfair labor practice."

Carey denounced Taft-Hartley for giving employers the right to exploit race hatred and for "tipping the scales heavily in management's favor."

"The Taft-Hartley Act could not be justified when it was passed. And it can't be justified today. Its administration has demonstrated the truth of our assertions 10 years ago that it was vicious in tone and content," he emphasized.

Recalling the history of Taft-Hartley's enactment, the IUD official reminded the delegates of President Truman's veto. He termed the veto the most forthright and uncompromising in the history of American labor legislation.

"If all of organized labor had been as vigorous as Truman in fighting the Taft-Hartely Act, that legal monstrosity would not be celebrating its tenth anniversary this month," he declared.



NLRB PROBLEMS. William A. Layman, conference delegate from the Machinists, spoke out against the frustration which comes from filing repeated anti-labor charges with the NLRB.

Quoting NLRB statistics, Carey compared 1947 with 1957. He pointed out that in the year Taft-Hartley was passed, unions won 75 percent of the representation elections against 65 percent today.

Turning to the administration of the law by the Eisenhower Board, Carey pointed out that in the first year following the act's passage the Board issued 399 complaints against employers and 142 complaints against unions. In the fiscal year ending June 30, 1956, he said, the general counsel of the Board issued 341 complaints against employers and 399 complaints against unions.

"This is the kicker," Carey charged. "Despite the fact that there were twice as many charges filed against employers, the general counsel issued more complaints against unions. These figures are probably the most damning indictment of the stewardship of the Eisenhower Board.

"When labor meets management in the ring today we are not only weighted down with the burden of Taft-Hartley, we also have our hands tied by the biased Administration that is supposed to referee our fight," he emphasized.

Hinders Rights

Speaking of the experiences of his own union, Carey accused Taft-Hartley of hindering the rights of unorganized workers. He was especially critical of the law's provisions permitting scabs to vote in elections while strikers are denied the ballot, the elimination of prehearing elections and the so-called "free speech" provision.

Referring to employer unfair labor practices, Carey said, "Actually, it takes a pretty thick employer to get himself caught these days. He has to be brazen and loud . . . The 80th Congress enacted an open season upon unions and gave employers a license to hunt unions."

Carey was even more critical, however, of Taft-Hartley's part in "setting the stage for one of the bitterest anti-union campaigns that has been seen since the days of the LaFollette Committee hearings a score of years ago."

He charged that employers "and their Madison Avenue spokesmen" have used the law as an anti-union springboard. "The very atmosphere created by Taft-Hartley has hurt labor unions as much as any of the substantive features themselves."

Louis Stulberg

McClellan Hearings A Challenge

"To set the findings of the McClellan committee in their proper light we must do much more than insist that the committee conduct its work impartially. We must prove by our positive action that the malpractices are really malpractices and not at all the true practices of American labor."

With these words, Louis Stulberg, Ladies' Garment Workers Union executive vice president, told the IUD's Industrial Relations Conference how he believed the McClellan committee hearings could best be utilized by organized labor.

In Stulberg's absence, his address was delivered by Gus Tyler, director of the ILG's training institute.

Stulberg's testimony called the present investigation "both a burden and an opportunity" for organized labor. He said that the Senate committee, through its power of subpoena, has developed information and leads which could not be obtained through union channels.

High Ethical Level

"The unification of AFL and CIO, the work of the Ethical Practices Committee, the precedents established by the Executive Council of AFL-CIO, have—all coming at this time—set the basis for a new high level of ethical conduct in the trade union movement," Stulberg declared.

He warned labor, however, to watch out for those who would use the present investigations "as a tool" with which to attack unionism. At the same time, he pointed out that any legislation which comes as a result of the hearings "must be drawn carefully to help build a clean labor movement and not to destroy the labor movement."

Speaking out against proposals for a federal "right to work" law, Stulberg said he did not see how any of the evils uncovered by the McClellan committee would be ended by such anti-labor legislation.

"The extortionist does not need a union shop to continue his operation," he stated. "The trade union leader who is playing footsie with the employer does not need a union shop clause. In fact, he can operate better without one. . . To outlaw the union shop is to weaken a major pillar of law and order in industrial relations."

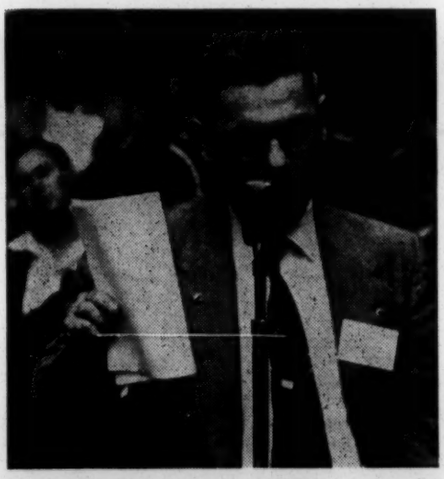
The ILG official declared that labor cannot merely take a negative attitude toward legislation. He charged that "a negative attitude means that the job of drafting legislation will ultimately end up in the hands of labor's enemies.

"To avoid this," he added, "we must be ready to formulate legislation and to fight for such legislation." Stulberg called for both the disclosure of health and welfare funds, and legislation covering the disclosure of general funds.

While he declared that it was still to early to render judgment on the operations of the McClellan committee, he said the labor movement has definite responsibilities in line with these investigations.

Stulberg listed these responsibilities as including: insistence upon impartiality by the Senate committee; representation to the public of the labor movement's "true and full character"; resistance of every attempt to turn the current hearings into a full scale attack upon labor; and the encouragement of all efforts to establish union office as a public trust.

While the ILG executive vice president pointed out that the duty of the McClellan committee is to uncover "improper" trade union practices, he said the committee must also look into management practices.



BARGAINING INTERFERENCE. Raymond Murphy, delegate from the Chemical Workers, told conference Section 14B of Taft-Hartley directly interfered with free collective bargaining. Murphy pointed out that under this section although an employer and a union may agree upon a union shop, state law has precedence over federal law and may prohibit this type of union security.

CONGRESSIONAL INVESTIGATIONS. Gus Tyler, director of ILGWU training institute, reads an address to the conference originally planned for delivery by Louis Stulberg, the union's executive vice president.

"The man who accepts a bribe is weak, but the man who offers the bribe is the origin of the sin," he declared. At the same time, he called upon the committee to investigate the "use of organized violence" by employers to thwart unionism.

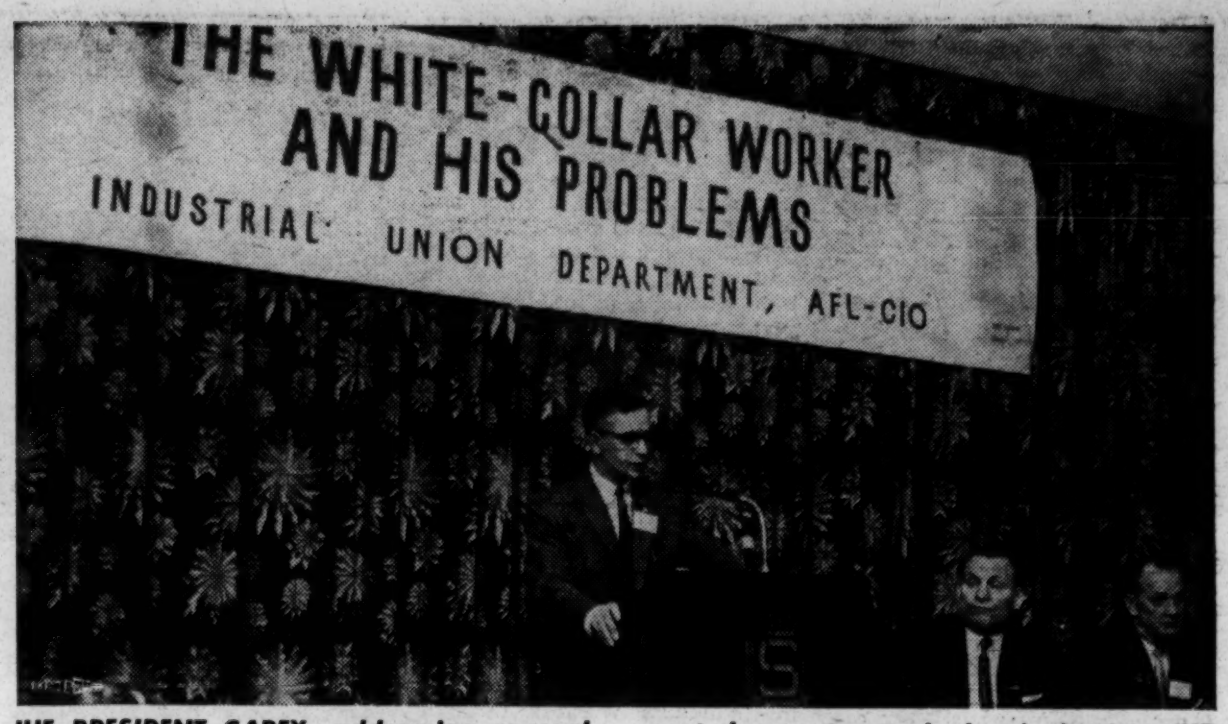
Stulberg compared the problem of the racketeer with the problem of the Communist in labor. He said that the labor movement would eliminate the racketeers from its house just as it had eliminated the Communists.

Community Must Act

"We call upon the rest of the community to act: to stop the racketeer in politics, in business, in the phony charities, in the numbers rackets, in all those fields of American life where the Kefauver committee indicated the ugly hand of the underworld. It would be a sad mistake," he stated, "to assume that the racketeer is a product of trade unionism who will disappear when labor gets him out of the union house."

Stulberg also called for Congressional committees to establish a code of democratic practices. He said such a code should carefully protect the right of individuals to state their side of the case before they are judged, should bar probes into personal belief, should guarantee impartiality by the committee and should seek to "promote the truth and not to promote the political future of any one of the committee's members."

CONFERRING *at head table of White Collar Conference of the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department in Washington are IUE President James B. Carey (he's also secretary-treasurer of the IUD) and Al Whitehouse, IUD director. Whitehouse chaired the two-day meeting.*



IUE PRESIDENT CAREY, *addressing several hundred delegates to the White Collar Conference, emphasized that professional, technical and salaried workers are now in most desperate need of unionization, IUD Director Whitehouse and Dick Leonard, assistant to IUD President Reuther, are at right.*

250 At Parley On Salaried

WHITE COLLAR workers are now in desperate need of union solidarity and a union program to halt their economic decline.

This was the conclusion reached by more than 250 delegates at a two-day conference on the White Collar Workers and His Problems, sponsored by the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department in Washington Dec. 13 and 14.

Not too long ago the salaried worker enjoyed benefits the production worker did not have, but today the factory worker has a definite edge in pay, and has equalled and passed the salaried worker in such fields as vacations, unemployment insurance, pensions and job security.

Actors, airplane pilots, newspapermen, railway clerks, telephone workers "have all proved that salaried and professional workers can be organized, can win gains for themselves and can have the human dignity which comes with united, democratic action," AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer William Schnitzler told the delegates to the conference.

"Professional newspapermen and women decided early that prestige was phony when it served only to conceal job insecurity, substandard wages, and working conditions far worse than those prevailing in a unionized shop of manual workers," IUE President James B. Carey said.

"The example of the American Newspaper Guild," Carey pointed out, "has impressed professional, salaried and technical workers in recent years. And in the electrical industry it is recognized that there is a unique interdependence between wage-earning union members and white collar workers.

"IUE has had a conspicuous success in organizing white collar workers, but since we are only seven years old we still have a long way to go," Carey admitted. He cited the growth in District 4 of organized salary workers from 4,500 in 1951 to 14,000 now as an example of the work being done in this field.

"One of the most heartening aspects of unionization of white collar and salaried workers has been the way in which they have given the lie to the old myth that white collar workers won't demonstrate militancy, won't strike together and won't stick out a strike if the going gets rough," Carey told the delegates.

He then cited the loyalty and militancy of salaried locals in IUE during the long Westinghouse strike, in spite of intensive efforts by management to break their solidarity.

He also recounted the experience of Arma, where 700 engineers had formed an independent union which respected IUE picket lines; in return the IUE local observed the engineers' picket line when they struck. The engineers not only proved themselves militant trade unionists, said Carey, but finally realized the importance of solidarity with other Arma employes and voted to become an integral part of IUE.

Other speakers were AFL-CIO President George Meaney, IUD President Walter Reuther, IUD Director Al Whitehouse, Organization Director Jack Livingston, and Lois McKinstry of the Retail Clerks Union.

They emphasized that the only weapon salaried workers have to halt their economic decline is trade union organization.

During the discussion period delegates had an opportunity to have their say from the floor.

George Collins, representing IUE District 4, reported that the most effective way to organize salaried workers is to pitch the trade union agrument at a level they will appreciate. "We recognize that scientific workers have had scholastic training; that they have the intelligence to appreciate the trade union argument soundly presented."

Since 1953, when organizing a new plant, he reported, "we campaign among salaried and production workers simultaneously. We usually get a heavy response from the salaried workers and they assist in bringing the production workers into the union."

John Dillon, chairman of the IUE Professional, Technical and Salaried Workers Conference Board, suggested that to counter resistance of white collar workers to unionization, the AFL-CIO should prepare a public relations program to create an atmosphere that would reduce traditional resistance, and that the central office should gather and distribute detailed information on successful techniques used in organizing salaried people.

Martin Sills of District 4 also urged that the IUD make available more information on the white collar field.

IUE REPRESENTATIVES *at the White Collar Conference. Seated, D. J. Younce, James B. Carey, St. Clair Beeman, Eugene Dyll, Jim Compton, Fred Simeone, Carol Brown, James Leonard. Standing, James Fekete, Adam Krukar, Philip McDonald, John Dillon, Dudley Bedford, James Gildea (behind Bedford), Sheldon Drew, Robert McCarthy, David Lasser, Bill Will, Jacqueline Brophy, George Collins.*

Reuther Lists Six Problems

"**BREATHING** the rarified atmosphere of the front office may be a pleasure, but the salaried worker can't translate that into purchasing power," IUD President Walter Reuther told the White Collar Conference.

He outlined six basic problems of white collar workers which could be solved through union organization:

1. Salary structure. White collar workers get too little for the job they do and responsibility they carry.

2. Misclassification. Too often payment is made in high-sounding titles rather than fair salaries.

3. Promotions are frequently given only to those who most industriously polish the red apple.

4. Salary differentials between men and women doing the same work, which weaken the salary structure for all.

5. Grievance procedure. Until workers have organization that provides a working grievance procedure, most of their problems will never be solved.

6. Voice in community. White collar workers are one of few groups unorganized into some kind of union or society. Production workers, business men, doctors, all have their own organization to provide a united voice which carries weight. But the unorganized salaried worker is without voice in councils of industry, without voice in their work, and without voice in their society.

WALTER REUTHER *(right), president of the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department, here talking with Chairman Whitehouse, called for an all-out effort in organizing salaried workers who now number approximately fifteen million.*

21 Delegates From IUE

REPRESENTING the IUE at the IUD White Collar Conference were these 21 delegates, in addition to IUE President Carey, who addressed the meeting:

John Dillion, chairman of IUE's Professional, Technical and Salaried Conference Board.
Bill Will, District 1
Joseph Brett, Local 110
Charles Lehman, Local 110
Stephen Babey, District 2
Robert McCarthy, District 2
Sheldon Drew, Local 201
James Leonard, Local 201
George Collins, District 4
James Compton, District 4
Martin Sills, District 4
Fred Simeone, Local 432
Eugene Dyll, District 6
James Fekete, Local 617
Adam Krukar, Local 617
Philip McDonald, Local 617
Carol Brown, District 7
James Click, District 8
D. J. Younce, District 8
Dudley Bedford, Local 1104
St. Clair Beeman, District 10

Markets

Stocks: Lower; industrials off one. Bonds: Higher; changes narrow. Cotton — quiet; 1 hedging. New York stock sa 1,630,000. Bond sales, $3,320,00

VOL. LXXXIX, No. 224

Atl. Const. 3/9/57

RALPH McGILL

Jim Carey, High Voltage

James Barron Carey is an intense young man, who seems always to be in a high voltage condition. This is striking because, in addition to being Secretary-Treasurer of the AFL-CIO, he is president of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers. He currently is getting around the country meeting with regional locals. He also is under heavy criticism from some elements of labor for his all-out attack on Dave Beck and corruption in the Teamsters.

Carey recently concluded a sort of St. George and the dragon battle with Communists who were barricaded in a union called the United Electric, Radio and Machine Workers. This was their one big union fort.

Carey laid seige to it, and finally took it by storm.

A slender, dedicated man of 45, he looks upon the American labor movement as a moral, moral and ethical crusade.

Now and then this causes the companies with which he bargains to snort like grampuses or laugh hysterically. But Carey is dead serious. He was little more than a boy just out of high school, in Philadelphia, (where he was born in 1912), when he was at work as an AFL organizer. He has been jailed in strike rows, and has felt a blackjack or so on his skull. But he saw that intelligence could win the long, drawn-out fights. The [illegible] had given him a good [illegible] he put it to work.

[illegible] George Meany and Walter Reuther make a good team. The three came along in pretty much the same manner. All three worked a number of years at their trades. All three had, and have, deep convictions. Each has stood toe to toe with communism and racketeering and slugged it out. None is the anti-intellectual type.

"I knew," says Carey, "there was a chance for AFL-CIO unity when George Meany suspended the Longshoremen in 1953. We all knew the factors which had prevented labor unity were the racketeers in the AFL, and the Communists in the CIO. Meany's courage and character gave unity the green light."

Carey looks upon the new constitution of the AFL-CIO, with its code of ethics, as a sort of secular book of holy writ. He

was their one big union fact.

Carey held reign to it, and finally took it by storm.

A slender, dedicated man of 45, he looks upon the American labor movement as a liberal, moral and ethical crusade.

Now and then this creates the antagonism with which he has gains to meet. He [illegible] or laugh hysterically. But Carey is dead serious. He was little more than a boy just out of high school, in Philadelphia, (where he was born in 1912), when he was at work as an AFL organizer. He has been jailed in strike wars, and has felt a blackjack or so on his skull. But he saw that intelligence could win the long, drawn-out fights. The [illegible]

[illegible]

movement will come of age and succeed to a new plateau of maturity and power.

Labor Movement

Like Reuther and Meany, Carey does not envision a labor party. Carey thinks it was the emergence of a genuine American labor movement in the depression thirties which, as much as anything else, saved America and its institutions from Fascist or Communist damage. He urges political participation by all union members.

Carey's hatred of racketeering is deep and genuine. He knows it makes labor vulnerable to its enemies. So, while he slugs away at it, he is equally merciless in his reply to those who try to make profit out of labor's embarrassment.

"The unethical profiteering in your industry," he recently told the papermakers, "where the price of newsprint has been hiked from $60 a ton in 1946 to $125 a ton just a few days ago, is made to appear trivial in comparison with the unethical behavior of a union leader who peds his [illegible] . . . A billion dollar electrical corporation is involved in the employment of call girls to push appliance sales, but that immoral spectacle is quickly overshadowed in the press by the involvement of a few union officials with bawdy houses."

A devoted family man, Carey has a lovely wife and two fine children. Recently, as a gag, he had his wavy hair trimmed crew cut style because his son wears his that way. He is pleased, too, that he once won Parent's Magazine's [illegible] Carey.

IUE News 6/8/57

Sperry-Rand D

A **MEETING** in Washington of delegations from Sperry-Rand locals had a broad discussion of their common problems and then elected a committee of five to study the rules of IUE conference boards and come to another meeting during the Economic Conference for a report.

The meeting, held in the Philip Murray Building, was addressed by IUE President Carey and Secretary-Treasurer Hartnett.

Sperry-Rand includes Sperry, Vickers and Remington-Rand, IUE has locals in many locations.

Carey emphasized the importance of conference boards in his address to the meeting. He said the international union finds that the conference board has a tremendous appeal to the people. "The most important job of a conference board is organization. We must organize everywhere and over the opposition of right-to-work laws," he said.

He called for nation-wide bargaining and more attention to the problems of Sperry-Rand workers in the several divisions which have been joined in this giant corporation.

Hartnett also called for more and more organization and then conducted a seminar of the delegates on the day-to-day problems they meet in their relations with the corporations. Every local participated and many views were exchanged which the delegates said were highly important to them.

The committee chosen to study conference board systems includes: Jim Douglas, 945; George Gazetas, 459; Bill Bywater, 425; Harry Martens, 450, and Dick Shroeder, 470.

The IUE Economic Conference is scheduled for September 19 and 20 at the Sheraton-Seelbach Hotel, Louisville, Ky.

Attending the Washington meeting were:

450—Harry Martens, Richard C. Weisbecker.
470—Richard Shroeder, Igine G. Del Vecchio.
852—Robert J. Murphy.
334—Forest W. Gardner, Stanley Poplaski.
344—Frank N. Baggetta, Joseph Cassese.
275—Emil K. Anduson, William Reilly.
792—J. B. Lewis, David M. Griffin.
945—Angelo Macidoni, James Douglas.
425—Tony Kempczinski, Lou Barazzotto, Anne Willumstad, Ed Locknicke, Jack Kenny.
1059—Abraham Goldberg, Wilbur Lauer.
459—E. J. Howley, G. A. Gazetas.
471—W. C. Daigeault, Roger Finning, John Heimbach, Thomas McAuley.

IUE Backs Strike Of Brewery Workers

Appreciation of IUE support of the Brewery Workers' strike in Golden, Colo., against Coors Brewery has been voiced by Karl F. Feller, Brewery Workers' president, in a letter to IUE President Carey.

Carey has sent letters to all IUE locals notifying them of the strike and the issues, and urging support.

IUE News
INTERNATIONAL UNIO
Vol. 8 6/10/57

Vickers

By HAL SMITH

ONE of the most vicious and filthy campaigns ever used to try to defeat a union fizzled out when Jackson, Miss., Vickers workers voted to join the IUE.

Their steadfast courage in the face of a barrage of vile propaganda gives IUE its second local in Mississippi, its second in Vickers, and its 19th location in the Sperry-Rand empire.

The vote in an NLRB election June 5 was:

IUE	**141**
No Union	**115**

In the closing days of the campaign, attempts were made to stir up race hatred. Needless to say they did not succeed to any great extent, because Vickers workers in Jackson knew what the real issues in the campaign were.

They knew that the company was trying to get away with paying them much lower wages than it pays members of the IUE Local 945 in the Detroit plant.

They knew they needed job security and seniority rights.

Vickers members from Detroit played a large part in the campaign, sending down four officers to help out in the election.

Local 945 President James Douglas was on hand to explain what IUE had won for Detroit Vickers workers. Also of great help in the campaign were Chief Steward Benny Papp, Ed Bronzie and Leo Bozek.

In addition to leaflets put out by the company and scurrilous literature and pictures passed around by the foreman, a Jackson newspaper was also knee-deep in muck in trying to aid the company.

A headline on the front page of the paper the afternoon before the election read (IUE was referred to as "IU"):

"Race Mixing Is An Issue As Vickers Workers Ballot".

The article went on to say:

"The IU is a radical labor organization that is trying to 'muscle in' at the Vickers plant in the northern suburbs of Jackson.

"Employes of the Vickers plant will vote Wednesday afternoon on whether or not they gaining agent.

"When Vickers employes prepare their ballots—with nothing between themselves and God save their own consciences—they should also vote what they think about 'Brother' Carey and the company he keeps.

"The IU and the AFL-CIO have officially endorsed the 'Black Monday' decision of the United States Supreme Court and the entire social equality program of the NAACP.

"The AFL-CIO and their affiliates are now giving active aid to the fight for passage of the vicious civil rights bill now pending in the U. S. Senate.

"The AFL-CIO is also doing everything in its power to ram

(Continued on Page 10)

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Vickers Plant In South Won

(Continued from Page 1)

the iniquitous Supreme Court decision down the throats of the Southern people and immediately force Negro children into white schools."

And that's only a small sample of what went on.

IUE stuck to the facts and the Jackson Vickers workers stuck by the IUE.

Attempts to inflame certain elements in the town succeeded; coke bottles and rocks were thrown through the IUE headquarters' windows and signs were ripped down by vandals.

Sheriff's deputies arrested three Detroit officers when they were passing out leaflets, charging them with "obstructing a public highway." They were kept in jail overnight and refused the right to even make a phone call.

International Rep. Joe Thornton headed up the campaign. He was ably assisted by a strong and determined committee. Also active were International Reps. Emmett Curley and Fon McGinnis and John Clutts who has been aiding McGinnis in Alabama.

Rodger Coyne, assistant to Secretary-Treasurer Al Hartnett and chairman of the Skilled Trades Committee, flew down and made speeches which greatly impressed the Jackson Vickers workers. Hal Smith of the IUE publicity department also participated in the campaign.

The Jackson Vickers workers who were neither scared nor fooled by extraneous issues have received a charter as Local 792.

Not the Speech Delivered

Address by Al Hartnett, Secretary-Treasurer, International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers AFL-CIO

Southern Union Staff Training Seminar
Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.
July 9, 1957.

RACIAL DEMOCRACY AND ORGANIZED LABOR

Ladies and Gentlemen, Brothers and Sisters ---

This year, as Fisk University celebrates the 90th anniversary of its chartering, the thoughts of proud alumnae and faculty members have coursed backward over nearly a century of eventful history.

It was a hectic world into which Fisk University was born in 1867, a world of swift and major social change. Only two years before, the meeting at Appomatox had brought human slavery and four years of bloody civil strife to an end. Political and economic ferment seethed through all areas of public life, North as well as South of the Mason-Dixon Line.

Three mettlesome Reconstruction Acts were passed by Congress in March and July of 1867, all three over President Johnson's veto, with the third requiring that the 15th Amendment to the Constitution -- designated "Equal Rights For White And Colored Citizens" -- be ratified before the secessionist Southern states could be reorganized within the Union.

But the ferment of 1867 was not entirely a ferment of civil rights and racial rights; it was also a ferment of labor rights and trade union rights. Often there were no clear lines of demarcation; the areas and issues of civil rights frequently intermingled with the areas and issues of labor rights and union rights.

In 1867 agitation among industrial wage earners for the eight-hour day finally became loud enough to penetrate the halls of Congress -- and this despite the fragmentary and undeveloped state of organized labor. The next year, 1868, brought the first Federal eight-hour day law, an historic triumph even if this first statute applied only to laborers and mechanics employed by the U.S. Government.

The chartering of Fisk brought the University into existence as an institution, but it is doubtful whether in 1867 that organized labor could yet be called an institution. In those years, as in previous decades, the chief characteristic of unionism was probably its impermanence.

In 1866 a group of local union leaders convened what they described -- perhaps erroneously -- as "the first National Labor Congress ever convened in the United States." Out of this meeting in Baltimore of 77 delegates from local unions, national unions and a few central bodies came the National Labor Union.

It lasted only six years, disappearing in 1872 when it converted itself into a reform political party.

But the National Labor Union did have a distinction that makes it of interest to us today. It encouraged the organization of Negro workers and envisioned for the first time in American organized labor an essential role for Negro wage earners. The dramatic importance of this first role was diminished, however, as the National Labor Union encouraged Negroes to form their own unions rather than join the N.L.U. and its affiliates.

Even before the National Labor Union faded from the scene its successor -- a far more effective successor -- was already in the wings. The Noble Order of the Knights of Labor was organized in extreme secrecy in Philadelphia in 1869 and in secrecy it survived, despite employer efforts to root it out, until 1878 when it came out in the open.

The Knights of Labor soon became the largest and most powerful body of organized workers in American history with membership estimates ranging up to 1,000,000 for the peak year of 1886. Among other explanations for this growth and preeminence, two reasons stand out prominently.

First, the Knights of Labor, unlike virtually all its predecessors, sought to organize the unskilled workers as well as the skilled workers. Here in itself was a revolutionary concept; in the past it had generally been held that only skilled craftsmen were worth organizing and could be organized.

Second, the Knights of Labor broke all precedent by welcoming into membership women wage earners, Negro workers and laborers of every race and nationality. Proclaiming as its slogan, "An Injury To One Is The Concern Of All," the Knights of Labor soon found itself translating its ritual into French, German, Scandinavian, Italian, Hungarian, Jewish and a half-dozen other tongues.

Except on the part of some individual Knights of Labor leaders there seems to have been little or no racial prejudice in the organization and Negroes found the doors of unionism opened to them for the first time. Frequently, in fact, Knights of Labor organizers risked their lives in attempting to organize Negroes in the South. Consequently, local unions in the South were often disguised with such names as "Washington Lodge," "Protective Lodge," or "Franklin Lodge," and both meetings and membership lists were surrounded by the greatest secrecy.

On the General Executive Board of the Knights of Labor a strong minority fought relentlessly -- and for the most part successfully -- against the encroachment of discriminatory policies and practices. Interestingly, the problem of discrimination within the Knights of Labor involved Negroes only slightly; primarily the problem involved Chinese immigrant workers.

When two locals of Chinese workers were organized in New York City opposition to granting them charters arose among Knights of Labor groups on the West Coast. This opposition was reflected on the General Executive Board where the majority resisted the issuance of charters. The minority, which included Frank J. Ferrell, the most famous Negro in the Knights of Labor leadership, broadcast a minority report which argued convincingly that "the first and basic principles of the organization is the obliteration of all lines of distinction in creed, color or nationality."

The minority report, although defeated, helped immortalize an historic -- but now almost forgotten -- strike by Chinese hop-pickers in the fields of Kern County, California, in 1884. The employers expected to break the strike easily by replacing the Chinese strikers with Negroes. To their amazement, however, the Negro workers refused to act as strikebreakers and the Chinese won the higher wages they had demanded.

Today, in retrospect, it is fascinating to discover that throughout the history of the Knights of Labor Negroes were never major objects of discrimination, but Chinese and Hungarians were. Because records are incomplete we cannot be certain today just how large a group the Negro workers constituted within the Knights of Labor, but there is sound reason to believe that they approximated 10% of total membership. In 1886 when the Order boasted of more than 700,000 members, the organization's general secretary estimated that at least 60,000 were Negroes. A year later the New York Sun reported the number as 90,000 to 95,000 and the number of all-Negro locals at 400.

Segregation, however, did creep in despite the Constitutional bar against exclusion of members because of race or color. To a large extent Jim Crow locals came into being not because of weak principles but because of weak leadership. The Order's Grand Master Workman, Terence Powderly, often swung like a pendulum between a kind of "state's rights" -- in which locals were told they had a democratic right to vote for the exclusion of Negroes -- and a position of strong anti-discrimination.

Thus, for example, Powderly in 1883 wrote to a Tennessee member of the Knights who objected to Negro members in white locals: "The ballot is in reality the only means of settling who shall or shall not be members." But three years later he sharply overruled a New York local that had barred a Negro from membership and proclaimed, "If the worker is in other respects qualified to become a member his color cannot debar him. The men who work with colored men dare not find fault; they

take their wages and abuse side-by-side and our Order will not recognize the right of any man to blackball another man on account of his race or religion."

So while there was some ambiguity in the attitude of the Order's leadership toward Negro members, the Knights of Labor's policies and practices in regard to minorities were an unprecedented step forward.

And the Negro press agreed, urging Negroes -- despite the occasional Jim Crow practices -- to remain within the Knights of Labor. The New York Freeman, one of the most influential Negro papers of the time, declared, in 1886, in words that still ring with truth today:

> "Nothing short of a potentiality like the Knights of Labor can ever force Southern capitalists to give their wage workers a fair percentage of their labor. If there is any power on earth which can make the white Southern employers of labor face the music, it is organized white and black labor, with the labor power of the nation to sustain it ..."

Truly amazing advances in inter-racial solidarity were made within the Knights of Labor before it started its decline. For example:

In Louisville, where Negroes were barred from the city parks, more than 6000 Negro and white workers marched in a Knights of Labor parade which first proceeded through the streets and then, unmolested, into National Park.

In Baltimore in 1885 and 1886 Negro and white shipyard workers conducted a history-making nine-month strike that became famous for the employers' inability to split the workers with appeals to racial prejudice. When the bosses, in desperation, imported 150 strikebreakers the Negro and white workers fought shoulder-to-shoulder and drove the scabs out of the shipyards.

In Birmingham, more than 5000 workers, Negro and white, marched in a Knights of Labor parade and then listened to Negro and white speakers addressing them from the same platform.

In Dallas, Texas, a Negro local demonstrated with white workers in a Fourth of July parade and then listened to two Negro and two white speakers -- "the first time such a thing happened in Texas," a newspaper reported.

And finally, mention should be made of the great 1886 Labor Day Parade in Baltimore in which 25,000 Knights of Labor, Negro and white, marched in solidarity. Here is what one newspaper reported:

> "Negro workers were well mixed in and through the procession. In some instances you would see a local composed entirely of colored Knights; another would be perhaps half colored, and in some instances one solitary colored individual would be marching with any number of his white trades-brothers. The procession was a very orderly one, the colored and white fraternizing as if it had been a common thing all their lives."

I recite these facts not because of their historical interest but rather to establish that throughout the last 100 years of American history organized labor has done far more than any other body or group -- and in this I include the nation's churches -- to advance racial democracy and equality.

There have been, unhappily, exceptions and deviations --it would be incredible if they had not happened -- and these I will deal with a bit later; but I submit as solid fact that today as generally during the past 100 years the most powerful force for racial democracy in the United States is and has been the labor movement.

Let us continue for a few moments our backward glance.

In 1890, just four years after its birth in Columbus, Ohio, the American Federation of Labor found itself confronted with the necessity of making a decision on whether to tolerate discrimination and Jim Crow affiliates. The test was met courageously.

First, the Convention asserted as a matter of policy that the AFL "looks with disfavor upon trade unions having provisions which exclude from membership persons on account of race or color." A few hours later the four-year-old AFL was challenged to do considerably more than "look with disfavor."

Before the Convention came the issue of accepting as an affiliate the National Association of Machinists, whose Constitution limited membership to white workers. The Convention took very little time debating the ethics of this question. Not only did the Convention flatly reject the Machinists' application for a charter; it instructed the AFL Executive Council to persuade the organization to strike the offensive Jim Crow clause from its Constitution.

Samuel Gompers thought the issue so important for the infant AFL that he decided to appear personally before the Machinists' Convention the next year. Despite his pleading, however, the Machinists insisted on their anti-Negro policy. Then came an action which can give us pause for thought today.

The AFL decided it had done enough pleading and begging; there was only one way to deal with such an anti-democratic organization. Promptly the AFL chartered a new union, the International Machinists' Union, to take over the jurisdiction of the Jim Crow organization. In the official call for its first Convention, the new union announced its intention of forming an organization "based upon the principles which recognize the equality of all men working at our trade regardless of religion, race or color."

Having thus turned its back on Jim Crow, the new Machinists union was chartered by the AFL.

That this was no flash-in-the-pan or democratic whimsy on the part of the AFL was proved the very next year, 1893, when a merger was consummated between the Iron Shipbuilders of America and the Brotherhood of Boiler Makers. Somehow into the new Constitution crept a clause restricting membership to "white" members only.

Once again the AFL not only refused to bestow a charter; it organized and chartered a rival union which accepted Negro workers on the same basis as whites.

The AFL, during its early years, therefore, practiced the democratic philosophy that it had inherited from the Knights of Labor, appointing Negro organizers, opposing discrimination, and only reluctantly acceding to the establishment of Jim Crow locals as a temporary expedient. The AFL could not succeed, said Gompers, unless it fought incessantly "to eliminate the consideration of a color line in the country."

Summing up, Gompers warned AFL organizers that:

> "If we fail to organize and recognize the colored wage-workers, we cannot blame them very much if they accept our enmity and do all they can to frustrate our purposes. If we fail to make friends of them the employing class won't be so short-sighted and will play them against us. Thus if common humanity will not prompt us to have their cooperation, an enlightened self-interest should."

One of the high watermarks of inter-racial unity fostered by the AFL came in a strike now almost as forgotten by history as the 1884 strike of Chinese field workers in California which I mentioned earlier.

This, however, was no minor demonstration of solidarity. On the contrary, it was a general strike which hit one of the South's largest cities, New Orleans, in November 1892 and brought out on the streets 49 AFL unions with 25,000 members. This walkout, according to one historian, was "the first general strike in American history to enlist both skilled and unskilled labor, black and white, and to paralyze the life of a great city."

Negro and white workers walked out together demanding a 10-hour day, overtime pay and a preferential union shop. And here started one of the most shameful episodes in the history of the American press. Newspapers throughout the state went almost hysterical attempting to whip up race hate while the employers worked frantically to provoke a lynch spirit. No appeal to emotions, prejudice or fears was too base.

But every effort to split the Negro and white workers failed, and a union Committee of Five took over direction of the general strike. Prominent among the five was James E. Porter, a Negro union leader, at that time an assistant organizer for the national AFL. A local Negro lawyer was one of the most influential of the strike leaders.

In short order the Negro-white solidarity proved so complete and so effective that the Committee of Five reported to Gompers that business was almost entirely halted. "There are fully 25,000 men idle," Gompers was told. "There are no newspapers printed, no gas or electric light in the city, no wagons, no carpenters, painters or in fact any business doing."

The employers, backed by most of the state's newspapers, intensified their hysterical denunciations of the strikers, charging that Negroes were about to take over the city and that already white women had been insulted. There were threats of mob action and the militia was called out but the strike was so complete that the troops looked foolish and were removed.

Four days after it began the strike was concluded -- victoriously. The original striking unions won their 10-hour day, overtime pay and improved wage scales (missing only the preferential union shop) while the unions that came to their support all won higher scales with shorter hours and chalked up substantial membership gains. The hate-inflaming press was thunderstruck and the New Orleans Times-Democrat termed the walkout "the most colossal strike that this country has ever seen." Gompers brooded deeply on the lessons of walkout and then wrote this to the New Orleans strike leaders:

> "To me the movement in New Orleans was a very bright ray of hope for the future of organized labor and convinces me that the advantage which every other element fails to succeed in falls to the mission of organized labor. Never in the history of the world was such an exhibition where with all the prejudices existing against the black man, when the white wage-workers of New Orleans would sacrifice their means of livelihood to defend and protect their colored fellow workers. With one fell swoop the economic barrier of color was broken down. Under the circumstances I regard the movement as a very healthy sign of the times and one which speaks well for the future of organized labor in the 'New South' about which the politicians prate so much and mean so little."

This, then, was the glittering tradition of civil rights and racial democracy that suffused the AFL's early years. That the tradition did not survive and grow was due, in a sense, less to the abandonment of principle than to a basic and tragic mistake in organizational structure.

Almost from its beginning the AFL's perspective was the perspective of craft unionism and the organization of skilled workers. Craft unionism later became an overwhelming issue, but in the 1890's and early 1900's -- as impartial U.S. Labor Department histories emphasize -- it was a simple obvious fact that "the strength of the AFL resided primarily in the unions of carpenters, cigar makers, printers" and so on.

The AFL's lack of interest in organizing the unskilled workers -- even as mass production industry boomed -- began to sound a death knell for the tradition of

racial democracy. Gompers himself sensed this when he remarked in 1891, "There are not many skilled mechanics among the colored workmen of the South."

The craft unions, founded upon the skilled trades, afforded little or no opportunity for Negro workers to develop skills or to train as craftsmen. So while the AFL opposed racial discrimination its affiliates discriminated against unskilled workers which in turn became a form of racial discrimination.

By 1909 the AFL had reached the point of admitting to affiliation the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks and the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, both of which "openly and specifically discriminated against Negroes." This unhappy trend reached a climax at the 1921 AFL Convention when two resolutions were introduced criticizing discrimination against Negro workers. Both resolutions were turned down on the grounds that "the AFL cannot interfere with the trade autonomy of affiliated national or international unions."

Yet the lesson that American labor history teaches is that the setbacks to racial democracy have never been huge or permanent. There has been, in short, no continuing retrogression. On the contrary, despite occasional zigs and zags, racial democracy in the American labor movement has marched forward.

Today anti-Negro discrimination and Jim Crow unionism are at their lowest ebb. More than that, the spread of democratic guarantees and racial democracy has accelerated to an extent never known before. Today for the first time in nearly 200 years of American labor history we see clearly in sight the end of all Constitutional restrictions based on race, color, creed, sex or national origin. Today for the first time we perceive a not-too-far-off horizon of all discrimination outlawed, undemocratic practices abolished and full equality of opportunity guaranteed.

For the most part the labor movement has moved toward these goals with little or no external compulsion. Neither legislation nor court orders have been needed to advance democracy in unions; the labor movement has provided its own motivating power and its own progressive set of checks-and-balances.

We can be proud of the progress already made not only because it is continuing but also because it has not blinded us to the progress that still needs to be made. Beyond any doubt the labor movement today is more conscious of its failings, more sensitive to defects in its internal democracy than ever before. But most important, the labor movement, as never before, is meeting its problems of racial democracy head on, is facing and resolving those problems with unprecedented vigor and with less and less a spirit of compromise.

We know, for example, that reliable estimates indicate that approximately 50% of all Local Unions in the South hold segregated meetings -- Negroes and whites separated in the union hall. We know, moreover, that there are still too many lily-white Local Unions that maintain auxiliary Negro units. We know, furthermore, that there are too many Local Unions that refuse to admit Negroes to membership under any conditions, Class B, C, auxiliary or any other way.

We know these things and we are ashamed of them. But what is new in unionism in this second-half of the 20th Century is that to be ashamed is, almost automatically, to take corrective action. Thus, unions in increasing numbers have revised or amended their constitutions to eliminate discriminatory clauses and to incorporate new democratic guarantees. But the labor movement has not been content even with these new guarantees. During the past year, a number of AFL-CIO affiliates, and the AFL-CIO itself, have devised and adopted Codes of Ethical Practices -- something quite new under the trade union sun. These Ethical Practice Codes, which we can expect to be strengthened much more frequently than Constitutions are strengthened or improved, provide supplementary democratic protections for union members and new assurances against discriminatory practices.

These new Ethical Practice Codes provide an excellent departure point for an examination of what is right with the labor movement in the field of civil rights. To an extent never known before in labor history, U.S. unions have become committed to elaborate civil rights programs -- both intra-mural and extra-mural programs. The Ethical Practice Codes are part of the intra-mural programs.

Let me offer, if I may, my own union, the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, as a conscientious example. To begin with, racial democracy in the IUE has its roots in the Union's Constitution which dedicates our organization "to uniting all workers in our industry on an industrial basis, regardless of craft, age, sex, race, nationality or creed."

Five months ago our International Union took a new step forward, adopting a comprehensive Code of Ethical Practices designed, as we stated, "to prohibit any conduct that would countenance racketeering, racism, corruption or undemocratic practices of any kind."

At the outset this Code of Ethical Practices pledges the IUE to these goals among others:

> "To welcome into our Union brotherhood on terms of complete fraternal equality all eligible men and women in our industry regardless of race, color, religion, sex or national origin.

"To cooperate with other democratic, liberal and inter-racial organizations for the attainment of mutual goals."

The IUE Code of Ethical Practices goes on to prescribe rules of conduct for Local Unions with the following taking precedence:

"1-- The right to join the Union shall not be denied to any eligible worker because of race, religion, color, sex, citizenship or national origin.

"2-- One of the principal benefits provided to members by the Union is protection of the grievance machinery, and no member shall be denied that protection, directly or indirectly, because of race, religion, color, sex, national origin or political opinion."

The IUE, let me emphasize, adopted these prescriptions not as mere lofty principles but as down-to-earth enforceable rules with violators made subject to "the various forms of disciplinary action provided by the International Constitution, and Local and District Constitutions."

Here, then, are democratic guarantees with teeth, with the strongest possible enforcement powers.

But a union's constitution and Code of Ethical Practices can be considered only a starting point for a truly effective program of civil rights and racial democracy.

Internally, racial democracy in a union such as the IUE is spelled out in several different directions. We are, for example, militantly committed to the following, among other undertakings:

1-- The eradication of all vestiges of discriminatory practices or attitudes of prejudice on all levels of our Union;

2-- The establishment of active Civil Rights Committees in all IUE Local Unions;

3-- Incorporation into all IUE collective bargaining agreements of strong anti-discrimination clauses governing employment, promotions and discharges.

In addition, the IUE's external program of civil rights and racial democracy encompasses the following:

1-- Close cooperation between Local IUE Civil Rights Committees and such organizations as the NAACP, National Urban League, B'nai B'rith, the various religious civil rights organizations, the American Civil Liberties Union, Workers Defense League, and others;

2-- Similar collaboration on national levels between the IUE's National Civil Rights Committee and Civil Rights Department and such organizations as those mentioned;

3-- The prosecution of vigorous campaigns for local and state FEPC laws and national civil rights legislation in cooperation with other unions and non-union groups;

4-- Similar cooperation to abolish Jim Crow community patterns affecting recreational facilities, eating places, hotels, transportation and other public accommodations.

It will be readily agreed, I imagine, that there is little likelihood of discriminatory policies and Jim Crow practices creeping into either an International Union or a Local Union which prosecutes such programs as these for the advancement of civil rights and racial democracy.

But what about unions that persist in discriminatory practices?

It goes without saying that the discriminatory practices cannot be allowed to continue. The existence of only a handful of backward Local Unions can damage the reputation of an entire International Union and, indeed, the prestige of the whole labor movement.

The following, therefore, is proposed as a set of basic procedures to correct undemocratic practices and policies:

1-- The AFL-CIO Ethical Practices Committee and the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Committee should be authorized to offer assistance to either national or local unions for the purpose of effecting internal programs of racial democracy and justice;

2-- If such an offer of assistance is refused by a union offending against racial democracy, the AFL-CIO Committees should be authorized to make a comprehensive investigation;

3-- If the offending practice concerns only the Union's internal operations, the AFL-CIO Committees should be authorized to consult with the Union's officers to rectify the situation; if the offending practice involves the Union's relations with an employer the AFL-CIO Committees should be authorized to consult with management as well as with the Union in an effort to achieve an amicable and satisfactory resolution;

4-- If the Union refuses to cooperate with either or both the AFL-CIO Committees, the Committees should then be authorized to file charges with the AFL-CIO Executive Council with a view to disciplinary action by the parent body;

5-- If in the case of employer involvement in discriminatory practices management refuses to cooperate, then the Committees should be authorized to

recommend -- in the case of defense contractors or sub-contractors -- a crackdown by the Government Contract Compliance Committee.

There are, of course, other measures which the AFL-CIO can undertake to encourage internal democracy. I have mentioned the democratizing of national and local union constitutions where needed. In addition, the AFL-CIO can swing its enormous influence and prestige behind the adoption of Ethical Practice Codes guaranteeing maximum democratic rights for members of so-called minority groups.

It is one of my deepest convictions that the need for vigorous uncompromising action by labor is more urgently important in the field of civil rights than in any other area of trade unionism. This is why I believe so:

In recent years three problems above all others have beset the internal life of trade unionism: Communism, racketeering and civil rights.

Communism and racketeering, I think, are clearly less of a menace to a healthy trade union democracy than the abridgement of civil rights. I say this because it is apparent that Communism and racketeering are more easily eradicable; their roots do not sink as deeply into personal attitudes and convictions.

For example, there is no body of opinion in the American labor movement today sympathetic to racketeering, to corruption, to the perversion of union office for purposes of personal enrichment.

The same holds true today of Communist unionism. There is neither a deep nor a widespread disposition toward Communism; on the contrary, Communism is viewed with almost universal distaste and antipathy. At no time did Communism ever enjoy extensive rank-and-file support in American unionism.

In short, neither racketeering nor Communism today exercise any emotional hold over American labor or even a substantial section of American labor. Neither racketeering nor Communism have sunk roots into the faiths or loyalties of American workers.

But discrimination and Jim Crow unionism are something entirely different. People can wholeheartedly, if ignorantly, believe in Jim Crow unionism. Ideas of racial supremacy leading to discriminatory practices are, more often than not, rooted deeply in entrenched habits of mind, in wellsprings of prejudice and bigotry.

That is why we of the labor movement view as the greatest menace to democratic unionism today not Communism, not racketeering but discrimination and the curtailment of individual rights.

Communism in the American labor movement is nearly dead; racketeering, under the pitiless light of publicity, is being wiped out of dark corner after dark cor-

ner. In five years there will be nothing left of Communism unionism, nor I believe will there be anything remaining of corruption save perhaps a few tiny pockets.

But Jim Crow unionism and discriminatory union practices? That is the big question. Because discrimination is rooted in prejudices and bigotry, in deep-running emotional currents, it is vital that we do not permit the roots to sink deeper by tolerating discriminatory practices for one second longer than we have to. The longer we hesitate, the more we postpone forceful action the more difficult the eventual task will be.

For the simple fact is that racism is not Beckism. Beckism is something relatively new in labor and with a few violent yanks it can be pulled out by the roots. But racism, being not so much a sickness of trade unionism as of society itself, will require more extensive therapy -- perhaps even surgery.

That is why larger and larger sections of trade unionism have been reaching the point of "no compromise." Big unions and small unions alike have, with increasing frequency, arrived at the decision that no concessions can be made either to discrimination within the union or to so-called community patterns.

The IUE represents, I believe, a successful example of modern labor's refusal to compromise with Jim Crow either within its own organization or in the community.

From the moment of its birth, seven years ago, from the very first organizing steps undertaken in the South, the IUE resolutely refused to compromise its democratic principles.

At no time and in no place has the IUE ever agreed to the establishment of Jim Crow Local Unions. At no time and in no place has the IUE ever agreed to or sanctioned segregated meetings or divided union halls. Never anywhere to my knowledge has the IUE failed to push its demands for contractual clauses prohibiting discrimination in hiring, firing and promotions.

Where we have encountered local segregation statutes we have either ignored them or defied them; in many cases we have challenged them and continue to challenge them in the courts.

Because what the IUE has done is what many other unions are beginning to do, I would like to cite two or three brief examples of how we have met our problems of discrimination and prejudice.

Deep in southern Alabama is a small community in which the IUE, a year or so ago, won an NLRB election. The Local Union progressed and grew in what was normal fashion for the IUE; that is to say, there were no segregated meetings, no Jim Crow operations of any kind. Although this was contrary to community patterns there

was no trouble. Suddenly, however, after more than a year of quiet democratic development the police announced to the Local Union that a city ordinance prohibited unsegregated meetings. If the Union continued to hold its usual mixed meetings the law would be enforced, arrests would be made and -- the police warned -- some union leaders might find themselves in jail.

Here obviously was a clear-cut threat to democratic unionism; in fact, here was a threat to the very existence of the Local Union. What should the Union do? Postpone its next membership meeting? Make concessions to the Jim Crow law? Try to make a deal with the authorities?

The Local Union did none of these things. It continued to function in its customary manner, held the same kind of unsegregated membership meetings it always had, refused to retreat one step from its democratic practices.

A few of our people waited for the roof to fall in; it never did. At the Local's next membership meeting two patrol cars full of police conspicuously circled the union hall but not a single cop made a move to enter the meeting. Perhaps it was an attempt at intimidation; if so it failed completely. In short, we called the bluff of both the police and the city authorities and the bluff worked. Although the statute is still on the books the IUE's unsegregated meetings continue unmolested.

The IUE encountered a different kind of experience recently in one of its plants located in a large Texas city. Here, to our dismay, members of the White Citizens Council quietly worked their way into control of the Local Union. Almost the first we knew about it was a report that the Local officers had become more interested in persuading the company to establish separate washroom facilities than in improving wages, hours and other contract conditions.

For the moment we found we couldn't do much with the White Citizens Council boys who had grabbed control of the Local. They were being gleefully encouraged by the plant management which found that legitimate grievances were being sidetracked and abandoned as the separate washroom demand was pushed as a prime issue.

At this point the International Union quietly stepped into the picture. We instruted an IUE field representative to confer with the plant management and advise them that in this instance the company was not dealing with the Local Union alone. If management continued to connive with the White Citizens Council representatives on the establishment of Jim Crow facilities then the company could expect two things from the International Union.

~~First, in contract negotiations the International Union would stir up a virtual~~

hornet's nest ~~of economic issues, major wage demands, numerous and costly fringe~~ benefits, and other ~~expensive contract improvements.~~

Second, the International Union would go to the Government Contract Compliance Committee and demand that all defense contracts or subcontracts be withdrawn from the company.

The rest of this story is quickly told. There are no separate facilities for white workers and Negro workers in that plant today, nor are there ever likely to be. The White Citizens Council leaders are still wondering how and why the rug was pulled out from under them.

Still a third different kind of experience came to the IUE last month in Jackson, Mississippi. In the IUE's seven years of successful organizing in the South, we thought we had seen all kinds of employer bigotry and hatred. But in Jackson we encountered a new low in employer viciousness.

The IUE was engaged in an all-out campaign to organize a new plant of the Vickers Corporation, a subsidiary of the fourth largest company in our industry, Sperry-Rand. As the election campaign drew to a close we judged it a fairly quiet effort on both sides. In other words, certain decencies had been preserved by management. Or so it seemedto us.

Then, suddenly, with no warning, during the last four days before the election, Vickers employees started to receive through the mail a circular containing one large picture and just nine lines of type. Needless to say the circular came in plain envelopes, no return address and in obviously disguised handwriting.

That was the first race-hate attack on the IUE; the second -- using the same material -- came the day before the election. That day a local daily newspaper spread across four columns at the top of page-1 the same picture that had appeared on the circular. The picture showed President James B. Carey, of the IUE, dancing with a young Negro lady. The caption didn't identify the lady; it simply said, "UNION LEADER JAMES B. CAREY DANCES WITH A LADY FRIEND. HE IS PRESIDENT OF THE IUE WHICH SEEKS TO UNIONIZE VICKERS PLANT HERE."

Accompanying the picture was what purported to be a news story. I'll quote only one sentence of the text: "Employees of the Vickers plant who favor whites and Negroes dancing cheek by jowl as Brother Carey is doing, should of course vote to let the IUE take over control of the Vickers plant ..."

The picture puzzled us at first; we were fairly certain that we had never seen it before either in print or as merely a picture. President Carey, however, was able to identify it. The picture wasn'ttaken in the United States -- although

the impression conveyed was that it was taken at a union affair. It had been taken in Geneva, Switzerland, last year while President Carey was a delegate to the International Labor Organization. The occasion was a reception given by the Swiss Government in honor of the ILO delegates and the party was held on an excursion boat on Lake Geneva. The young lady was from Nigeria.

Here obviously was a most despicable effort to inflame hatreds, bigotries and prejudices to defeat the IUE in an NLRB election and leave Vickers workers unable to defend themselves against management exploitation.

How that picture -- never published anywhere else -- found its mysterious and sinister way from Geneva, Switzerland, to Jackson, Mississippi, is something we have not yet figured out. We will not be surprised if the same picture is used against us in other campaigns.

What is most important in this story is that despite this hate propaganda, despite the incitement to bigotry, the IUE refused to run away from the race issue in Jackson. We met it head on and we won. When the NLRB ballots were counted the IUE had won the election by a vote of 141 to 115.

That night I was proud not simply of my International Union that won this victory despite the odds that race-hate presumably gives to anti-union employers. I felt quietly and gratefully proud of our Southern workers, the men and women who refused to be blinded by bigotry and who disdained to be victimized by anti-democratic forces attempting to exploit ignorance and prejudice.

In its seven years of work in the South the IUE has compiled an astonishing record of organizational successes. Frequently we have found ourselves successful in areas that never before have been penetrated by unionism. Today south of the Mason-Dixon Line the IUE has 44 Local Unions with approximately 32,000 members and the International Union's growth in the South has become as rapid as in any other section of the country.

We in the IUE are utterly convinced that our success in the South is directly due to the fact that we have refused to compromise our democratic principles. We have been successful in our organizing, we believe, because we have met the race issue head on and resolved it. By refusing to make concessions to discrimination, to Jim Crow or to patterns of social prejudice, we have proved our Union's honesty and integrity. We have proved, moreover, that we genuinely believe what we say when we speak of unionism being a brotherhood of man under God.

I declared earlier that organized labor is today the largest and most powerful single force working for racial democracy in the United States today. And despite

the occasional zigs and zags, infrequent deviations and backward steps that I have cited, the labor movement's struggle for the expansion of civil rights and democratic liberties has grown progressively stronger -- stronger not only in the fight for racial democracy within the labor movement but in our society as well.

The question has been posed in this Institute: Is there a racial crisis in Southern organized labor?

All evidence, in our opinion, establishes that there is not. A couple of years ago we were a bit worried about a Jim Crow movement in organized labor which gathered momentum here in Tennessee under the sponsorship of White Citizens Council influences.

That threat to democratic unionism has now receded. The good sound common sense of Southern working men and women rejected that appeal to prejudice in the same way that industrial wage earners rejected the incitations to hate that the IUE overcame in Jackson, Mississippi, southern Alabama, Texas and elsewhere.

No, there is not, I feel sure, any racial crisis in Southern organized labor today.

But there is a racial crisis in Southern industry today! There is a moral and ethical crisis among employers who will sanction and encourage the use of race-hate -- as in Jackson, Mississippi -- in desperate attempts to forestall the organization of their employees.

There most certainly is a moral and ethical crisis involving companies that run away from unionized areas, locate in non-union areas and employ the weapons of race-hate and bigotry to divide their employees.

The crisis, we declare, is in management, in unscrupulous industry and business that uses the weapons of race-hate, Jim Crow and prejudice. The crisis is in state and local governments that serve the vicious purposes of these industries and businesses.

There will be no racial crisis in Southern organized labor as long as such unions as the IUE and other AFL-CIO affiliates organize and operate their unions on the bedrock principles of democracy and fraternity.

Philip Murray summed up our creed for us in these words:

> "The man who nourishes in his heart prejudice against his fellow-man because of differences in race, color or creed is a really sick man, made so by his own distorted thinking. The man who unknowingly harbors such prejudices is an infected man. Either requires treatment administered with varying degrees of patience that must attend all educational processes.
>
> "Our organization considers racial and religious prejudice part of the whole system of discriminatory practices between and among men that labor

unions were organized to oppose. We maintain that defrauding a laborer of his wage and racial and religious prejudice come down to the same thing -- rank and cruel injustice."

Because industrial management and big business for the most part are either deliberately indifferent or actually opposed to the expansion of racial democracy -- either in the plant or in society as a whole -- the moral responsibility on labor becomes enormous. Unionism can neither evade nor diminish that responsibility, nor should it ever want to. We think it has become clear that upon the shoulders of organized labor, more than on any other group in our society, rests the future of civil rights and democratic freedoms.

Our traditions, stemming from the National Labor Union in the days when Fisk University first came into being, down through the Knights of Labor, the AFL, the CIO and now the AFL-CIO -- all require us to carry on the struggle for racial democracy.

We cannot fail because we must not fail this obligation. Today even more than in American labor's earliest years we declare that "An Injury To One Is The Concern Of All."

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Charges Are Filed By IUE In Mississippi Election

IUE News 9/16/67

THE IUE has filed objections to the conduct of the National Labor Relations Board election at the Neco plant in Bay Springs, Miss., and also filed unfair labor practice charges.

The unfair labor practice charges were filed on the grounds that "the employer interfered with, coerced and restrained its employes in violation of their rights guaranteed by Section 7 of the Act."

The charges include:

• The employer stirred up racial tension, thereby creating a fear of loss of employment and a fear of personal injury to the employes if they supported IUE.

• The employer conspired with, caused and encouraged various persons in the community to stir up racial tensions for the purpose, and with the result, that employes were put in fear of loss of employment and in fear of personal injury for support of IUE.

The objections to the conduct of the election included:

• The employer, acting through its supervisors, agents and representatives, intimidated, interfered with and restrained its employes and improperly affected the outcome of the election by:

—Making statements to employes at captive audience meetings on September 4, 1957, which inflamed race prejudice, creating plant and community tension and fear of loss of employment and jeopardy to personal security;

—Displaying photographs of petitioner's president with a colored person with a printed statement and in such manner to inflame race prejudice against petitioner and to cause fear among employes of loss of employment and jeopardy to their personal security;

—Entering into concert with merchants and other persons in the locale of the plant whereby such persons inflamed race prejudice against petitioner;

—Inflaming race prejudice against petitioner, causing employes to fear for their job security and for their personal security.

The charges, filed at the NLRB regional office in New Orleans, September 12, declared that "in view of the acts described above and in view of the atmosphere created in the plant and in the locale of the plant by the acts described above and by other acts, the election conducted among employer's employes on September 6, 1957, did not constitute a valid election and it should be set aside."

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **EMORY VIA** 37

1/8 & 1/9/58

John Griffin

Problems of Union epithets

general study more feasible for soc. scientists than specific - less of a Target - less ~~of a~~ than of appearing as a propaganda piece.

Team approach for the survey design - call in on consultant bases - one of top ability

$3,000 a guess as to how much -

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF ~~JOHN CONNALLY~~ E.F.V.

Nick's staff

1) Patrick

2)

I.M.E

John Hope can find people for survey

write to Ben who suggest why needs by them

& witness-

Expert - need not be same man as man in study

- Stuart Cook (Soc. Psych.)
- Dan Hodson
- Al Pat -

Copy

This was okay by Jim Carey - Phone call upon his return from the [illegible]

MEMORANDUM

December 23, 1957

TO : James B. Carey

FROM : Benjamin D. Segal

RE : Neco Electrical Products, Bay Springs, Mississippi

I have discussed with Bert Diamond the necessity for obtaining expert professional evidence regarding the impact of the employer's racial abuse in a community like Jasper, Mississippi. It is our belief that several studies should be set in motion as quickly as possible for the purpose of disclosing the history of race relations in Jasper, the racial tensions there, local attitudes on integration and the actual and probable reactions of the various sections of the community to race hate propaganda.

These studies should be begun in sufficient time so that they can be used as evidence in hearings which the National Labor Relations Board may direct on IUE's charges and objections.

In addition, we should undertake to canvass the field for reliable Southern race relations experts who can be used as witnesses on the sociological issues involved.

Bert Diamond has requested that I make the necessary arrangements to do these things, in cooperation with the Legal Department.

If you agree, I shall be glad to launch this project immediately.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

BEFORE THE

NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS BOARD

Fifteenth Region

In the Matter of NECO ELECTRICAL PRODUCTS CORPORATION, Employer, and INTERNATIONAL UNION OF ELECTRICAL, RADIO AND MACHINE WORKERS, AFL-CIO Petitioner and Charging Party	Case Nos. 15-RC-1660 15-CA-1093

MEMORANDUM IN SUPPORT OF CHARGES AND OBJECTIONS TO ELECTION

This memorandum is submitted by International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, AFL-CIO, herein called Union. The purpose is to set forth the salient facts which support the Union's unfair labor practice charge and its objections to the election, and to explain the reasons why the Employer's incitement of race hste against the Union constitutes interference with the election and an unfair labor practice.

NECO Electrical Products Corporation, herein called Employer, runs a rented plant in the town of Bay Springs, Mississippi. Bay Springs with a population of 1,302, is located in Jasper County. NECO is the only industrial employer in the entire county. The plant property, exclusive of machines, belongs to the county and is leased by the Employer. The plant employs about 400 people, mostly women. The principal product is electric blankets.

During the summer of 1957, some of the Employer's employees contacted the Union and solicited its help in forming a labor organization among

the employees. In August 1957, a majority of the employees signed IUE cards and, on August 1, 1957, IUE filed a representation petition. This was the first public announcement of IUE's claim of majority status.

An informal conference was held by the Board shortly after the petition was filed. On August 12, 1957, a consent election was agreed to, the election to be conducted on September 6, 1957. Between the time of IUE's demand and the election, the Employer engaged in a campaign of terrorism, intimidation, interference and coercion. This illegal campaign has continued beyond the date of the election.

1. Threats and Interrogation

One of the facets of the anti-union drive of the Employer was to threaten employees with loss of employment benefits if the union was successful. Supervisor Lightsey interrogated employee (witness A) as to the employee's union sympathies and threatened that if the union became the bargaining agent, the employees "would not work half of the time" and that the plant would be shut down. Supervisor Helen Rhodes told employee (witness B) that the employee should "clear your skirts of the union if you ever want to work here again". (Witness B) had announced her intention of resigning after the election and Rhodes told her to resign before.

Lightsey also threatened employee (Witness C) that if the Union was selected the plant would work only 2 or 3 days a week --that Sears Roebuck and Rexall, NECO's largest customers, would not handle union-made products. He also volunteered the information that NECO had received offers from other cities to move their operation from Bay Springs. In a discussion

as to the truth of the rumors that the plant would move if the union came in, supervisor Anderson told employee (Witness C) that the owner of the plant "doesn't own a thing in this plant that is bolted down and that he can't move". Supervisors Lucy Mae Montgomery and Ella Fair Poore interrogated employee (Witness D) as to her intention to vote in the scheduled NLRB election.

2. Threats by Townspeople Independently and as Agents of NECO.

Sometime after IUE petitioned, the Employer gave a list of employees to the local Chamber of Commerce. The list was distributed to various merchants in the community who, in turn, engaged in a campaign of interrogation and threats of the same character as those engaged in by the supervisors. Most of the merchants in the Bay Springs area buttonholed NECO's employees as they did their marketing and threatened the employees that the plant would move if the Union was successful in its attempt. (See statements of witnesses).

This was not idle conversation. The theme of plant closing characterized all these statements. In addition, the merchants admitted that they had lists of those employees who had signed union cards; that the Employer started the threat of moving; and, that the pro-union employees would be discharged. (Witness A), (Witness B), (Witness C). (Witness G) was told that storekeepers would cut off credit to NECO employees if the Union won. The president of the Bay Springs bank which had loaned money to employee (Witness D's) husband, called the husband, reminded him of the loan and then told him to influence his wife against the Union.

On the day preceding the election, the merchants staged an anti-union parade through the town. Employees who consented to have their cars decorated with anti-union slogans were given time off to have this done. The parade was then led on its course by an official state car, driven by a uniformed Mississippi State policeman.

3. The Race Issue and the Captive Audience Meetings of September 4, 1957.

During the period preceding the election, the Company sent letters to the employees for the purpose of appealing to race prejudice. This literature ran the gamut from reproductions of pages of the IUE News showing IUE President Carey and other IUE people being honored by or entertaining people connected with the NAACP to unfounded statements that IUE would contribute its members' dues to NAACP.

A few days prior to the election, the Company placed enlarged reproductions of the front page of an earlier issue of the Jackson, Mississippi News in various places about the plant. Above each such photograph was a streamer that said "Meet the President of the IUE." The newspaper page thus displayed had a photograph of IUE President Carey dancing with a Negro lady. Beneath the photograph was a caption that described the lady as a "friend" of Mr. Carey[2/] and a story that said "race mixing" was an issue in an NLRB election then pending at a Jackson, Mississippi plant.

2/ The lady was, in fact, part of a Nigerian delegation to an ILO convention in Switzerland, where the photograph was taken.

On September 4, 1957, 2 captive audience meetings were held at the plant, each attended by one-half of the work force. The meetings were addressed by NECO President Ed Russell. His speech was an anti-union tirade featured by Russell's appeal to racial tensions. He waived a copy of the newspaper which had been posted in the plant and shouted that IUE was a "nigger-loving" union and that President Carey was a "nigger-lover".

He also attacked IUE's representatives in the basest terms, calling them "nigger-lovers", and one of them a "carpet-bagger". The Company had previously posted cartoons of Satan around the plant with a statement beneath it claiming that the Devil was an ally of the IUE representative.

4. Post-Election Coercion

On the work day following the election, September 9, Russell addressed the employees over the plant loudspeaker. He cautioned the employees to get "on his team" or lose their jobs. He also told them to "forget this silly mess". (Witness I; Witness J).

In addition, the Company's attorney, David Welch, gave a story to the local newspaper, the Laurel Leader Call, that in view of the defeat of the Union, the plant would be expanded in size. He said, the day after the election, that property had already been acquired for purposes of carrying out this expansion. Company officials were also quoted as saying that the rejection of the Union would increase the likelihood of further industrial expansion in Bay Springs.

5. Improper Restrictions Placed on Union During the Election.

On the day of the election, Union representatives stood outside the plant, several hundred feet from the entrance, and attempted to distribute leaflets. The Board's agent prevented them from making this distribution. At the point where the Union representatives stationed themselves, they were not visible to employees en route to the polls inside the plant. They had no loud speaking

system and made no sounds that could be heard inside the plant. Prevention of the distribution of literature on the day of the election was an abuse of the discretion of the Board's agent. The area in question was not within any previously drawn no-campaigning limits.

Discussion

A. The impact of the Employer's racial abuse.

The above summary of the Employer's efforts to defeat the Union in the Board election does not exhaust the available evidence. It merely recites the principal facts. Even from this summary presentation, however, it is readily apparent that under established Board doctrine, the Employer engaged in a course of conduct which prevented its employees from exercising a free choice in the representation election and which interfered with, restrained and coerced these employees in their selection of a bargaining agent.

Because of the significance which the Employer's injection of the racial issue into the campaign has both for this Union and other unions in the South, we shall confine this discussion to an exposition of the reasons why such conduct on the Employer's part must be considered both as interference with the election and as an unfair labor practice.

The Employer held off hurling the racial bombshell into the campaign until shortly before the election. The groundwork for the assault was laid by the circulation of literature depicting the Union's leaders as being friendly to the NAACP, as favoring racial intergration and, indeed, in the case of IUE President Carey, socializing on equal terms with a Negro lady. The distribution of such literature was capped by the incendiary plant meeting held by NECO president Russell just 48 hours before the election. In unbridled, vitriolic terms Russell assailed IUE as a "Nigger-loving" Union, President Carey and other Union representatives as "Nigger-lovers", and an IUE representative as a "carpet-bagger".

The impact of this inflammatory, scurrilous abuse, in the circumstances of the situation, requires no extensive explanation.

Bay Springs, with its population of 1,302 is a small town deep in Mississippi. Since the Supreme Court's anti-segregation ruling of 1954, racial tension in the South especially in rural areas of the Deep South, has risen to a high pitch. Mississippi, of all the Southern states, has resisted school integration most completely. Against this background, for the head of the only industrial plant in this small community heatedly to denounce a union and its leaders at a captive audience meeting as "Negro-lovers" amounts to raw incitement to violence and blatant intimidation.

For NECO President Russell to level this abusive language against union representatives at meetings of white employees constituted a clear call to physical violence. This was the same epithet which agitators outside Central High School in Little Rock hurled at New York Times representative Benjamin Fine, inciting such danger of violence as to require Fine's departure from the scene. New York Times, September 10, 1957, p.1. [In Clinton, Tennessee the identical epithet sparked an assault on the Reverend Turner, after he had led some Negro children into a newly integrated school.]

The U.S. Supreme Court recently sustained a state court injunction prohibiting strikers in a rural community in Arkansas from calling non-strikers a number of varieties of "scab". Amalgamated Clothing Workers v. Rainfair, ___ U.S._____26 LW 4031 (December 9, 1957).

The Court found that the strikers' abusive language was likely to provoke violence, and hence, could properly be enjoined. In its decision the Court stated:

> "The issue here is whether or not the conduct and language of the strikers were likely to cause

> physical violence. Petitioners urge that all of this abusive language was protected and that they could not, therefore, be enjoined from using it. We cannot agree. Words can readily be so coupled with conduct as to provoke violence. See Chaplinsky v. New Hampshire, 315 U.S. 568, 571-572. Petitioners contend that the words used, principally "scab" and variations thereon, are within a protected terminology. But if a sufficient number yell any word sufficiently loudly showing an intent to ridicule, insult or annoy, no matter how innocuous the dictionary definition of that word, the effect may cease to be persuasion and become intimidation and incitement to violence. Wynne is not an industrial metropolis. When, in a small community, more than 30 people get together and act as they did here, and heap abuse on their neighbors and former friends, a court is justified in finding that violence is imminent. Recognizing that the trial court was in a better position than we can be to assess the local situation, we think the evidence supports its conclusion, affirmed by the State Supreme Court, that the conduct and massed name-calling by petitioners were calculated to provoke violence and were likely to do so unless promptly restrained."

In the present case we are dealing with the term which does not have an innocuous dictionary definition. This is a term whose meaning is abhorently pernicious. The community is even smaller than Wynne, Arkansas. The area is one in which the probabilities of an eruption of violence triggered by the epithet are greater than in Wynne. The abuse was uttered not by a group of striking employees but by an Employer who possessed the power of economic life or death over his listeners. Applying the reasoning of the Supreme Court in Rainfair, there can be no doubt that the abusive language used by the Employer here constituted to a far greater degree, "intimidation and incitement to violence." See Feiner v. New York, 340 U.S. 315.

Added proof for this conclusion is found in a recent Louisville decision. The Louisville Chief of Police and the editor of the Courier-Journal had been charged with criminal libel for asserting of a young high-school racist

that he had the "avowed goal of stirring up racial strife." A local judge ruled the statement was true and uttered without malice because the youth had, in addressing a White Citizens Council meeting, used such words as "nigger" and "nigger lover". The judge declared: "To use such terms...and other such epithets in this connection and under these conditions is to make an avowal by conduct and words of stirring up racial strife." Southern School News, April 1957, p. 7. To stir up racial strife in Mississippi, even more than in Louisville, Kentucky, carries the unmistakable danger of physical violence, especially when it is done by an employer.

To be branded a"Negro lover" in a town like Jasper creates a peril not only of physical assault but of economic and social reprisal. An authority on Negro political behavior in the South has pointed out why in rural areas whites shun the Negro vote. Nabrit, The Future of the Negro Voter in the South, 3 Journal of Negro Education, pp. 418 - 420.

> "Where the Negro overcomes normal handicaps and actually tries to participate in politics he is apt to be merely another cipher in the county ring -- exercising no influence, receiving no rewards, and soon wearying of the entire process. His participation may be somewhat broader and more influential in the larger cities. It is apt to be practically non-existent in the rural areas and small towns. There has grown up in these areas a tradition among whites of not only not seeking the Negro vote but of in truth shunning it because of the social and economic condemnation which may be visited upon those who get it --they are branded Negro lovers, which in these areas may be the kiss of political death."

In other words, to be tagged as a "Negro lover" means, in a small town in the South that the person so labelled will suffer severe economic and social punishment.

In his book, An American Dilemma, Gunnar Myrdal observes (677):

> "A white who becomes known as a 'Negro-Lover' loses caste and is generally ostracized, if not made the object of violence."

In discussing the election campaign of Senator Frank Graham, Sam Lubell in "The Future of American Politics" states the following, pp. 104-105:

> "In Raleigh, an 8-year old school boy who spoke up for Graham was beaten up as a 'Negro-lover' by other children."

This abusive language, when directed against a labor organization, its leaders and representatives, applies not only to them but casts its shadow over all who are adherents of the organization or who might be suspected of supporting it.

Thus the outrageous language used by the Employer incited and threatened violence against any employees who might dare to support IUE. It threatened them with loss of their jobs and other economic harm. It threatened them with social condemnation and ostracism.

In addition, the obvious purpose of the Employer's ranting was to play on the well-known fear of the white workers in the South, that if the Union won the election Negroes would take over their jobs. See The Wall Street Journal, December 2, 1957, p.1., col. 1. Such fear is understandable in the light of the fact that a major motive for the post Civil War industrialization. of the South was the desire to give the whites a better status than that of the Negro cropper and tenant. Cash, The Mind of the South, 182-185.

By attacking the Union as it did, the Employer was plainly asserting that if the Union won the election it would cause Negroes to be preferred in employment over whites. On the other hand, the Employer was simultaneously promising his employees that if the Union was defeated, he would continue his policy of discriminating against Negroes in favor of whites.

This, then, is the significance which must be attached to the Employer's abusive speech of September 4, 1957. Unquestionably it was intimidatory and coercive in the extreme.

B. The Employer Interfered with a Free Election

As indicated above, when the Employer denounced the Union as Negro-loving, to the average employee in the plant this unequivocally meant:

(1) Union adherents are likely to suffer serious physical, economic and social harm at the hands of the Employer,

the employees and the community.

(2) The Employer discriminates against Negroes in all aspects of employment.

(3) The Union favors Negroes over whites in these matters.

(4) If the Union should be certified, the Employer's policy of discrimination against Negroes would be abandoned and the Union's alleged policy of favoritism toward Negroes would be placed into effect with the Employer's consent or acquiescence.

(5) If the Union should be defeated in the election, the Employer would continue in effect his policy of giving preferment to whites as against Negroes in all matters pertaining to employment.

This admixture of threats and promises was clearly implied by the statements and conduct of the Employer with respect to the racial issue.

It is unnecessary to do more than mention the falsity of the Employer's charge against the Union. Dedication to equal treatment of all races and colors, which is this Union's basic rule, implies no favoritism toward any racial group.

A majority of the members of the Board, in the Westinghouse Electric Corp. case, 119 NLRB No. 26, adopted the position that comparable threats and promises, if placed in issue by timely objections, would require setting aside an election.

In this connection, the words of Chairman Leedom's Westinghouse opinion, merit repetition:

> "A threat or promise with racial overtones, i.e., one which threatens a loss of jobs because of racial distinctions, made for the purpose of influencing employees in their right to choose a bargaining representative, is clearly prohibited by the Act and would constitute grounds for setting an election aside. Whether or not the racial overtone is present, there exists a threat or promise keyed to union activity which is not protected by Section 8 (c). The more subtle problem, however, arises when the reference to

> job loss is tied to the fact that the union has a policy, at odds with that of the employer, which calls for disregarding racial lines in the allocation of jobs, the implication being that, if the union wins the election, union policy will probably prevail thereafter in the plant. It is true that the Board has heretofore found that statements endeavoring to forecast what will eventuate because of union demands and union practices are predictions which fall within the protection of the Act, and I have subscribed to that approach. However, I have serious doubts whether that principle should be applied in a case where the prediction involves an advantage or a disadvantage to an employee growing out of racial prejudice. The consequence of injecting the racial issue where racial prejudices are likely to exist, is to pit race against race and thereby distort a clear expression of choice on the issue of unionism. Clearly, to draw the issue along these lines does not effectuate the policies of the Act. The implications are far greater, in my opinion, than the reaches of the Act, for they bespeak an assault upon the spirit of our constitution."

Present in this case is the factor of incitement to violence against union supporters, which was absent in Westinghouse. This factor compels the conclusion that the Employer's conduct negated an untrammeled choice by employees of a bargaining agent.

Moreover, as indicated by the opinions of the majority in Westinghouse, especially that of Chairman Leedom, the deliberate creation of an atmosphere of racial strife vitiates the possibility of reasoned choice essential to the conduct of a free election.

As the Board stated in General Shoe Corp., 77 NLRB 124, 127:

> "In election proceedings, it is the Board's function to provide a laboratory in which an experiment may be conducted, under conditions as nearly ideal as possible, to determine the uninhibited desires of the employees. It is our duty to establish these conditions; it is our duty to determine whether they have been fulfilled. When, in the rare extreme

> case, the standard drops too low, because of our fault or that of others, the requisite laboratory conditions are not present and the experiment must be conducted over again."

A decade ago the Board invalidated an election held against a background of community terror and intimidation largely engendered by the stirring of racial strife. P. D. Gwaltney, Jr., and Co., 74 NLRB 371. There is equal reason to do so where, as here, the employer himself, kindled the flames of racial hatred.

The Supreme Court declared that the Board "has not been commissioned to effectuate the policies of the Labor Relations Act so single-mindedly that it may wholly ignore other and equally important Congressional objectives." Southern Steamship Co., N.L.R.B., 316 U.S. 31. If the Board may not ignore other Congressional objectives, neither may it disregard the policy of the Constitution of the United States, which condemns distinctions based on race. See Hurd v. Hodge, 334 U.S. 24.

Construing the National Labor Relations Act, as well as the Railway Labor Act, in the light of the policy of the Constitution which guarantees equal protection of the laws and discountenances discrimination on account of race, the Supreme Court has imposed upon labor unions enjoying the privilege of federal certification as exclusive bargaining agent, the duty to represent Negroes fairly and without discrimination. Steele v. Louisville and Nashville Railroad Co., 323 U.S. 192; Tunstall v. Brotherhood, 323 U.S. 210; Syres v. Oil Workers, 350 U.S. 892; Conley v. Gibson, _____ U.S. _____ 266 W. 4013 (November 19, 1957).

The Board, too, has held that a certified bargaining agent cannot discriminate in representing employees on the basis of race. Larus & Bros. 62 NLRB 1075.

Certainly the Board should set aside an election won by a union which campaigns on a platform of discriminatory representation for one of two races in the bargaining unit. By the same token, the Board should not permit an employer to wage a campaign against a union by falsely attributing to it such an intent to discriminate. If a union is to be precluded from making such a plea for votes, the employer should likewise be disabled from advancing it. Conversely, the employer should not be permitted to promise that, if the Union is defeated, he will follow a policy of discrimination which the union itself is barred from advocating. The necessity for preserving the integrity and fairness of the federal representation election process demands no less.

The Board has declared objectionable propaganda, which by reason of its deliberate falsity, "has lowered the standards of campaigning to the point where it may be said that the uninhibited desires of the employees cannot be determined in an election." United Aircraft Co., 103 NLRB 102; Gummed Products, 112 NLRB 1092; Riess Associates, 116 NLRB 217; Calidyne Co., 117 NLRB No. 245. In the present instance, a last-minute false charge was flung at the Union by the Employer, thereby depriving the employees of the opportunity to form a reasonable judgment on the issues in the election.

Beyond this, however, is the consideration that the Board ought not to allow its election processes to be abused so as to thwart federal policy. The Board must, in this case, recognize that deliberate provocation of racial prejudice in an election campaign conflicts with the policies of the Constitution and the Act and prevents the free choice of a bargaining agent.

C. The Employer's Conduct Violated Section 8 (a)(1) of the Act.

4

We have seen that the vituperation which the Employer threw at the Union constituted, in the given environment, open incitement to violence.

The malediction which the Employer used is the most grievous in the lexicon of the region. Its impact as a call to violence is inescapable. In the face of the realities of the situation, as they existed at the time and place of the utterances, for a worker to ally himself with the Union would have been an act of foolhardiness. He would immediately have subjected himself to the danger of physical harm, of loss of his job, of economic and social reprisal in the community.

Under these circumstances, there can be no doubt that the Employer was guilty of interfering with, restraining and coercing his workers in the exercise of their right freely to select a bargaining agent. The defense of free speech does not extend to advocacy of physical violence and economic penalties against union organizers and supporters. NLRB v. Bibb Mfg. Co., 188 F. 2d 825; N.L.R.B. v. American Thread Co., 204 F.2d 169; N.L.R.B. v. Taylor-Colquitt Co., 140 F.2d 92.

In Feiner v. New York, supra, the Supreme Court upheld the conviction of a speaker who in addressing a crowd including a number of Negroes, through a public address system, asserted that Negroes "should rise up in arms and fight for their rights," called a number of public officials, including the President "bums", and ignored two police requests to stop speaking. In rejecting the plea that the defendant's conduct was protected by the First Amendment, the Court took cognizance of the findings below that danger to public order was clearly threatened.

was it language?

In the case at hand, the danger that violence would result from the Employer's imprecations exceeded that in Feiner. There could be no sharper or more urgent clarion call to violence against the Union and its supporters than that sounded by this Employer in Jasper, Mississippi.

In addition to the threat of violence, there were, as stated above, other threats and promises clearly embodied in the Employer's abusive outburst, such as the promise of continued preferential treatment for white employees, if the Union was defeated.

It is therefore, requested that a complaint issue forthwith charging that the Employer's racist attack on the Union violated Section 8 (a)(1) of the Act.

Respectfully submitted

Benjamin C. Sigal
Bert Diamond
Edmond F. Rovner
Counsel for International Union of
Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers,
AFL-CIO

Dated: December 18, 1957

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213 N. E. 2ND AVENUE
MIAMI, FLORIDA
PHONE FR 9-4145

Jan. 24, 1958

Frederick B. Routh
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Fred:

Interracial facilities I know about:

BETHUNE COOKMAN COLLEGE, Daytona Beach.
A Negro college under Methodist jurisdiction.
Student body of about 450, I believe. Reasonable rates built around needs of each group.
President- Richard V. Moore

YMCA CAMP, Lake Placid. (Lodge alone/30 people $1 ea, prepare own food)
Accommodates 100. open to outs de groups Sept to June
Rates- up to 40 people- $3.50 for youth, $4.50 adults each day, including food. 80to 100- $3 and $3.50.

LAKE BYRD LODGE, Avon Park.
Congregational facilities.
Rates- $ 1.75 a nite, 50¢ extra for linen
.75 breakfast
1.00 lunch
1.25 dinner which makes $3 a day for meals.
Rev. J.E. Pickens in charge.

CAMP WINGMAN, Avon Park.
Episcopal youth camp, 100 maximum, and used for strictly Episcopal program from closing of public school to two weeks prior to opening again.

FLORIDA SOUTHERN COLLEGE, Lakeland.
A white Methodist college. $2 overnight, not sure of other charges. President- Charles T. Thrift.

METHODIST YOUTH CAMP, Leesburg.
New facilities have increased the capacity- believe can handle 350 to 400 now. Contact Box 65, Rev. Lee Pearson, Lakeland for rates, etc.

Have I missed any????

Sincerely,

Bill

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL
Protestant Episcopal Church
CHURCH MISSIONS HOUSE, 281 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

Jan. 27, 1958

Dear Fred,

I don't know of any interracial facilities in Virginia which are available for general meetings. "Raelyn" the conference center at Richmond has an interracial youth conference for its own Episcopal youth - segregated as to sex but I am not sure it would be available for outside groups. Our new camp near Hungry Mother Park in Southwestern Va. will be non-segregated when opened. Bill Marmion will probably be able to let outside groups use it as long as Episcopal priority is observed. Va. Seminary in Alexandria is ~~not~~ integrated in its regular sessions. It does not, as far as I know, provide for special or outside meetings. I believe they could be interracial if it did or could provide housing for conferences in the summer.

Sincerely

Neil Tagler.

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SPONSOR OF BROTHERHOOD WEEK

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January 28, 1958

Mr. Fred Routh, Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

I have referred your letter of January 22nd regarding "Interracial Facilities in the South" to the Conference's North Carolina Director, Mr. Ebeling. My work has kept me so consistently out of North Carolina for the past 18 months that the State is becoming little more than a bedroom to me. Such information as I have I will give to Mr. Ebeling.

In the event you wish to correspond directly with Mr. Ebeling, his address is: 907 Southeastern Building, Greensboro, N. C.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon

Gordon W. Lovejoy

GWL:nwn

cc: Mr. Herman Ebeling
Mr. W. H. Tipton, Jr.,

"—TO PROMOTE JUSTICE, AMITY, UNDERSTANDING AND COOPERATION AMONG PROTESTANTS, CATHOLICS AND JEWS, AND TO ANALYZE, MODERATE AND FINALLY ELIMINATE INTERGROUP PREJUDICES WHICH DISFIGURE AND DISTORT RELIGIOUS, BUSINESS, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL RELATIONS, WITH A VIEW TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A SOCIAL ORDER IN WHICH THE RELIGIOUS IDEALS OF BROTHERHOOD AND JUSTICE SHALL BECOME THE STANDARDS OF HUMAN RELATIONSHIPS." (NCCJ BY-LAWS)

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OF THE
BOARD OF MISSIONS OF THE METHODIST CHURCH

150 FIFTH AVENUE Dallas Tex. NEW YORK 11, N. Y.

Jan. 29, 1958

Dear Mr. Fleming,

The following places are making their facilities available for interracial meetings: (Of course clearance has to be made here in advance.)

Scarritt College, Nashville, Tenn.
Board of Education
Methodist Church
1001 - 19th. Ave. So. Nashville, Tenn

I have used these facilities.

Sincerely,

Mrs. E. H. Robinson

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

ST. HELENA ISLAND

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

(Formerly Penn Normal, Industrial and Agricultural School)

January 29, 1958

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Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred Routh:

Re: ~~Three~~ Interracial facilities in the South. I am afraid that the facilities I know of are already well known toSRC. Of course, the list in South Carolina is not exhaustive by any means.

Although you know that Penn is available for such conferences, you may not know the rates that we charge. We have a sliding scale depending on how well-fed the group wants to be, the size of the group, and their length of stay. However, an average charge is $3.00 per day for three meals and overnight for a capacity group. We can house one-hundred and arrange for additional housing in the community. At present, we can handle only sixty during the winter months, for one of the dormitories is not heated. We have an auditorium seating two-hundred, and various classrooms in case the group wants to break up into smaller units. I am enclosing a couple of our folders, and more are available if needed.

Here in South Carolina, I believe you know the Negro colleges, all of whom I suppose will handle interracial groups, with the possible exception of State College at Orangeburg. However, several of these colleges are coming under attack, particularly Allen, and they may be somewhat reluctant to house such groups. In Columbia there is Benedict College, Allen College; In Orangeburg, Claflin; in Sumter, Morris College; in Beaufort, Mather School and Junior College, and in Denmark, Voorhees School. There is also Mather Academy at ~~Sumter~~, Harbeson, at Irmo, and ~~Area Trade School in Denmark~~ Camden State School

Mrs. Spearman, I feel sure, will be able to give much more details about the groups or facilities in Columbia. From what I have heard, I understand the Columbia YWCA is now closed, except to their own particular groups, though in the past they have held outside interracial groups. I believe the same is true of the USO in Columbia, which formerly housed our Conference on Human Relations. The Opportunity School, located

at the Air Base outside of Columbia, formerly held interracial meetings, I think. I am almost positive they no longer do.

I am not sure what the facilities are that the Catholics have; however, I understand they have opened a Retreat house at Kingstree, which will house around twenty to thirty. That may be limitied to their own groups though. They also have a summer camp near Bluffton, South Carolina, which is across the Broad River from us near the coast — called St Marys. Father Simonen of Beaufort in charge.

I understand also, that Labor Unions have held their State conventions at Fort Sumter hotel in Charleston, and the next one is to be in the Francis Marion Hotel. However, I feel quite certain that the Negroes will not sleep in the hotels, and am not sure how meals are served there. My impression is that the Labor unions here in the state, accept Negroes, but only in a back-handed manner.

The military bases are of course integrated, but am not sure whether they will accept groups other than those interested primarily in visiting the base. Apparently, they do send their buses to various groups, such as the Chamber of Commerces of different cities, impressionable young people in schools and colleges, and will entertain them for even several days. I believe some football teams, and perhaps baseball teams, have come for a week or so to work out at the base. However, I doubt if any integrated group in South Carolina could so camouflage their real intent as to gain the possibly free services of the military in this respect.

On paper, this list looks pretty good, but I imagine the actual number of those willing to accept interracial groups that do not involve their own people, are very few.

Best wishes,

Courtney Siceloff

CS:rfp

KENTUCKY COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.

Affiliated with the Southern Regional Council, Inc.

208 WEST MAIN STREET — PHONE CAPITAL 3-1409 — FRANKFORT, KENTUCKY

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4435 Blenheim Rd
Louisville, Ky
February 3, 1958

Mr. Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Fred:

I am sending herewith some of the information that you requested concerning interracial facilities in the state.

I am sure that you are aware that the picture is now changing rapidly, in fact we are making new discoveries almost every time a group of us sit down together. Many of these changes have been going on for some time but because they have taken place quietly, the news has not travelled rapidly.

I have it on good authority that the whole situation with respect to hotels here in Louisville will change in the next few months and all of the large downtown facilities will be desegregated, but this announcement cannot be made as yet.

I am sorry not to have all of the information on rates but these change from season to season, as is true in many places.

If there is other information that we can send along, please let us know.

With kindest regards, I am,

Cordially,

Hugh A Brimm

Facilities in Kentucky for Interracial Conferences

1. Kentucky State Parks

The accomodations at these parks cover a wide variety from cabins to hotel rooms. The rates vary from summer to winter season and there is also a variation with the number of people in occupancy.

The summer season is especially crowded and usually the first of the year is too late to get any sizeable number of rooms for a reservation. Correspondence with the parks should be well in advance of the time of the meeting.

The following parks have accomodations:

Kentucky Lake, Hardin, Kentucky
Kentucky Dam Village, Gilbertsville, Ky
Cumberland Falls, Corbin, Ky.

2. Mammoth Cave National Park

There is attached a schedule of the rates and facilities at the Mammoth Cave National Park together with information about tours through the cave.

3. Hotels

At the present time there are two places in Kentucky where integrated accomodations are available. In Louisville there are two hotels where the combined capacity would be in the neighborhood of 200-250 guests. These hotels are:

Sheraton-Seelbach 500 South 4th St.
Henry Clay Hotel, 604 South 3rd St.

The rates here run from $6.50 to $14.00 per day for single occupancy and from $9.00 to 18.00 per day for double occupancy. Rooms without television and with-without air conditioning are slighly lower.

At Berea Kentucky the Boone Tavern will accomodate guests on an interracial basis. There is also overflow space in the dormitory of Berea College. Reservations here will be difficult to make because of the summer showing of the play Wilderness Road. If sufficient time is allowed, a group of some 150-200 could be accomodated.

NATIONAL PARK CONCESSIONS, INC.

MAMMOTH CAVE NATIONAL PARK

Mammoth Cave, Kentucky

Phone 561

MAMMOTH CAVE HOTEL — LODGE — COTTAGES

Rate Schedule for 1957 Season

HOTEL ROOMS— Steam Heat	**Daily Rates**
☐ One Person—Lavatory, Corridor Shower, Toilet	$2.50
☐ Two Persons—Double Bed, Lavatory, Corridor Shower and Toilet	3.50
☐ Two Persons—Twin Beds, Lavatory, Corridor Shower and Toilet	4.50
☐ Three Persons—Lavatory, Corridor Shower and Toilet	5.00
☐ One Person—Private Bath	3.75
☐ Two Persons—Double Bed, Private Bath	5.00
☐ Two Persons—Twin Beds, Private Bath	6.00
☐ Two Persons—Twin Beds, Private Bath-Suite	7.00
☐ Three Persons—Two Rooms, Connecting Bath	8.00
☐ Four Persons—Two Rooms, Connecting Bath	9.00
HOTEL COTTAGES—Electric Heat	
☐ One Person—Private Bath (Shower)	5.00
☐ Two Persons—Twin Beds, Private Bath (Shower)	7.00

A weekly reduction of 10% is allowed on Hotel Rooms and Cottages.

SUNSET POINT LODGE—

Each room with tile bath, tub and shower, electric radiant heat, ventilating fan.

☐ Two Persons to a room	$ 8.00
☐ Three or Four Persons to a Room	10.00

COTTAGES (woodland)—Season: May to October

Cottage Rooms with adjoining or connecting showers

☐ One Person in a Room	$3.00
☐ Two Persons in a Room	4.00
☐ Three Persons in a Room	5.00
☐ Four Persons in a Room	6.00
Family Rates— With Private Bath (Shower)	
☐ Four Persons in a Room	7.00
☐ Extra Cots or Crib in Hotel, or Cottage Rooms	1.50

Reservations are void after 6:00 P. M. Deposit requested if arrival will be later.

Mammoth Cave Hotel
Mammoth Cave, Kentucky

Reservation Clerk:

Please reserve the accommodations checked above for the period beginning.....195.. to.....195..

There will be ..... Persons in my party. We will arrive about.....A. M.....P. M.

Name .....

Address .....

City ..... State.....

Please Print

(See Reverse Side For Cave Trip Schedule)

PR 7-8-57

MAMMOTH CAVE NATIONAL PARK

in under the administration of the National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior. All communications regarding Cave Trips should be addressed to the Superintendent, Mammoth Cave National Park, Mammoth Cave, Kentucky.

CAVE TRIP INFORMATION

Adults And Children 12 Years Of Age And Under

April 15 to September 15 - 9 a. m. to 4 p. m. CST: Hourly

DAILY, SUNDAY AND HOLIDAYS

Cave Temperature Is 54 Degrees,
And A Light Wrap Is Recommended

FROZEN NIAGRA (1½ hrs.)	$1.75 a person
HISTORIC (2½ hrs.)	1.50 a person
ECHO RIVER (3 hrs.)	1.50 a person
SCENIC (4½ hrs.)	2.25 a person
ALL DAY (7 hrs.)	2.75 a person

(8 a. m. trip available July 1 through Labor Day)

NOTE: During the current construction work in Snowball Dining Room, which is expected to be completed in late-summer 1957, the All Day and Scenic Trips will not be scheduled.

September 16 to April 14 - 9 a. m. to 4 p. m. CST:
DAILY, SUNDAYS AND HOLIDAYS

CRYSTAL LAKE (1½ hrs.)	$1.75 a person
HISTORIC (2½ hrs.)	1.50 a person
SCENIC (4½ hrs.)	2.25 a person

(Included in the rates for all trips except Historic and Echo River is a transportation charge of 25 cents.)

(Lunch tickets at $1.00 may be purchased for the All Day and Scenic Trips.)

There is no charge for children under 12 years of age, when accompanied by an adult paying the full fee, for the Echo River or Historic Trips. For other trips there is a charge of 25 cents each for transportation.

ORGANIZED EDUCATIONAL GROUPS

Organized school groups 12 to 18 years of age, inclusive, when accompanied by an adult paying the full fee, are admitted free of charge to either the Echo River or Historic Trips. For any other trips they pay the adult fee.

(Cave trips and rates are subject to change by order of the Department of the Interior.)

(HOTEL RATES ON REVERSE SIDE)

American Friends Service Committee

Southeastern Regional Office

1818 S. Main St. High Point, N. C.

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B. Tartt Bell, *Executive Secretary*

February 5, 1958

Frederick B. Routh, Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

I can't be a lot of help right now on your project of compiling the list of facilities in North Carolina which are open to interracial groups; but I can give you at least a few.

Quaker Lake is a summer recreation facility owned by the North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends. Write to Charles Hendricks at Guilford College for details.

Camp New Hope is a somewhat similar facility owned by the Presbyterian Synod. Write to Anne Queen, University Y.W.C.A., Chapel Hill, N. C. for details. Chapel Hill Presb. U of N.C.

Father Allen at Belmont College, Belmont, North Carolina is delighted to have his facilities used by "our folks".

You have undoubtedly heard that Pfeiffer College at Misenheimer has just accepted its first Negro student. I assume this means that its facilities are now available. Lem Stokes is the president.

Blue Ridge is still available.

Bennett College should of course be listed.

Guilford College has had many interracial groups in recent years. Unfortunately however, it still has to be carefully negotiated and cannot really be considered "open". I do not know of anything in the far eastern part of the state. Sorry that I cannot give you details about any of these places. My guesses about their accommodations and charges would be quite unreliable.

There is also a joint at 1818 South Main Street, High Point that has a guest room. Come to see us sometime! Warm regards.

Director of Admissions
Fortuna Valley
North Carolina

Sincerely yours,

Tartt

B. Tartt Bell
Executive Secretary

BTB:cs

The Urban League of St. Louis, Inc.

"COMMUNITY PROGRESS THROUGH INTERRACIAL PLANNING"

3017 DELMAR BOULEVARD ST. LOUIS 3, MO. PHONE JEFFERSON 3-3520

UNITED FUND

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Affiliated with
National Urban League

February 5, 1958.

Mr. Harry L. Alston, Director
Southern Field Division
National Urban League
250 Auburn Ave., NE
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Harry:

Reference is made to your memorandum of January 28 titled, "Interracial Facilities in the South".

Unfortunately we here can speak only for the city of St. Louis, and I am afraid in that respect we can talk only in a general way. In the city of St. Louis, all of the first rate hotels - Statler, Lennox, Sheraton-Jefferson, Coronado and Kingsway - accept Negroes as guests and in their coffee shops and dining rooms. We suggest that those seeking accommodations either wire or write for reservations and confirmation of the same. I might add that if you would write the hotels direct requesting information of this kind, they would probably not respond or at most avoid giving a direct answer, but I re-emphasize that it has been the practice, for the past several years, to honor confirmed reservations.

Except for the dime stores and chain drug stores, and of course restaurants in the railway station, airport and bus depot, there are no first class restaurants open to Negroes. This of course is in somewhat of a state of flux and my advice would be that persons seeking up-to-date information should get in touch with the Urban League, the NAACP or the St. Louis Argus newspaper on arriving in St. Louis.

I am sorry that I cannot give you anything definite with regard to motels in the area. Perhaps Tom Webster could give you this information.

Listed on the attached sheet are the addresses of the hotels we mentioned.

Sincerely yours,

M. Leo Bohanon,
Executive Director.

MLB:G

Statler Hotel	9th & Washington Ave.
Lennox Hotel	825 Washington Ave.
Sheraton-Jefferson	415 N. 12th Blvd.
Coronado	3701 Lindell Blvd.
Kingsway	108 N. Kingshighway Blvd.

C
O
P
Y

TULSA URBAN LEAGUE
107½ N. Greenwood
Tulsa, Oklahoma

Mr. Harry Alston, Director
Southern Field Division
NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE
250 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Re: Memorandum of January 28, 1958

Dear Harry:

Reference is made to your memorandum, January 28, concerning interracial facilities in the South.

Negro males in transit can stay at the Downtown Y. M. C. A. in their attractive dormitories. The eating facilities are open to all Negroes, transit or otherwise. It is located in downtown Tulsa, 515 South Denver. The dining room of the Y. W. C. A. is open to Negroes also on an unsegregated basis, but dormitory service here is apparently not available. It is located in downtown Tulsa, also, at 116 West 5th Street. Interracial meetings are held at both places.

Interracial meetings with food services are open to Negroes at the two largest downtown hotels and the very modern Chamber of Commerce. At the hotels, though, Negroes do not go into the dining rooms as individuals although they are served wherever the meeting is held, such as in the mezzanine, ballroom, etc. Negroes are accpeted at the Spartan Airport Cafeteria and across the street at the Sky Chief Restaurant both with meetings and as individuals. Also non-segregated are the Tulsa County Courthouse, Union Bus Depot and Union Railway Depot. Nine movie theaters with non-discriminatory service are open to Negroes. All the large ballrooms downtown and on the outskirts of Tulsa are frequently rented by Negroes for dances or meetings but these ballrooms do not have food services except for sandwiches at the bar. However, they may be served by caterers.

One large hotel in Oklahoma City will accommodate Negroes, even for sleeping, if reservations are made in advance (contact Cenoria Johnson for this information.)

Negroes can hold meetings and eat as individuals at all the Universities in Tulsa on a non-segregated basis.

I hope that I have not neglected to include any other information requested by the memorandum but if an omission has occurred I will gladly send the same upon notification.

Sincerely,

/S/ MARION

Marion M. Taylor
Executive Director

MMT/rab/mf

P. S. The Triple A Auto Service informed me that several motels had hpened to Negroes. We have not yet listed them but they are said to be located in the limits of the city or county.

M.M.T.

RACE RELATIONS DEPARTMENT
AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION DIVISION
BOARD OF HOME MISSIONS, CONGREGATIONAL CHRISTIAN CHURCHES
FISK UNIVERSITY OFFICE
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

HERMAN H. LONG, DIRECTOR

February 13, 1958

Dr. Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.; Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

I think your idea of getting an inventory of places in the South where interracial meetings may be held is an excellent one. I suspect you have already heard from John or someone else in Tennessee, but I feel I should add my own response. My real knowledge is skimpy, however.

Nashville: Fisk University

Facilities for meeting available for most of the year. Dining Hall open. Limited housing during school year, because of space limitations--about 26 persons. Can accommodate larger groups during the summer. No racial proscriptions.

A. and I. State University

Excellent facilities for meetings. Will accept interracial groups. Dining Hall open. Very little housing available because of space. Has entertained few well-mixed interracial groups. Marketing Clinics and Career Conferences are held yearly, but predominantly Negro, with white representation.

Vanderbilt University

Will entertain professional and academic groups on interracial basis. To my knowledge, it does not encourage use of dining hall on interracial basis. Nearby cafeteria of Methodist Board of Education used. No interracial housing.

Methodist Board of Education

Cafeteria open for use on interracial basis. Meeting room, seating about 150 persons is available.

Methodist Publishing House

New modern building. I have no knowledge of facilities or policy. Worthy of investigation.

George Peabody College

Will entertain professional and academic groups on an interracial basis. Dining facilities are open. No interracial housing.

Scarrit College

Has entertained interracial church groups, with housing and eating accommodations freely used. Good facilities, but limited in size-- perhaps 150 to 200 people. Present housing used by student body; few extra accommodations. Possibility of greater use of space by outside groups during the summer.

The Hermitage Hotel

Will accept meetings of groups which have interracial character-- Southern Sociological Society, Tennessee Psychological Association, League of Women Voters. Interracial eating permitted for special luncheons and dinners of such groups. Housing still restricted.

Blue Flame of the Nashville Gas Company, and the Chamber of Commerce Board Room --both are used for meetings of the Nashville Community Relations Conference.

Highlander Folk School, Monteagle, Tennessee

Unrestricted. Encourages interracial conferences and gatherings.

Others where interracial groups may be entertained:
Knoxville College, Knoxville, Tennessee
Lemoyne College, Memphis, Tennessee

I do not have any direct or detained information about the facilities available for housing and eating at these places.

Best of wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Herman H. Long

HHL:rmd

"To strive through education, research, information and consultation to improve the educational, economic, and civic conditions of the people of North Carolina without regard to ethnic or national origins; to combat the causes of intergroup friction and misunderstanding, and to encourage intergroup cooperation for the common welfare; to interpret to the public the needs and aspirations of minority groups; to strive to attain the goal of equal opportunity for all the people of the state."
—from article II of the bylaws.

North Carolina Council on Human Relations

Room 209
121 East Third Street
Charlotte, N. C.

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WILSON

February 17, 1958

Dr. Frederick B. Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

I am sorry to be so late in replying to your memo of January 22nd in regard to available interracial facilities in the South. Actually, I know very little about such facilities outside of Charlotte, for I have had no occasion to look into this matter.

The information that I do have is given on the enclosed sheet.

You realize, of course, that what interracial facilities are available depends on what interracial group is wanting them. Thus, some churches will entertain and feed an interracial Council of Churches or ministerial association but not a group like the Council on Human Relations. Or again our local Charlotte Council might meet in the local YWCA but not an out-of-state group. So this matter is somewhat touch and go.

Sorry I do not have more information.

Sincerely,

Harry S. Jones

Harry S. Jones

North Carolina Council on Human Relations
121 East Third Street, Charlotte, N. C.

Interracial facilities in North Carolina

Eating Places:

Charlotte: Alexander Hotel, 523 N1 McDowell Street. (30 or 40)
McCrorey Bgancy, YMCA, 300 S. Caldwell (snall dining room)
YWCA, 418 East Trade Street (special dining rooms - 30 to 50)
Church of the Holy Comforter, 2701 Avondale Avenue.
(Can arrange luncheons or dinners up to 100 or more)
(Some other churches will serve special meals also)

Durham: Chase Restaurant, 336 E. Pettigrew Street (30 to 50)

MEETING PLACES:

Charlotte: Public Library - Auditorium - Seats 190
(Charlotte-Mecklenburg Council forems are held there)
Meetings can be held in a number of churches.

State: Meetings can be held in churches in almost any area in the state.

Over-night accomodations:

Charlotte: Alexander Hotel - Limited number, probably 15 to 20

Johnson C. Smith University - Limited number, depending on whether the University is in session.

State: Camp New Hope, Rt. 3, Chapel Hill Will accomodate more than a hundred - Boys camp - not too luxurious.

Franklinton Center, Bricks, North Carolina
(16 miles north of Rocky Mount on Highway 301. This was formerly a school. Has accomodation for perhaps 50 to 100. Owned, I believe, by the Congregation*Christian Church. The Rev. W. Judson King is in charge.)

Warren Wilson College near Asheville has entertained interracial groups but I don't know the extent of facilities available.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

HAROLD C. FLEMING
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

January 22, 1958

MEMORANDUM

HIGH PRIORITY HIGH PRIORITY

To: Selected Personnel, Southern Human Relations Agencies

From: Frederick B. Routh, Assistant Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Re: Interracial Facilities in the South

The Southern Regional Council, at the request of a number of human relations agencies, is preparing a list of all interracial facilities in the South; this list will include those places, both public and private, where interracial groups may hold meetings and those where they may find overnight accommodations.

Accordingly, will you please list and send to me a compilation of all facilities in your state (or elsewhere, if you have made use of them) which provide for overnight accommodations for interracial groups and those facilities which will accept interracial meetings.

Among those you might consider are: denominational camps, National Parks, federal establishments, integrated universities and colleges, Negro universities and colleges, special facilities (e.g. Penn Community Center, South Carolina; Gatlinberg, Tennessee; Fontana, North Carolina;) etc., etc.

We will need the name, address, approximate size, and the cost of accommodations; please provide what you can, and we will write the place-in-question directly for any information not provided.

2/20/58

To send such a list to you would be like sending a 5th of coal to Newcastle. Ed. D

YWCA
1855 1955
Centennial of the YWCA in the World

Young Women's Christian Association of the United States of America
National Board
600 LEXINGTON AVENUE NEW YORK 22, N. Y. PLAZA 3-4700

Suite 201
41 Exchange Place, S.E.

Southern Region
~~63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.~~
Atlanta 3, Georgia
Telephone: Alpine 2381

March 31, 1958

Mr. Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Routh:

Attached is a list of conference sites, which we have recently compiled, where interracial meetings have been held by the YWCA in the Southern Region. Also listed are two sites where conferences have been scheduled for 1958.

I hope these will be helpful to you.

Sincerely yours,

Grace LaForrest

Grace LaForrest
Office Supervisor

1
Encl.

Miss Lilace Reid Barnes
President

Savilla Millis Simons
General Secretary

FACILITIES IN SOUTHERN REGION WHERE INTERRACIAL MEETINGS HAVE BEEN HELD BY NATIONAL BOARD, YWCA

ARKANSAS

Camp Aldersgate
Little Rock, Arkansas

Contact: Mr. Mike Willis, Route 3, Box 564, Little Rock, Arkansas

Accommodates approximately 100

Southwest Business, Professional and Industrial Girls Conference held at Camp Aldersgate June 17-23, 1951

Camp is owned by Methodist Church in Little Rock. There is a kitchen and dining room, but no staff available for serving meals to outside groups. No linens furnished.

Operated by the Little Rock Methodist Council, 1018 Scott Street, Little Rock.

FLORIDA

Methodist Camp
Leesburg, Florida

Contact: Rev. Warren W. Willis, Box 78, Lakeland, Florida
Camp Caretaker; Mr. E. T. Hogan, Box 461, Telephone 845

Accommodates approximately 500

Georgia-Alabama-Florida Y-Teen Program Directors Conference Planning Meeting met January 25-26, 1958.

There are two dining rooms - auditorium with stage and public address system - chapel seating 200.

Cabins serve up to 12 each and are in groups of 10 to 12 with 2 shower houses per group. There are huts for small groups or classes of about 25-30, with chairs and blackboards - there are eight or ten of these. Five cabins are heated for winter - 13 more will soon have heating equipment.

Beautiful camp site about five miles northeast of Leesburg, on paved road. The camp is well equipped.

GEORGIA

Atlanta University
223 Chestnut Street, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Contact: Dean Whitney M. Young

Accommodates approximately 60

The following meetings (interracial) have been held at Atlanta University:

Southeast Teen-Age Program Director's Round Table - 1954

Southeast Teen-Age Program Director's Round Table - 1955

Southeast Area Council Meeting - 1956

Southeast Teen-Age Program Directors Round Table - 1957

Gammon Seminary
9 McDonough Boulevard
Atlanta, Georgia

Contact: Dr. Harry E. Richardson, President

Accommodates approximately 50

Southeast Area Council Meeting was held at Gammon Seminary, September 1956

KENTUCKY

Berea College
(Boone Tavern)
Berea, Kentucky

Contact: Richard T. Hougan, Manager, Boone Tavern

Conference guests are housed at Boone Tavern

Berea is located on U. S. Highway 25. The greyhound stop is one half block from Boone Tavern - within walking distance. The L & N Railway Line serves Berea.

Very attractive campus - good facilities

The Induction Institute and Institute for Leadership of 1958 Y-Teen Summer Conference were held at Berea in November 1957.

NORTH CAROLINA

Blue Ridge Assembly
Blue Ridge, N. C.

Contact: Mr. Robert Spiro, Jr. - Telephone: North 9-8431 Black Mt.

Accommodates approximately 500

The following interracial conferences have been held at Blue Ridge:

Southeast Regional Conference - 1954

Southeast Young Adult Round Table - 1954

Southeast Young Adult Round Table - 1955

Southeast Young Adult Summer Conference - 1956

Southeast Regional Conference - 1957

Southeast Y-Teen Summer Conference - 1957

Blue Ridge Assembly is on Highway 70 - 2 miles from Black Mountain and 15 miles east of Asheville.

Swimming pool - large auditorium - lake - large lobby - good food - beautiful site

A few rooms with private bath.

Black Mountain College
Black Mountain, North Carolina

Contact: Mr. Pittinger

Can Accommodates large groups

The following meetings were held at Black Mountain College:

Southeast Executive Directors Meeting - September 1949

National Association of Professional Workers Meeting - September 1949

Five miles off of Highway 70 from Black Mountain and 15 miles each of Asheville

700 acres farmand woodland - small lake - 30 buildings - beautiful site.

Camp Highland Lake
Hendersonville, N. C.

Southern Industrial Conference - 1946

Beautiful site.

Junaluska Assembly
Lake Junaluska, N. C.

Contact: Mr. J. W. Fowler, Jr., Superintendent

Accommodates 200

Excellent conference site - good facilities.

Executive Directors Round Table met at Junaluska October 1957

By car: U.S. Highway 19 - between Waynesville and Asheville - three miles from Waynesville and 26 miles from Asheville

By bus: To Waynesville where taxi service is available to Assembly grounds (about $1.00) or to Lake Junaluska Highway bus stop.

Buses leave Asheville at 1:45 pm - 5:45 pm and 9:15 pm and arriving at Junaluska 55 minutes later.

Camp Illahee
Brevard, N. C.

Contact: Kay Curtis and Trena Tilly, Directors

Accommodates approximately 100

Virginia-Carolyn Y-Teen Summer Conferences - 1950-51-52

Ideal conference site - grounds and buidlings are well kept and it is located in a beautiful spot - good food - camp operation is smooth running and owners contrive to give the group a real sense of welcome.

Camp Merriwood
Saphire, N. C.

Contact: Mrs. Jonathan C. Day

Capacity approximately 125

Industrial Conference - 1949

Good facilities - beautiful camp site.

Camp Sequoyah
Weaverville, N. C.

Contact: Mr. Walton Johnson, Director at Camp Sequoyah

Southeast Employer Young Adult Conferences were held at Camp Sequoyah in June of 1951-'52-'53-'54 and the Virginia-Carolyna Y-Teen Summer Conference - August 1956.

NORTH CAROLINA-Camp Sequoyah (Cont'd)

Accommodates approximately 200

Good camp facilities - Buildings clean - good food - sanitary conditions good - good bathing facilities - beautiful site.

Transylvania Music Camp
Brevard, N. C.

Accommodates approximately 200

Virginia-Carolina Y-Teen Summer Conferences - 1953-'54-'55

Camp site excellent - variety of meeting places available - Food and living arrangements good - adequate recreation facilities - camp managers cooperative.

TENNESSEE

Camp Hy Lake
Quebec, Tennessee

Contact: Major J. S. Coverdale, Battle Ground Academy, Franklin, Tennesse

Accommodates 200

Kentucky-Tennessee Teen-Age Summer Conferences were held there in 1954-'55-'56-'57 (Ky-Tenn. Conference will also be held at Hy Lake in 1958)

Camp Hy-Lake is just off the main highway between Nashville and Knoxville and very centrally located in Tennessee. It is an excellent conference site located in a beautiful spot on one of the TVA lakes. Equipment is very good; also the food service.

VIRGINIA

Roslyn
(Camp of Episcopal Church)
Richmond, Virginia

Contact: Rev. Stanley Ashton, Director, Route 13 - River Road, Richmond, Virginia

Accommodates: 165

Music Workshop for Student Associations and YWCA's and Branches in Virginia, North Carolina and Washington Area was held at Roslyn in 1949.

Excellent facilities.

WASHINGTON

Volunteer Training Institute
Washington, D. C.

December 5-12, 1957 - Burlington Hotel

Interracial housing at the Burlington Hotel

Glencoe Union Skirt
MADE IN U.S.A.

TEXAS

Camp Amon Carter
(Fort Worth, Texas YMCA Camp)

Contact: Mr. Paul S. Haygood, General Secretary, YMCA, 512 LeMar,
Fort Worth 1, Texas

Large, well equipped camp - in great demand.

Southwest all-Staff Meeting was held at Camp Carter in November 1952

Houston YMCA Camp
Wimberly, Texas

Mailing address:

YMCA Camp
Wimberly, Texas

The Wimberly YMCA Camp is 15 miles from San Marcos. Taxi service is available from San Marcos.

Texas Y-Teen Summer Conference was held at this camp in 1955 and 1956.

Rocky River Ranch
Wimberly, Texas

Accommodates approximately 100

Rocky River Ranch is just outside of Wimberly, Texas and 40 miles West of Austin. There are 7 stone cottages, each with its own bathroom. The dining room is used for assemblies.

The Texas Y-Teen Summer Conference and the Texas Shreveport, Louisiana Weekend Conferences were held at Rocky River Ranch in 1953.

Glencoe Union Skirt

CONFERENCE SITES WHERE INTERRACIAL CONFERENCES WILL
BE HELD IN 1958

SOUTHWINDS PRESBYTERIAN CONFERENCE CENTER
SEBRING, FLORIDA

Contact: Mr. Oscar Johnson, Manager, Lake Placid, Florida,
Telephone: Homestead 5-3841

Meeting, recreation, sleeping space and facilities are adequate.

CAPACITY - 95

Southwinds estate (65 acres) is situated in a rolling country of orange groves and crystal lakes known as the "ridge" of Florida. It overlooks the clear expanse of Lake Placid.

15 miles from Seebring and 150 miles from Miami.

Gladys Panton, Executive Director of the Miami Association, inspected Southwinds and was most enthusiastic about it as a place "just right" for YWCA conference.

Mr. and Mrs. Oscar Johnson understand our type of conference and are most cooperative.

The Georgia-Alabama-Florida Y-Teen Conference will be held at Southwinds August 24-29, 1958.

MAMMOTH CAVE, KENTUCKY

Located in South Central Kentucky, 100 miles South of Louisville and 100 miles North of Nashville, Tennessee.

Park is accessible by automobile, bus, or train. The L & N Railroad Southeastern Greyhound Lines provide all year schedules. Taxi services is available from train and bus terminals.

For information write:

Mrs. Clyde Bush
National Park Hotel
Mammoth Cave, Kentucky

Young Adult Summer Conference will be held at Mammoth Cave in 1958.

January 30, 1963

LWD MM

Telephone conversation with Elbert Jeans

During the course of a telephone conversation today with Elbert Jeans, in regard to ~~into~~ a different matter, he asked me to report to you some of his observations on Albany, Georgia, where he spent some time last week.

He thinks the situation is taking on an encouraging aspect.

1. Local leadership is beginning to revive itself and take on responsibility. A sizeable group, which prefers to remain anonymous although Jeans knows several members of the ~~gou~~ group, recently went to the City Commissioners stating that they want the ~~libr~~ library open, integrated or not. (I assume that this was an action other than the petition for the library's opening, ~~repri~~ reported in local papers.)

2. White preachers are beginning to feel that they have to preach on constructive race relations again (possibility of federal suit in Dougherty County opened this up, I gathered.).

3. There are possibilities that a biracial committee is going to be established. It would be unofficial, and not a ministers' alliance.

Jeans plans to go back to work on this latter possibility if it is necessary.

Also, he was a little disturbed that the ministers of burned churches in the area had not, when he talked with them, been informed of some of the important details of the ground-breaking ceremonies which are to be held this Sunday. They don't know, for example, where the ceremony is to begin. Jeans is going to drop a little note to Walker on this matter and is aware that this is just because of busy schedule or oversight on Walker's part.

cc: F. P.

department of racial and cultural relations

national council of the churches of christ in the u.s.a.

475 riverside drive, new york 27, n. y. Riverside 9-2200

j. irwin miller, president rev. roy g. ross, general secretary

john w. thomas
chairman
j. oscar lee
executive director

Southern Project
P.O. Box 1083
April 2, 1963

Mr. Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

In accordance with your letter, I think it would be helpful if you could advance Mr. Furr's and Mr. Duncan's air-travel expenses to them. This is how it is set up: The Rev. Jerry Furr, round trip plane fare from Jackson, Mississippi to Atlanta, Georgia is $49.77. Three nights lodging in Alumni Hall is $15.45. My suggestion is that we will give them $75 for honorarium and incidentals, such as food, transportation, etc. The Rev. Duncan Gray, round trip plane fare from Memphis, Tennessee to Atlanta, Georgia is $47.46. He will stay with his sister.

You folks know best how to handle these matters. All I am interested in is to respect the situation that exist with Mr. Furr which we have previously discussed. I want you and Les to meet these men if you have not already, so I will bring them by.

Sincerely yours,

Elbert

Elbert B. Jean
Field Director

EBJ/blg

The Rev. Duncan Gray, Jr.
St Peter's Episcopal Church
P.O. Box 266
Oxford, Mississippi

The Rev. Jerry Furr
P.O. Box 1092
Jackson, Mississippi

galen r. weaver, vice chairman • theressa hoover, recording secretary • will d. campbell, assoc. executive director
alfred s. kramer, staff consultant • elbert jean, field director, southern project
a unit of the division of christian life and work

department of racial and cultural relations

national council of the churches of christ in the u.s.a.

475 riverside drive, new york 27, n. y. Riverside 9-2200

j. irwin miller, president rev. roy g. ross, general secretary

john w. thomas
chairman
j. oscar lee
executive director

Southern Project
P.O. Box 1083
April 11, 1963

Mr. Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Thanks for everything. We plan to arrive in Atlanta Tuesday afternoon. I want to bring two men over to SRC to meet you folks, but will have to wait until we meet down there before I will know the time.

Sincerely yours,

EBJ (Lacy)

Elbert B. Jean
Field Director

EBJ/blg

galen r. weaver, vice chairman • theressa hoover, recording secretary • will d. campbell, assoc. executive director
alfred s. kramer, staff consultant • elbert jean, field director, southern project
a unit of the division of christian life and work

September 9, 1963

Mr. Elbert Jean
Rt. 5
Pine Circle Road
Franklin, Tennessee

Dear Elbert:

I have just gotten around to reading your report to Les of August 26th.

Your idea of an occasional letter sounds like a good one. Hope you can do it and will share copies with us.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

LWD ✓
VJ ✓
~~PRD~~

Franklin, Tennessee
Route 5, Pine Circle Rd.
September 23, 1963

Dear Paul:

Thank you for your letter. I respond to say two things:

1) Will and I had a conference this week-end and discussed at some length the possibility of putting out a publication together. We concluded that this was a better idea than each publishing one, so I guess we will soon have something in the mail and we will be sure to include SRC on our mailing list.

2) As you know I spent most of last week in Birmingham, much of it with Norman Jimerson. In addition to doing the routine work of an executive secretary Norman was among the first, if not the only white person to call directly upon the Negro families of the four dead girls and two boys. The attitude of the families toward him gave every evidence that this was probably the most significant thing I saw in the area of race relations while in that city. We likewise had a good visit in Tuskegee, but the situation is bleak.

Finally, I think those areas which are bomb threat areas should be brilliantly lighted and at least one person secreted with a telescopic lens camera to take pictures of any suspicious actions.

Sincerely,

Edwin

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

May 10, 1962

RE: NAIRO Business

Miss Martelle Trigg
LeMoyne College
807 Walker Avenue
Memphis 6, Tennessee

Dear Miss Trigg:

As you probably know, NAIRO is currently conducting a major drive for subscriptions to our magazine, The Journal of Intergroup Relations. Our National Board feels strongly that it is important that the Journal become self-supporting. We are also interested, of course, in broadening the base of circulation so that the Journal may become better known and more widely accepted.

We have virtually no southern circulation at present except members of NAIRO. I have been asked to help with the subscription effort in the South, and I in turn am calling on you as a southern NAIRO member. I would appreciate any suggestion you can make that would help increase subscriptions to the Journal. In the meantime, I would like you to consider the following ideas.

1. I believe that each agency might subscribe to the Journal so that copies may be on hand for resource and file purposes. If your agency office does not now subscribe independently of your membership subscription I would urge you to explore the possibility.

2. I suggest that where possible each of our agency offices underwrite a one-year complimentary subscription for a municipal library. My thought is that this would place the magazine in the library, and hopefully

May 14, 1962

Am sorry to reply to your letter in handwriting but we are approaching our final exams and time is precious - also I wanted you to receive this list as soon as possible.

Each person rated here is concerned about intergroup relations in our community & probably would be interested in the magazine.

M. D. Trigg

the library would pick it up the second year. Of course, if the library will subscribe on its own so much the better, but I thought that this might be a gracious and inexpensive way of getting the magazine placed in southern libraries quickly.

3. I hope that local members may solicit subscriptions from college libraries and college social scientists across the South. We have some sample copies available for this purpose. I think we could implement this in several ways, as you might prefer.

(a) I could provide you with sample copies for use in personal solicitation contacts.

(b) You could mail out solicitation letters with sample copies, which you would sign locally.

(c) You could send me names of persons in your area who might be interested and I could write them enclosing sample copies and indicating that you had suggested they might be interested.

As so often happens, I am late getting started on this and would appreciate any help you can give me in checking out the possibilities as rapidly as possible. It will be more difficult to solicit individual subscriptions, particularly in the summer. I am also facing the agonizing necessity of reporting to the National Board on southern possibilities on May 25, and would hope that we could at least have a trickle of responses by that time.

Sample copies are ~~enclosed~~ under separate cover for possible use. I would appreciate some word from you even if your report is completely negative. Subscriptions can either be channeled through me or to the Journal with notice to me so that I may keep a record of progress in this area.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling

Paul M. Rilling

Margaret McCulloch has also been asked to help in this effort; she is the only other person in Memphis with whom we have been in touch on this matter.

Suggested names: All of the following are interested in intergroup relations and have been working in this area (all Memphis Tenn.)

1 Rev. J. A. McDaniel - Urban League 546 Beale Ave
2 Rev. J. L. Netters - 258 Edsel
3 Dr. C. H. Dinkins, - Pres, Owen College 370 So. Orleans
4 Miss Ellen Correll - ~~1720 Peabody Ave. (Grace St Luke's Church)~~ c/o St. Mary's Cathedral 692 Poplar Avenue Memphis 5, Tenn.
5 Rev. B. L. Hooks - 1860 So. Parkway E.
6 Mr. R B Sugarmon 558 Vance Ave
7 Mrs. Maxine Smith - N. A. A. C. P. 1189 Inglewood
8 Memphis State University Library. Southern Ave.
9 Southwestern at Memphis, Library 2000 N. Parkway
10 Mr. Jesse Turner 1278 Hill Ave
11. Mr. A. Maceo Walker 1255 So Parkway E.
12. Mrs Sue Ish 1483 So Parkway E.
13. Miss Mary Frances Lacy - YWCA secretary. 200 Monroe
14. Mrs John Osinach 1822 So Parkway E.
15. Rev. J. C. Mickle 742 Walker Ave
16. Dr. Hollis F. Price, President Le Moyne College 807 Walker Ave.
17. Mr. Nat D. Williams 1310 Sardis
18. Mr. O. W. Pickett 334 Vance Ave.
19. Dr. Paul Hayes 384 Gaston Ave
20. Editor, Tri-State Defender 236 So Wellington
21. Editor, Memphis World 546 Beale Ave.
22. Rev. H. C. Bunton 538 Linden Ave
23. Rev. A. M. Williams 640 Vance Ave
24. Mrs. Nella M. Walker 1002 Leath
25. Health & Welfare Planning Council 900 McCall Bldg.

NORTH CAROLINA-VIRGINIA REGIONAL OFFICE

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

Of B'nai B'rith

723-A EAST MAIN STREET, RICHMOND 19, VIRGINIA, MILTON 3-9143

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ARNOLD FORSTER
General Counsel

ROBERT C. KOHLER
Regional Director

14 May 1962

Mr. Paul M. Rilling
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Paul:

Many thanks for your recent letter re a subscription to NAIRO's "The Journal of Intergroup Relations".

Naturally, I do get The Journal and I think it an excellent creation. I don't see myself in the role of promoting subscriptions for this Journal through use of our mailing lists. I will, whenever the occasion arises, mention this on a personal level to those with whom I am in contact. On that basis, I'd be grateful for any sample copies for use in "personal solicitation contacts".

16 forwarded 5/18

Also, please institute a subscription to The Journal for: The Richmond Public Library, 101 East Franklin St., Richmond, Va., and charge it to the Sam E. Binswanger Library Fund. Upon receipt of an invoice and indication that the subscription has been instituted, NAIRO will be in receipt of our check.

Do something

Best wishes for your continued success - please try to get to see me when you next come to Richmond.

Warmest regards.

Cordially,

Bob

Robert C. Kohler
Director

RCK:bh

ARKANSAS
COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

May 15, 1962

Mr. Paul M. Rilling, Field Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul Rilling:

The only real prospects for subscribers for the Journal of Intergroup Relations are college libraries. I believe faculty members can order magazines for the library through their departments.

So I am suggesting contact faculty persons at a number of colleges. My relations are such that I will write Hendrix and Arkansas State College, sending samples which I have. If you will write the others it may be more effective. Of course you may refer to the fact that I suggested you write them.

University of Arkansas, Dr. Stephen Stephan,
Department of Sociology, Fayetteville.

A. & M. College, College Station, Arkansas
Professor Ed Carothers

A.M. & N. College, Pine Bluff, Arkansas
The Reverend D. Arlington Talbot

Little Rock University, Little Rock, Arkansas
(We have no contact here. The librarian's name is Mr. Jefferson D. Caske.)

Really believe we may get some subscribers.

Sincerely,

Nat

Nat R. Griswold

NRG:ra

Say, we liked the Coles' immensely. Did us good and promised to do more. Wish more such could be loosed on the Southern communities.

OFFICERS— THE REV. CHARLES C. WALKER, CHAIRMAN • THE REV. MAYNARD M. MILLER, VICE-CHAIRMAN
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A Council to attain equal opportunity for all peoples

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FISK UNIVERSITY OFFICE
NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE
CHAPEL 2-3396

HERMAN H. LONG, DIRECTOR

JOHN HOPE, II
DIRECTOR OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

May 17, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I have the letter involving the promotional effort which you are making for The Journal of Intergroup Relations. I think it is a much needed effort. We receive a copy of the Journal each quarter which comes on the basis of my membership in NAIRO. In former years we participated in a mas subscription for the NAIRO newspaper, but this arrangement stopped when the newspaper was no longer published. This means that our organization does not itself directly support the Journal at present. I would like, therefore, to place an order for our Race Relations Department for the Journal. Would you prepare the bill in the name of the Race Relations Department, Division of Higher Education and the American Missionary Association, Board for Homeland Ministries, United Church of Christ, Fisk University Office.

I think your other suggestions are also good, and I will explore the possibility of getting subscriptions from the Fisk Library and possibly also from the Nashville Public Library. The sample copies have arrived from your office.

With best of wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Herman H. Long

THE VIRGINIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
114 B BROAD-GRACE ARCADE RICHMOND 19, VIRGINIA Phone MI. 9-0872
Heslip Lee, Executive Director

A council that seeks — through fact-finding, discussion and action — to attain equal opportunity for all people in Virginia.

May 17, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, GEORGIA

Dear Paul:

In response to your desperate plea for help in obtaining subscriptions for The Journal of Intergroup Relations, I would like to offer the following assistance:

1) I now have about one hundred (100) organizations on my mailing list for our Inter-group Agency. We meet tonight with John Feild as speaker. The response has been great. If I had 100 copies to enclose, I would be happy to send these, along with a letter commending the Journal, to the leaders, heads or chiefs of these organizations.

2) I would be happy to send a letter without the Journals if you do not have this many sample copies.

3) I would be happy to give two, one-year subscriptions to two libraries within Virginia.

4) I would be happy to enlarge my mailing list to organiaations over the state as well as libraries.

5) If I had about fifty copies, I would be happy to pass these out at one of our inter-agency meetings and urge those present to become subscribers.

What I'm saying is, that I will help you.

Sincerely,

Heslip

Heslip M. Lee

OFFICERS Dr. Thomas H. Henderson, President Dr. Frank Daniel, 1st Vice-President Mrs. George A. Eddy, 2nd Vice-President Dr. Harry Roberts, Secretary Dr. J. Rupert Picott, Treasurer

"To strive through education, research, information and consultation to improve the educational, economic, and civic conditions of the people of North Carolina without regard to ethnic or national origins; to combat the cause of intergroup friction and misunderstanding, and to encourage intergroup cooperation for the common welfare; to interpret to the public the needs and aspirations of minority groups; to strive to attain the goal of equal opportunity for all the people of the state."
—from article II of the bylaws.

North Carolina Council on Human Relations

Room 301
121 East Third Street
Charlotte, N. C.

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May 18, 1962

Dr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Regarding NAIRO and the Journal of Intergroup Relations: I am not now a member of NAIRO. I dropped my membership several years ago for these reasons: (1) I was unable to attend the annual meetings; (2) most all the members of NAIRO were professionals in northern and western states and their concerns were with problems in those areas; and (3) the membership fee of $15, I felt, could be better spent in other ways.

It's an old story about our being too poor in the South to participate in national organizations but it still holds true as far as I am concerned.

However, I will be glad to subscribe to the journal for our office.

Also, I will be glad to write to college libraries and send some copies. We have thirty senior colleges in the state.

Later on, if our budget will allow it, I will subscribe for one or two libraries in the state.

Sincerely,

Harry

Harry S. Jones
Executive Secretary

HSJ/b

M. C. McCULLOCH
838 WHITFORD PLACE
MEMPHIS 6, TENN.

Dear Paul Pitty.

For years I have tried in vain to interest any one or library in NEGRO Journal - Memphians are not more of moders or their whole attitude on race relations is still - Let's hear as little about it as possible. I'm wondering if this hasn't come to ARC. & such a re-view of Another College Offering (sent as it made some 20 years ago) and perhaps of Library elsewhere in race-relations - Good Matter's there.

Marguerite McCulloch

department of racial and cultural relations

national council of the churches of christ in the u.s.a.

475 riverside drive, new york 27, n. y. riverside 9-2200

j. irwin miller, president rev. roy g. ross, general secretary

john w. thomas
chairman
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executive director

Southern Project
2011 Grand Avenue
Nashville 12, Tennessee
May 21, 1962

Mr. Paul M. Rilling
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Regarding your letter of May 10, 1962, concerning the Journal of Intergroup Relations, later today I will be suggesting to Gid Fryer, President of the Nashville Community Relations Council, that it might be well to send a mailing to the membership of the Nashville Council. You are familiar with this group and know that it contains people of various confessions related in one way or another to the field of intergroup relations.

Is there available a little brochure or something else describing the Journal which might be enclosed in the mailing? If such is not available, it might be well if we suggested this to Brother Fred if they are serious about building up circulation of the Journal.

Cordially yours,

Will

Will D. Campbell
Director

WDC:imf

galen r. weaver, vice chairman • theressa hoover, recording secretary • will d. campbell, s. garry oniki, assoc. executive directors

a unit of the division of christian life and work

The South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1330 LAUREL STREET
Columbia, South Carolina

May 23, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. NW
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Paul:

Thank you for your memorandum of May 21 which requests our reactions by return mail.

I very much like the proposal which you have made. You may count upon my participation if it is at all possible. You will understand, I feel sure, the uncertainty of things with me personally. I shall keep in touch with you.

I am delightedthat you and Mrs. Rilling will be in Europe this summer and am especially happy that you will be working with the Council on Student Travel.

Thank you for your excellent report of your visit in Charleston. It was helpful. I shall follow up as I am able. Also, I am sure that it would be fine to have you spend several days there again when you can. Do you think it may be possible before you sail for Europe?

Concerning pushing subscriptions to the Journal of Intergroup Relations, we are entering a subscription for the Richland County Public Library, Columbia, S.C.

We shall be glad to solicit subscriptions from the college libraries and college social scientists; however, I judge that we will have greater success with this in the fall, than at this season. We shall appreciate your providing us with sample copies which we will use in solicitation by mail or in person.

We have notreceived from you the sample copies which you said you were sending under separate cover. I think it would help if there are subscription blanks to be provided with same.

Sincerely,

Alice N. Spearman

Alice N. Spearman
Executive Director

ANS/cah

NAIRO
PR Recs

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

May 30, 1962

To: Connie Curry
Rosetta Gardner
Ruby Hurley
Hubert Jackson
Thornton Merriam
Frances Pauley
Eliza Paschall
Wyatt Walker
Dick Shapiro
Charles Wittenstein
Bob Thompson
Noyes Collingson
John Morris
Eric Lincoln

From: Paul Rilling

This letter has gone to NAIRO members throughout the South. I am not sending sample copies to Atlanta people. They are available at my office.

Obviously, we do not all have to handle items 2 and 3 in the letter. Your suggestions are solicited and I will be in touch with you as to what we can do.

PMR/mr

June 6, 1962

The Rev. D. Arlington Talbot
A.M. & N. College
Pine Bluff, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Talbot:

Nat Griswold, Director of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations, has suggested that you might be interested in receiving the Journal of Intergroup Relations.

The Journal is a fairly new publication, published by the national professional association of intergroup relations workers. I believe that it will have real value to the research specialist and to others interested in a fairly sophisticated and thorough treatment of aspects of human relations.

I am sending under separate cover a copy of the Journal for your consideration. I thought you might be interested in subscribing to it yourself, securing it through your department, or requesting it for the college library. The annual subscription costs $6.00 a year. You could either handle it through my office or write directly to the new NAIRO national office at 2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington 6, D. C., with a copy to me.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

June 6, 1962

Mr. Jeffesson D. Caske
Librarian
Little Rock University
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Caske:

Nat Griswold, Director of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations, has suggested that you might be interested in receiving the Journal of Intergroup Relations in your library.

The Journal is a fairly new publication, published by the national professional association of intergroup relations workers. I believe that it will have real value to the research specialist and to others interested in a fairly sophisticated and thorough treatment of aspects of human relations.

I am sending under separate cover a copy of the Journal for your inspection. The annual subscription costs $6.00 a year. You could either handle it through my office or write directly to the new NAIRO national office at 2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington 6, D.C., with a copy to me.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

June 6, 1962

Miss Frankye Brown
NAIRO
2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Miss Brown:

Mrs. Alice Spearman of the SouthoCarolina Council on Human Relations notifies us that she is entering a subscription in the name of the South Carolina Council for the Richland County Public Library in Columbia. I would suggest that you proceed with the subscription to the library and bill the South Carolina Council. The address of the Council is 1330 Laurel Street, Columbia, South Carolina.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm
cc: Mrs. Alice Spearman
Mr. John Yoshino

June 6, 1962

Mr. Heslip Lee
Executive Director
Virginia Council on Human Relations
114-B Broad-Grace Arcade Building
Richmond 19, Virginia

Dear Happy:

You indicated that you would give two one-year subscriptions of the NAIRO Journal to two libraries within Virginia. Let me know the names of the libraries so that we may proceed with the subscriptions. You might check with Bob Kohler who has made a similar commitment concerning one library.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

June 6, 1962

Miss Frankye Brown
NAIRO
2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Miss Brown:

Mr. Harry Jones, Director of the North Carolina Council on Human Relations, has indicated that he would like to subscribe to the Journal for the NCCHR. Would you proceed with the subscription and bill the North Carolina Council. The address is Room 301, 121 East Third Street, Charlotte, North Carolina.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

cc: Mr. John Yoshino

June 6, 1962

Miss Frankye Brown
NAIRO
2027 Massachusetts Avenue
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Miss Brown:

Dr. Herman Long of the Race Relations Department at Fisk University has ordered an annual subscription to the Journal for his department. Would you please institute the subscription and send the bill to Dr. Long at the Race Relations Department, Division of Higher Education and the American Missionary Association, Board for Homeland Ministries, United Church of Christ, Fisk University office, Nashville, Tennessee.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm
cc: John Yoshino
Herman Long

June 6, 1962

Miss Frankye Brown
NAIRO
2027 Massachusetts Avenue
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Miss Brown:

Mr. Robert Kohler, Director of the North Carolina-Virginia Regional Office of the Anti-Defamation League, has offered to provide ~~an~~annual subscription to the Journal for the Richmond Public Library, 101 East Franklin Street, in the name of the Sam E. Binswanger Library Fund. You should initiate the subscription immediately and send an invoice in the name of the Library Fund to Mr. Kohler at the Anti-Defamation League, 723-A East Main Street, Richmond 19, Virginia.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm
cc: Mr. Robert Kohler
Mr. John Yoshino

June 6, 1962

Dr. Stephen Stephan
Department of Sociology
University of Arkansas
Fayetteville, Arkansas

Dear Dr. Stephan:

Nat Griswold, Director of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations, has suggested that you might be interested in receiving the Journal of Intergroup Relations.

The Journal is a fairly new publication, published by the national professional association of intergroup relations workers. I believe that it will have real value to the research specialist and to others interested in a fairly sophisticated and thorough treatment of aspects of human relations.

I am sending under separate cover a copy of the Journal for your consideration. I thought you might be interested in subscribing to it yourself, securing it through your department, or requesting it for the college library. The annual subscription costs $6.00 a year. You could either handle it through my office or write directly to the new NAIRO national office at 2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington 6, D. C., with a copy to me.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

June 7, 1962

The Rev. J. C. Mickle
742 Walker Avenue
Memphis, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Mickle:

Mr. Seymour Samet, of the American Jewish Committee,

A fellow member of the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials, ~~Miss Martelle Trigg, of LeMoyne College,~~ has suggested that you might be interested in subscribing to our professional journal, the Journal of Intergroup Relations.

We are naturally interested in broadening the circulation and acceptance of the Journal. We believe that it is a very useful magazine for persons interested in scholarly articles treating aspects of intergroup relations with some depth and sophistication. It is particularly invaluable for persons doing research in the field.

I am sending under separate cover a sample copy of the Journal for your consideration. It is our hope that you will give it a try for at least one year. If so, we believe that you will want to continue receiving it for years to come. Annual subscriptions are $6.00. They may be handled either through this office or you may write directly to the national NAIRO office at 2027 Massachusetts Avenue, Washington 6, D.C., with a note to me so that I may keep a record of the progress of our subscription expansion effort in the South.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling

Paul M. Rilling

I'm sorry, but I'll have to say no.

J. C. Mickle

PR:mm

SOUTHEASTERN REGIONAL OFFICE

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

Of B'nai B'rith

41 EXCHANGE PLACE, S.E., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

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ARNOLD FORSTER
General Counsel

June 13, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Paul:

With reference to your memo of May 30th outlining an effort to increase the circulation of the NAIRO Journal, I am happy to report that my office will underwrite one subscription for a local library.

In order that we might not duplicate subscription gifts to the same library, I await your recommendation as to which library we should give our subscription to.

Also, I suggest that we discuss this matter at our next NAIRO chapter meeting.

Sincerely yours,

Dick

Richard M. Shapiro
Associate Director

rms/tg

cc: Bob Thompson

National Council of the Young Men's Christian Associations

OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

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June 14, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I have been away from Atlanta for nearly a month. I attended a meeting of some 100 supervisory people connected with National, Area and State Y.M.C.A. staffs in Ogleby Park, near Wheeling, West Virginia. I presented a paper on Integration which you may be interested in looking at. I will drop in and leave you a copy. Following that, I went to Lake Couchiching in Canada where I participated in an Executive Training Workshop.

On my return the night before last, I found a communication from you dealing with the question of subscriptions to the Journal of Intergroup Relations.

I doubt if very many Y.M.C.A. people in this or any other Area are subscribers. I think they should be. I also think that there is some increasing interest in the field and something might be done to bring the magazine to the attention of the secretaries. Probably this should be on a selected basis at first. I should be willing to make up a list and write a brief note to a selected list. Perhaps a sample copy, or something of that kind, to be enclosed would be helpful.

I should be glad to think about this matter and to confer with you.

Yours sincerely,

Thornton

Thornton W. Merriam, Secretary
Leadership Development Project

TWM:ij

June 18, 1962

Miss Frankye Brown
NAIRO
2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Miss Brown:

The Southeastern office of the Anti-Defamation League, 41 Exchange Place, S. E., Atlanta 3, Georgia, has agreed to provide a complimentary subscription to the Journal to the Atlanta Public Library, Main Branch, 126 Carnegie Way, N.W., Atlnata.

I would suggest that you bill the ADL office, attentiɒn Dick Shapiro, and give them the opportunity to indicate when they want the subscription to start. They will probably want time to communicate first with the library.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm
cc: Dick Shapiro
Hohn Yoshino

June 18, 1962

Dr. Thornton W. Merriam
Director
Leadership Development Project
YMCA
706 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Thornton:

If you would send us a selected list of secretaries for the NAIRO Journal promotion we would be happy to send sample copies and enclose a note from you.

I will be leaving Saturday for a month's vacation in Europe. I hope we can get together by that time. I am anxious to see your paper.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

Memphis letters

Greater Miami Chapter

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

1210 Congress Building • Miami 32, Florida • Tel.: FR 3-4749
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All sent out 6/25

June 18, 1962

Mr. Paul M. Rilling
Southern Regional Council Inc.
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Re: NAIRO Business

Dear Paul:

I accept alternate (c) for solicitation of subscriptions to the NAIRO Journal (you write to names below mentioning my name).

Mrs. Robert Berger
1117 No. No. Lake Drive
Hollywood, Fla.

Dr. Baker Hindman
8385 S.W. 103rd St.
Miami, Fla.

Mrs. Gaitha Martinez
7811 Erwin Road
Miami 43, Fla.

Dr. Frank Sessa
Miami Public Library
1 Biscayne Blvd
Miami 32, Fla.

Dr. H. Franklin Williams
University of Miami
Coral Gables, Fla.

Mr. Don Sprague
University of Miami
Coral Gables, Fla.

I'll send you other names as time goes by.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Seymour

Seymour Samet
Florida State Director
SS: sm

June 21, 1962

Miss Frankye Brown
NAIRO
2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Miss Brown:

Could you send us about 100 more back copies of the NAIRO Journal to use in the promotional effort Paul Rilling has underway? We have almost exhausted the supply we received several months ago, and have quite a few names of potential subscribers who have not been sent a sample copy. Thanks.

Paul asks if you would send a couple of copies of the flyer you mentioned in your recent note. He says that he doesn't think it's quite appropriate for present use, but he hasn't seen it for some time and really doesn't remember its exact content.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson

COPY TO:
Paul Rilling
SRC

July 3, 1962

Executive Director
Intergroup Relations Officials, Inc.
2027 Massachusetts Ave., N. W.
Washington 6, C. C.

Dear Sir:

Enclosed please find a check in the amount of $6.00 to cover one year's subscription to"The Journal of Integgroup Relatinns". Please mail the subscription to:

THE DANVILLE LIBRARY
DANVILLE, VIRGINIA

Sincerely yours,

Heslip M. Lee, Executive Director
Virginia Council on Human Relations

HML/ll

Enclosure: check in the amount of $6.00

ONE BISCAYNE BOULEVARD MIAMI 32, FLORIDA

Miami Public Library

Frank Bowman Sessa
Director

Mrs. Anne B. McCreary
Assistant Director

July 5, 1962.

Mr. Paul M. Rilling
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Rilling:

Dr. Frank B. Sessa, the director of our Miami Public Library, has asked me to write and tell you that the library will be very happy to subscribe to the Journal of Intergroup Relations for a year. We have sent in our order to the NAIRO office in Washington, D.C.

Thank you for calling the Journal to our attention.

Very truly yours,

Carol Stone

(Miss) Carol Stone

SERIALS DIVISION
MIAMI PUBLIC LIBRARY
1 BISCAYNE BOULEVARD
MIAMI 32, FLORIDA

July 9, 1962
VIA AIR MAIL

Miss Frankye Brown
NAIRO
2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N.E.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Miss Borwn:

I am enclosing a letter from Mrs. Gaitha Martinez which will provide the information necessary to institute her personal subscription to the NAIRO Journal. Mrs. Martinez' check in the amount of $6.00 is also enclosed.

In regard to another matter, when we wrote you June 21 requesting 100 additional sample copies of the Journal, we did not indicate that the need was urgent. Actually, we do need, at once, at least 35 additional copies. Dr. Thornton Merriam, Director of the YMCA Leadership Development Project, mailed out some three weeks ago letters to a selected list of YMCA secretaries soliciting Journal subscriptions and indicating that a sample copy of the publication was being forwarded to each under separate cover. We agreed to pay postage and mail the sample copies, but we have been unable to do so since our supply has been depleted. Could you send us at least 35 additional copies at your earliest possible convenience, or let me know the quickest way of obtaining them? I'm afraid it may be a matter of embarrassment to Dr. Merriam if the time lapse between his letter and the promised sample is further prolonged.

Thank you for anything you can do.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Administrative Secretary
Field Services

cc: Mr. John Yoshino

Greater Miami Urban League

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE AFFILIATE

COMMUNITY SERVICES BLDG. - 395 N. W. FIRST ST. SUITE 209 MIAMI, FLORIDA - PHONE FR 1-6476

July 6, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
3 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Re: SUBSCRIPTION - JOURNAL OF INTERGROUP RELATIONS

Dear Mr. Rilling:

Thank you for sending me the sample copy of the above publication for Spring 1960.

This excellent issue was of particular interest to me because I have met and admire Mr. Danzig. Also, there is a great deal of correspondence between this office and Mr. Allen, naturally. And Mr. Pfeffer comes to Miami from time to time. I have also met him and heard him speak. So, there was personal interest as well as general interest in the articles written by these three persons.

Enclosed please find my check in the amount of $6.00 (six dollars) for an annual subscription. Please send it to my home address:

7811 Erwin Road
Coral Gables, 43, Florida

I am happy to be included in your list of subscribers.

Sincerely yours,

Gaitha Martinez

(Mrs.) Gaitha Martinez
Temporary Executive Director
GREATER MIAMI URBAN LEAGUE

MTZ/e
Enc. check

From the desk of

FRANKYE I. BROWN

Sorry, Paul; I have only the flyers advertising the Journal when it was first published. Could you use a few of these?

Sorry for the delay in replying but hope you can understand —

NAIRO Reporter

Vol. VI No. 9 June, 1956

Events and Trends in Intergroup Relations

Published monthly except August and September by the
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF INTERGROUP RELATIONS OFFICIALS

P.O. Box 246, Madison Sq. Sta., New York 10, N.Y.
Telephone: MUrray Hill 5-1606

Segregationists Threaten Revolt

Organized Labor & Southern Unions

Organized labor which, through its top policy-making bodies, has taken a strong, forthright stand in behalf of equal opportunity without regard to race, religion or color, is confronted with widespread disaffection and incipient revolt among some southern locals.

White Citizens Councils and similar pro-segregationist groups have made substantial inroads among southern trade union members, stirring them up against the civil rights policies of AFL-CIO and of the national and international unions. Union members have joined the White Citizens Councils by the thousands.

Thus far, there has been only widespread talk about formation of an independent Southern Federation of Labor based on segregation. No actual organizational steps have been taken. However, several local unions have adopted resolutions to disaffiliate from AFL-CIO nationally.

Union representatives visiting locals in Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina and Tennessee find it impossible to avoid discussion of the desegregation issue, even if they omit all reference to it in their speeches. The issue is almost invariably raised from the floor or by local leaders in post-meeting conversations.

In some places, union members constitute the majority of local White Citizens' Councils. This is true in Memphis, where one White Citizens Council unit is led by Robert A. Tillman, formerly regional director for the Textile Workers Organizing Committee, and, more recently, an active official of the Joint Legislative Committee composed of AFL, CIO and Railway Labor and, as such, a leader in the fight against the Right-to-Work law in Tennessee. In Birmingham, workers in the steel mills of Fairfield, Tarrant City and Bessemer are the base of organization for the White Citizens Council.

The critical factor preventing settlement of the Montgomery bus boycott may well be the refusal of the white bus drivers to consent to the employment of Negro drivers on routes predominantly traveled by Negroes. The company was prepared to yield to the demand but the drivers threatened a work stoppage. Four of the seven members of the Montgomery County White Citizens Council are reported to be union members. Jack Brock, editor of *Alabama Labor News,* is a staunch segregationist and has published a number of editorials attacking George Meany, AFL-CIO president, on his stand on desegregation. A local union of telephone workers in Montgomery was among the first in Alabama to adopt a resolution to disaffiliate from the AFL-CIO. Another local union of oil and chemical plant employees also voted to disaffiliate after the Negro members, who constitute a majority, stopped attending meetings.

Union members from the solidly CIO-organized B. F. Goodrich plant at Tuscaloosa comprised a substantial portion and probably the leadership of the mob that drove Autherine Lucy off the Alabama University campus.

Top trade union leadership is frankly worried over the possibility that a resourceful union organizer may tie together the segregationist elements within southern labor and launch a real revolt. Financing is said to be available in unlimited amounts from sources that have supported "right to work" and similar movements.

Michigan and New York Civil Rights Laws Strengthened

Michigan and New York have enacted amendments strengthening their existing laws against discrimination.

On April 18, Governor G. Mennen Williams of Michigan signed an amendment to the Michigan Civil Rights Law which improved in three respects the state law against discrimination in places of public accommodation:

1. By extending the definition of places of public accommodation to include motels and government housing.

2. By increasing the minimum fine which may be inflicted on violators of the law in criminal proceedings from $25 to $100. (The provision of the present law authorizing treble damages to the injured party in addition to criminal punishment

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remains unchanged.)

3. By providing an additional sanction for violation of the State Civil Rights Law; viz., it authorizes the court when imposing a penalty on a violator to suspend or revoke the state or municipal license by virtue of which the violator is operating.

On April 13, Governor Averell Harriman of New York signed into law a bill introduced by Republican Senator Metcalf and Democratic Assemblyman Baker extending the jurisdiction of the State Commission Against Discrimination to include complaints charging discrimination in housing covered by government mortgage insurance (so-called FHA financed housing).

Racial and religious discrimination in such housing was made illegal by a state law adopted in 1955 which authorized enforcement through the state courts.

Another 1955 statute had extended the jurisdiction of the State Commission Against Discrimination — limited until then to the handling of complaints charging discrimination in employment and in places of public accommodations — to complaints of discrimination in publicly assisted housing. However, the statute failed to specify that it applied also to housing covered by government mortgage insurance (FHA financed housing). This omission was rectified by the recently enacted law.

NAIRO MEMBERSHIP ROSTER

A roster of the NAIRO membership as of May 1, 1956, has been compiled and is now available. Copies have been distributed to NAIRO Officers and Board Members, and to Commission, Committee and Department Chairmen. Will be sent to others on request, which should be addressed to NAIRO Secretary Richard V. Marks, Commission on Community Relations, 1106 Water Board Bldg., Detroit, Mich.

Ruling by Attorney General of Vermont

The Attorney General of Vermont has ruled that places of public accommodation which practice racial discrimination should not be listed in official state publications which set forth places of public accommodation operating in the state for the guidance of tourists and travelers.

Vermont has no civil rights law prohibiting discrimination by one individual against others.

The ruling by Attorney General Robert T. Stafford was made in reply to a request for an opinion from the Managing Director of the Vermont Development Commission. It advised the Commission that it would be justified in deleting the names of places of public accommodation from listings of resorts, hotels, inns, motels, tourist homes, etc., appearing in official state publications, where it is established that such places practice racial discrimination.

The state publications involved are brochures prepared by the Vermont Development Commission, paid for out of public funds and used for advising tourists, travelers and vacationers coming to the State of Vermont of the available facilities.

Noting the absence of applicable statute law, the Attorney General pointed out that the common law has always been that innkeepers must accommodate any member of the general public provided he is willing to pay a reasonable price for the service and his character and conduct are unobjectionable.

He went on to cite the Declaration of Independence, the Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution and Article I, Chapter 1 of the Vermont Constitution, which provides that "all men are born equally free and independent, and have certain natural, inherent and unalienable rights," and the U.S. Supreme Court rulings in the segregation cases.

His ruling concluded:

"To our mind the practice of discrimination, on a basis of race or color, by places of public accommodation, violates the fundamental concepts of our government —state and national. Under the circumstances we do not believe the public purse should be utilized to gratuitously advertise any public accommodations indulging in such activity and we are of the opinion you would be justified in deleting the names of such places from gratuitous listings in official state publications."

Commission on Race and Housing Studies Under Way

Minority Housing in Thirteen Cities

Twenty-four research projects seeking data on such unanswered questions as extent of the market for housing among minority groups, types of housing and neighborhoods desired by such groups, the effect of minority group occupancy on property values and the character of race relations in mixed residential areas have been undertaken in thirteen cities by the Commission on Race and Housing with a $235,000 grant from the Fund for the Republic.

A major aim of the Commission in undertaking the studies is to discover ways in which federal agencies, private builders, community organizations and financial institutions may cooperate to provide adequate private housing for minority groups which have suffered from discrimination practices.

The projects are giving special attention to the housing difficulties of four distinct minority groups: Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Americans of Asian origin and Americans of Mexican background.

Cities in which data are being collected are Philadelphia, Washington, D.C., San Francisco, Oakland, Atlanta, Birmingham, Norfolk, Houston, San Antonio, Toledo, Los Angeles, Detroit and New York.

Nurse Honored for Contribution to Integration of Staff

Mildred Ann Vogel, Director of Nursing at the Mt. Sinai Hospital of Greater Miami, Miami Beach, Florida, was honored by the American Nurses' Association for her leadership in achieving integration. Within six years, Miss Vogel has placed all white and Negro employees of the institution on an equal basis.

She was given the "Mary Mahoney Award," named in honor of America's first Negro professional nurse.

Prior to 1950, Negro nurses in Mt. Sinai Hospital were employed in the Negro ward only and took their meals in a special area within the unit. Negro private duty nurses were permitted to attend Negro patients only.

Upon Miss Vogel's initiative, the hospital's board of trustees, executive director, administrator and medical staff, with the backing of the Negro community, six years ago launched the plan of gradual policy changes that has led to the complete integration that is now in effect.

Negroes in U.S. "Most Underdeveloped Human Resource"

A Columbia University research study recently completed describes the 15,000,000 Negroes of the United States as "the single most underdeveloped human resource in the country."

Enormous benefits would accrue to Negroes and the nation through full integration of the races, the study concludes.

It estimates that if the education of Negroes were raised to the same level as that of whites, the number of Negroes graduated from high schools each year could be 158,000, more than double the present number.

On the same basis, the report finds that Negro college graduates could be increased from 9,000 to 23,000 annually. The study notes that only three young Negroes out of a hundred are graduated from college.

The report characterizes the gains in the Negro's economic position in the last fifteen years as "spectacular," but it notes the severe discriminations both in the South and the North that still hamper Negro potentialities.

Progress in recent years is attributed primarily to prosperity rather than to changes in attitudes.

The study foresees further advancement in the status of Negroes as depending to a large extent on continued prosperity and improved utilization by Negroes of the new opportunities now open to them.

The findings of the study are published in a 144-page book entitled "The Negro Potential" by the Columbia University Press. The report was written by Dr. Eli Ginzberg, director of the Conservation of Human Resources Project at the university. He was assisted by James K. Anderson, Dr. Douglas W. Bray and Robert W. Smuts.

The Human Resources project was established by President Eisenhower in 1950, soon after he became President of Columbia, and reflected his concern with manpower wastage in World War II. The project has published the results of several other studies and is continuing its researches in other phases of manpower utilization.

Fifteen of the country's major business and industrial companies supported the project along with foundations, trade-unions and the federal government. Dr. Ginzberg is professor of economics in the Graduate School of Business at Columbia.

The assessment of Negro potentialities is predicated on the scientific theory that there are no differences in the basic intelligence or capacities of different racial groups.

The report rebuts the view of General Mark Clark that Negroes are inferior to whites as soldiers. The study affirms that the record of Negroes was less good than that of white troops in World War II but says that this is to be explained by the handicaps Negroes brought from civilian life and the segregated pattern of their utilization.

The survey notes the "amazing rapidity" with which desegregation occurred in the armed forces in the Korean war. It cites evidence that this integration made a difference and that Negro combatants did well in Korea.

Integration in the armed forces is credited with being a major contribution toward general progress in integration.

"The armed forces have not only strengthened the nation by strengthening themselves," the report says, "but have taken leadership in showing the nation what good will and determination can accomplish."

"The Negro Potential" includes findings on studies of Negro soldiers not heretofore published. The Department of the Army made special material available for the report.

Inferior schooling, segregated living and all other forms of discrimination against the Negro are described in the report as having produced lowered capabilities and psychological handicaps for Negroes.

The study holds that Negroes will not be able to display capabilities at a level with whites until they are fully integrated into the society of their country.

"Only when Negro and white families can live together as neighbors, when Negro children and white children can play together, study together, go to the same church—only then will the Negro grow up properly prepared for his place in the world of work," the report says.

The report emphasizes that changes must come not only in the schools but also within the Negro community itself in terms of family life and child upbringing. This is regarded as necessary, if Negroes are to be prepared adequately to take advantage of new opportunities.

If prosperity continues, the authors believe, the developing Southern counteraction to integration will not be successful. They believe pressures from every side "will induce the South to steer away from a self-destructive recalcitrance."

The study maintains that the present wastage of human resources in the United States can result only in a more vulnerable security position. The study says that failure in this country to provide true equality for Negroes will weaken the free world in its struggle with Soviet Russia and the minds and hearts of millions of men not yet committed to either side.

New York Judge Scores Use of Racial Designation

A New York City judge, ruling on an appeal by a city policeman dismissed from the force for "consorting" with a woman other than his wife, sharply criticized the Police Department for incorporating in the original charge a designation of the woman as a "Negress."

Justice Louis L. Friedman's ruling said, on this point:

"Why such description was added to the specification does not appear, particularly since the petitioner (officer) himself is a Negro. Except in cases where such description is necessary for the purposes of identification, no writing should ever be promulgated, particularly by a public official or his subordinates (and apparently it was such a subordinate in this case), which designates people by their race, religion, color or national origin."

Add Summer Workshop

(Information received too late for earlier inclusion)

INDIANA: *Indiana University,* Bloomington — "Workshop in Intergroup Relations," July 16-August 2; open to the public without charge; 1 to 3 credits may be earned through supervised reading, in which case the regular fee of $8 per credit is charged. For information, write to Robert G. Stephens, Welborn House, Indiana Univ., Bloomington, Ind.

FEP Act Outlaws Sectarian Labor Group in Canada

The British Columbia (Canada) Labour Relations Board recently refused certification to the Christian Workers Union on the ground that its membership provisions violate the province's new Fair Employment Practices Act. C.W.U. members "are called upon to accept certain Christian principles as a condition of membership," the Board found.

The FEP Act makes it an offense for a trade union to exclude from membership, expel or suspend any person or member because of his race, religion, color, nationality, ancestry, or place of origin.

The C.W.U. was denied certification two years ago by the Ontario Labour Relations Board on the ground of inadequate membership records. The Ontario Board warned the union that its membership restrictions might be a bar to any future certification, under the terms of that province's FEP Act.

Race Relations Law Reporter Launched

The Vanderbilt University School of Law has begun publication of the *Race Relations Law Reporter,* with a grant from the Fund for the Republic (see *NAIRO Reporter,* Vol. VI, No. 1, October, 1955).

The new service, which will appear six times yearly, is available at $2 per year. It will report objectively on primary legal materials relating to racial segregation in education, transportation, housing, recreation, employment, elections and court procedures, covering:

Decisions and orders of the courts

Provisions of state constitutions

Enactments of Congress and the state legislatures

Ordinances of municipalities

Regulations of state departments of education

Rulings of local boards of education

Opinions of attorneys-general.

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In the Recent Literature:

Building Unity in Detroit. 1956. Commission on Community Relations, 1106 Water Board Bldg., Detroit 26, Mich. Folder. Free. —Information about the purposes, powers and method of operation of the agency.

Capp, Al. *Mammy Yokum and the Great Dogpatch Mystery.* 1956. Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 515 Madison Ave., New York 22, N.Y. 20 p. 10¢ each; 100-999 @ 8¢; 1000 or more @ 6¢.—Reprint in color from Al Capp's weekly comic strip series, telling how square-eyed newcomers were nearly mobbed because of their "diffrunce". Postscript by Herman Wouk.

Detroit Plans for People. Third Annual Report (for 1955) of the Commission on Community Relations, 1106 Water Board Bldg., Detroit 26, Mich. 19 p. Free.

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Shea, Theo. M. *The St. Louis University Workshops in Human Relations and Group Guidance—An Evaluation.* 1956. St. Louis University Center for Human Relations Training, St. Louis, Mo. 60 p. No price stated.—Report of a study, through questionnaires, to measure attitudinal and other changes effected by participation in human relations workshops.

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(always expressed as virile efficiency) underlay some engineering testimony at the hearings, but not the enforcement testimony, as the quotes given above show. We are all pedestrians, except for the babies, the bed-ridden and wheel-chair cases. In medieval times, the armored knights at full gallop had every legal, as well as impact, advantage over the serf on foot. I had thought those days were gone, but they seem to have returned to Los Angeles.

The kind of thought that was not aired at the hearings, but is central to them, was the fact that it is economically absurd for an American citizen to spend a third of his income on his car and use up the equivalent of a barrel of petroleum every week in order to commute twenty miles to his job. One train can carry a thousand of them to work. This fact is currently invisible to the American public, and will remain invisible until the very day it becomes plainly and horribly visible. The automobile as now used is an extravagance that no ecology can afford; nor can this one. Some future day may well see 120 million cars on the American roads, and the oil reserves down to one year's consumption. The day after will see perhaps thirty million motor cars, mostly trucks and buses.

On that day, with car owners a voting minority, Congress will doubtless get very serious about highway safety. For the present any bill that comes out of the hopper will be a model of tact toward the driver and the industry.

Return to E.V.

THE VULNERABLE STRANGER . . *by Dan Wakefield*

A NEW AND little-publicized phenomenon of union-management cooperation is taking place today in New York City. In impressive numbers, union leaders and employers have joined together in a common cause: exploitation of the Puerto Rican workers.

There are 550,000 citizens of Puerto Rican birth or parentage living in New York City, and an estimated 150,000 of them are members of unions. The policy of a number of unions toward these members ranges from planned exploitation, often in cooperation with employers, to an unorganized neglect that leaves the workers in almost as poor conditions as those who are victimized by the racketeers. The fact that many of the Puerto Ricans cannot speak English makes it easier for the racketeers to exploit them and the merely indifferent unions to neglect them. There are drastically few individuals or agencies willing or able to help them.

LAST FALL a group of Puerto Rican workers brought the following letter to the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, a private organization which has offered its services to help the Puerto Ricans. The workers asked that the complaints reach the appropriate labor authorities. The unaltered text reads:

New York City, October 29, 1956
American Federation of Labor:

Dear Sir;

We, the employes of the Starke Design Co. are writting this letter to call your attention about this problem. We belong to local union No. 122, I.J.W.U. and we are not in according with the agreement of this union.

We have to pay $3 monthly dues and we don't know the benefits we derive from this.

We want somebody come to investigate this. If not come in this week.

Thanks for the attention to this letter.

Employes of Starke Design Co.

The letter was signed by forty-nine Puerto Rican workers. Within a month, all of them were fired.

This is but one of a staggering number of complaints and tragedies of Puerto Rican workers in New York City that have poured into the office of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists. Since October 1, the ACTU has processed nineteen legal actions involving eighteen unions, approximately 2,500 Puerto Rican workers and 100 individual cases, all without charge. The ACTU has no paid employe, and all of its lawyers worked without fees.

The first case aided by ACTU was in many ways typical of what was to come. In March of 1955, Local 1648, Retail Clerks International Association, AFL-CIO, signed a "backdoor" contract—that is, without the knowledge of the workers involved—with Morgan's Leather Goods and Rudee's Leather Goods of New York City. The workers first learned that they had been "unionized" in April of 1955 when the employers at Morgan's and Rudee's called them in to give them the choice of joining the union picked by the employer or losing their jobs. Under this pressure, the workers signed membership cards and had $4 a month taken out of their pay each month for dues. The average weekly pay of the workers was $42. (The president of Local 1648, David Lustigman, was indicted last June for extortion in a scheme between employers and labor leaders to monopolize the $10,000,000 a year pickle and condiment industry, and is now on trial.)

Two workers who asked the union to let them see the contract were fired by their boss. Last August, the workers in the Morgan and Rudee shops formed their own union, the Workers Organizing Committee, and petitioned the National Labor Relations Board for an election on October 2. The employers and the union leaders held a meeting of the workers and told them they would have to pay dues to Local 1648 or be fired. The workers began to picket the shop on October 3 and the employers brought suit to enjoin the pickets. Lawyers provided by the ACTU represented the workers be-

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DAN WAKEFIELD is a staff writer.

Nation

fore the New York State Supreme Court and the employer's suit was dismissed. The strike was broken, however, when employees of the New York City Welfare Department took new workers through the picket lines.

This story was publicized in *El Diario,* New York City's largest Spanish-language daily newspaper, and from then on the cases began flooding in to the offices of ACTU. The ACTU reports that the majority of the complaints have these things in common: the contracts are never seen by the workers; the pay averages $40 to $42 a week with a general high of $45; no union meetings are held; no union elections are held; no grievances are processed by the union; lay-offs usually come to workers just before they are due vacation or holiday periods with pay; there is seldom any seniority; there are seldom any welfare or sickness benefits; the workers are signed up in the union under threat of firing by the boss. For these "benefits," the members pay dues of $3-$4 (which are average for unions that, unlike these, provide the highest pay and benefits in the country) and initiation fees ranging from $3-$35 (the top ranges are much *higher* than those unions providing the highest pay and benefits in the country).

THE PRACTICE of employers and unions working together for these conditions has become such an institution that it has developed its own terminology. A Spanish-speaking organizer who has worked for several unions in New York explained two of the most important concepts of the trade—the "black and white contract" and the "milk date." A "black and white contract" is one which provides no clauses for wages above the legal minimum wage, no provisions for sick pay, no provisions for rest periods, no provisions for seniority and, in general, the minimum benefits that the employer can give the worker. The "milk date" is the day the contract runs out and the union leader returns to the boss to extract (milk) a fee from him for the continuance of the contract, which protects the boss against the possibility of demands from the workers.

Last December 17, Thomas Rizzo, one of the lawyers handling the ACTU cases, called the Ray Mont Company of 85 Crosby Street, New York, to inform them that the Workers Organizing Committee was going to ask for an election for union representation, which was then held by Local 122 of the International Jewelry Workers Union. Harry Harrison, the manager of the company, told Mr. Rizzo that the shop had a contract which was "about to expire." At an NLRB hearing on January 8, however, Mr. Rizzo was told by the company and the union that a new contract had already been signed on October 26, 1956. Marwin Goldman, business agent for Local 122, testified that he and Pat DiPeppo, the recording secretary of the local, and Maurice Deiter, owner of Ray Mont, were the ones who signed the contract and were the only people present at the signing.

Mr. Deiter explained that he had just taken over the business in September of 1956, and was told then that there was a union contract. Mr. Rizzo asked Mr. Deiter why, since there was a contract in existence, and since it had until 1957 to run, he had found it necessary to sign a new contract. Mr. Deiter said, "I wanted protection for myself."

Ramon Marrero of 207 Eldridge Street, New York City, was one of the workers who was treated to the "benefits" of this contract. Marrero had dues of $3 deducted from his paycheck on the first Friday of every month for membership in Local 122. For some reason unknown to Marrero, the dues were not deducted from his or his fellow workers' paychecks last January and February. Then, Marrero said, dues of $3 were again deducted from his pay on February 22 and March 1, without explanation. Marrero said that his foreman, Harry Harrison, "called myself and four of my fellow workers into the office and told us that the production standard was to be raised from its present level of slightly over 200 cases per day to 275, 285 or 290 cases. He further said that unless these new production standards were met, we would be laid off. Under normal circumstances, it is impossible to meet the new production standards."

Marrero said that from February 22 to March 1 he repeatedly asked both the union and the company for a copy of the contract. He said that "The company informed me that the contract was an agreement between the company and the union and that I, as a worker, could not see it. The union informed me that they did not have a copy of the contract."

THE CONTRACT between Local 122 and Ray Mont, when finally "found," had the following articles completely or partly X'd out:

Article 23—"The employes shall be entitled to . . . days sick leave per year with pay. If at the end of the year any employe has not used up the sick leave privileges then he or she shall be compensated in wages for the unused portion of sick leave at a rate equal to the rate of pay being received by him at that time."

Article 24—"Each worker is to have a rest period of .. minutes in the morning and .. minutes in the afternoon."

Article 6—A wild flight of fancy stating that the employer supply and launder work uniforms.

Article 8—The vacation provisions had all parts X'd out except provision for a week's vacation with pay for workers employed one year or more by the company.

Article 9—Six holidays with pay were X'd out and five left in.

The members of Local 122, which provided them with this contract, pay $13 initiation fee plus $3 monthly dues.

The union's lack of concern for the welfare of the workers is impressive. Jose B. Morales of 230 W. 101st Street, has borne testimony to this. He was employed by the Macon Umbrella Corp. of 2 Inghram Street, Brooklyn, for $46 a week, and was a member of Local 229, United Textile Workers of America, AFL-CIO. With complaints by workers that the union did not hold meetings, did not process grievances, that representatives of the union were never seen, that the boss appointed the union shop steward, and that on

top of all this the union was raising dues from $3-$4 a month, a group of employes in the shop circulated a petition requesting an NLRB election asking for withdrawal of union-shop authority. Jose Morales submitted the petition to the NLRB last November 30.

In a sworn affidavit to the NLRB charging an unfair labor practice against Macon Umbrella Corp., Morales gave the following report:

> That during the afternoon previous to the first informal conference at the National Labor Relations Board regarding the request for such an election, the employer, Mr. Cohen, attempted to discourage any of the employes from attending that conference and promising that anyone who changed his mind about going to said conference a "surprise" the following month. By this statement I inferred that I would receive a raise if I did not go to this conference.

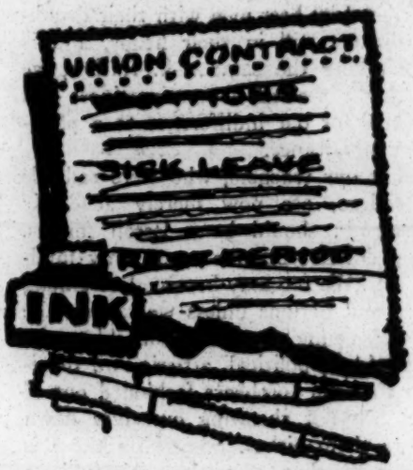
Morales goes on to say that he attended that conference and

> ...That I attended a meeting held on Wednesday, March 6, 1957, at the office of the above-mentioned local union in the union's offices at 325 Fourth Avenue, New York, New York. Present at the meeting, held at about 6 p.m., were Archie Katz, president of the union, one "Waldman" who is a business agent for the union, Mr. Cohen, president of the Macon Umbrella Corp., and Mr. Marshall Miller, Mr. Cohen's representative. Also present were several of my fellow employes, including Emma Vega and Jesusa Portuguis.
>
> That at this meeting both Mr. Miller and Mr. Cohen promised the seven original signers of a petition requesting the National Labor Relations Board to conduct an election regarding the withdrawal of the union shop authority that they would receive a wage increase of $2.00 per week if they withdrew their signatures to this petition.

So goes collective bargaining with Puerto Rican workers.

MARSHALL MILLER, labor-relations advisor who has a plaque in his office of praise from Local 229 for helping them set up a welfare program and being so cooperative over the years, happened to be the company representative at the NLRB hearings for each of the three companies called there who had contracts with Local 229. One of the ACTU lawyers asked Mr. Cohen of Macon Umbrella how he happened to call on Mr. Miller, and Mr. Cohen said he found Mr. Miller's name in the classified phone directory.

At the NLRB hearing on the Macon petition, Mr. Miller charged that Jose Morales had intimidated the employes into signing the petition for election, and that he would be fired for this. The next day Morales was fired when he reported for work. In his sworn affidavit supporting the unfair labor practice charge, Morales denies that he intimidated the workers and states that "I was fired for attempting to exercise my rights under the National Labor Relations Act and help my



fellow employes." The case is pending, and in the meantime Jose Morales waits—without work.

There is the story of Jose Rivera, a $40-a-week worker at the Sun Ray Electroplating Company, who was talking to a union representative about joining while the boss was deciding on a different union for the shop—one that his boss said was "good" because "I won't get into trouble with this union. They won't picket me." The next week Rivera joined the boss's choice of unions—Local 679 of the A. F. of L. Pulp, Paper, and Sulphite Workers. He got a promised $2 raise; and $3 union dues were deducted from his pay monthly.

There is the story of Rapahel Duran, a worker at the Lenscraft Optical Company, Brooklyn, who swore in an affidavit that his boss called in representatives of Local 122 of the IJWU and signed a contract with them which set the wage at the legal minimum of 75c an hour and eliminated the sections providing two weeks' vacation with pay, seniority and health and welfare benefits. The Puerto Ricans struck, called in Local 810 of the Teamsters, who would not lower their contract demands to match those of the former contract, and the Lenscraft Company and IJWU Local 122 went to court together and enjoined the strike. They were able to do so because Local 122 was officially the legal "representative of the workers."

THE International Ladies Garment Workers Union undoubtedly must be classed among those unions which have the best record for helping to get fair treatment for Puerto Rican workers; but there is little doubt that the ILGWU leaves plenty of room for improvement. There can be no instances here of bad individual contracts with largely Puerto Rican shops, since the ILGWU contract is negotiated on an industry-wide basis. The union provides a booklet in Spanish and English stating health and welfare benefits that workers are entitled to, although, according to Charles Zimmerman, head of Local 22, there are no copies of the contract in Spanish. He said, however, that the contract is always explained to the workers.

Mr. Zimmerman's local holds monthly meetings in Spanish, as well as the regular meeting held in English, in order to clear up any problems or questions that Spanish-speaking members may have. Local 22 also holds English classes, but Mr. Zimmerman said that it is difficult to get Puerto Ricans to attend, especially since most of the members are women who must get home right after work to prepare meals and take care of household duties. The local, in cooperation with the New York Public Schools, is holding classes to train members for skilled jobs, and Mr. Zimmerman says that "a substantial number" of people in these classes are Puerto Ricans.

Yet such incidents as the following can occur within the ILGWU.

(*Continued on page 321*)

(*Continued from page 317*)

In February, forty-two Puerto Rican women workers at Q-T Knitwear, Brooklyn, got together and typed a list of complaints about conditions in the shop which they felt Local 62 of the ILGWU had failed to deal with properly. Three of the signers have sworn to the following facts. The chairlady of the shop, who did not speak Spanish, had refused to process the complaints. The union delegate, Mac Shatnoff, after some delay, "angrily" promised the meeting for February 28. The girls who signed the petition rented a bus with their own money to attend. The bus was to leave at five o'clock, but at one o'clock the shop employer forced one half of the girls to leave the premises. Most workers under these circumstances would have gone home and not bothered about an evening meeting. However, those girls waited outside until the rest were off work at five o'clock, and they took the bus together.

At the meeting a list of complaints was presented to Mr. Shatnoff, including complaints such as "In the ladies rooms the tanks do not flush, they are broken, the water remains there indefinitely. There is never any paper towels. The ladies room should be swept and cleaned occasionally . . . What right has the chairlady to threaten . . . and use vulgar and profane language to the workers? What right has the chairlady to make discriminatory remarks about the Spanish speaking workers? Calling them Spics." When Mr. Shatnoff was presented with these and other grievances, according to three of the girls there present,

> . . . He immediately began to berate us, stating that they (the grievances) were "illegal" and that he would not in any way consider them. He then demanded to know who had typed these grievances.

The girl who had typed them identified herself, and then, she said, Mr. Shatnoff "began to insult me and attempt to intimidate me for daring to present such 'illegal papers' to him." The girl is now no longer working at the shop, and at this writing, the union was still undecided as to whether it would try to get her reinstated. The union delegate had said she was "a troublemaker."

Neglect as well as exploitation of Puerto Ricans by unions can only lead to future loss for the unions themselves. The Puerto Rican migration to New York City is expected to continue at around 50,000 per year for at least the next five years, and a New York City Puerto Rican population of close to a million has been estimated for the early 1960s. Norman DeWeaver, executive secretary of ACTU, says that in the light of his organization's recent experiences, "Soon, Puerto Rican workers in New York will grow to totally distrust the American labor movement. In fact, some observers feel that it is already too late to do anything to regain the confidence of these workers."

JOSE PEREZ, director of the AFL-CIO Advisory Committee on Puerto Rican Affairs, said he believed that "There is no systematic discrimination in any union in New York City, including the racketeering unions—which don't care whether the men are Puerto Rican or not; they would make slaves of whoever the workers were." But because of language and cultural barriers, the Puerto Ricans are the easiest prey. Even in the worst unions, English-speaking workers are able to get "more for their money," and sometimes at the expense of their Puerto Rican fellow workers. A group of workers from the Gund Manufacturing Co., 40 W. 20th Street, who are members of Local 223 of the Toy and Novelty Workers of America, reported to the ACTU that although half of the 300 workers in the shop are Spanish-speaking, the shop steward, who has had the job for fifteen years, does not speak Spanish; that when there are lay-offs, the Spanish-speaking men usually get laid off first with no regard to seniority; that although non-Spanish speaking workers in the shop make from $50-$55 a week, there is among the Spanish-speaking workers a man who has worked there nine years and gets $49, a man who has worked there seven years and gets $47.

If the Puerto Ricans in New York have lost confidence in unions and employers, they also have reason for losing confidence in other institutions. They have often looked for help and found only pamphlets.

The only special instrument of assistance from the U.S. government in guarding the rights of the Puerto Rican laborer on the mainland was abolished three years ago. Two Spanish-speaking minimum-wage investigators who recovered more than $200,000 in wages for Puerto Rican workers in a little over two years, had their jobs eliminated when the Eisenhower Administration executed its cut in the number of "non-vital" federal employes. This economy measure came while 43,434 Puerto Ricans, 91 per cent of whom were volunteers and 3,450 of whom became casualties, were serving in the U.S. Army during the Korean war.

The only official recognition of the special problems of the Puerto Rican laborer by the city of New York was the Mayor's Committee on Puerto Rican Affairs, formed in 1949 and primarily devoted to publicity for itself and its good intentions. It is now incorporated into a Committee on Intergroup Relationships which has only been in existence about a year and has yet to take any notable action.

Although New York State does not have any special agency for aid to Puerto Rican citizens, a recent newspaper report proclaimed that the New York State Commission Against Discrimination, in addition to its customary work, had handled 155 complaints from Puerto Ricans in the first three-quarters of 1956, whereas the high for any previous year had been twenty complaints in 1955. Charles Abrams, commissioner of the SCAD, was quoted as saying that "a large number of the complaints were unfair labor practice charges." When recently asked about the quoted number of cases, Mr. Abrams explained that there were a total of 155 workers involved in all the cases handled. The number of cases handled was six.

The Migration Division of the

Department of Labor of Puerto Rico, headed by Clarence Senior, has had an office in New York City since 1948, and does the major job in assisting the Puerto Rican migrant to find employment, housing and adjustment on the mainland. But it is not equipped to handle complaints against unions, and as these complaints kept increasing, it asked the unions in New York City to take some responsibility in handling such problems themselves. The result of this request was the AFL-CIO Labor Advisory Committee on Puerto Rican Affairs, formed in 1955. It has one full-time staff member and is supported by $5-$15 monthly contributions from its sixty member locals. It is "limited" in its work.

Jose Perez, the committee's director, says that most of the committee's complaints are due to misunderstanding between the workers and the bosses or the workers and the union delegates, and that most of the complaints can be handled by a phone call. When asked what happens to complaints that are not due to misunderstandings, but to unions being at fault, Mr. Perez said it would be necessary to call a meeting of the executive board to deal with such cases. When asked how many times it had been necessary to call such a meeting, Mr. Perez said "never."

"When the complaints are about dishonest unions there is nothing that I or anybody could do about it because labor hasn't cleaned up yet. Being a labor representative myself, I couldn't take action of any kind," Mr. Perez said.

The committee holds an annual conference, at which time it passes resolutions. At its last annual conference, the committee passed resolutions "On the Hungarian Situation," "On a Citation to Governor Munoz Marin of Puerto Rico," "On Civil Rights," "On Mayor Wagner's Acceptance of Spanish Citation" and "On Discrimination in Housing and Schools." It also passed a resolution noting that "It has been the sad history of every generation of immigrants to be exploited by unscrupulous employers and by so-called 'unions' which are in reality nothing but rackets which hang on the fringe of the labor movement in order to exploit the new immigrants," and it called upon the Ethical Practices Committee of the AFL-CIO "to come into New York City to help us once and for all get rid of the so-called 'unions' which are blackening the name of the trade union movement." At the time of this writing, Mr. Perez said he had as yet had no reply on the matter from the Ethical Practices Committee, but explained that "those things take a long time."

So the Puerto Ricans work, and wait. Contrary to popular mythology, the New York Department of Welfare has reported that Puerto Rican workers are quicker to leave the welfare lists than any other "national" category of workers. They have come here to work—our industry needs them. They come as American citizens, but because of language and cultural background, they come as strangers. You have just read something about the welcome they get.

PROGRESS: Promise and Problems . . *by Kenneth Burke*

AS OUR TEXT for today, let's begin by recalling that ingenious French film, *Generals Without Buttons*. The situation there exploited for comic effect concerns two adjoining towns that want different kinds of weather, and petition their saints accordingly. One town wants dry weather, for grapes; the other wet weather, for cabbages. And this conflict of material interests, involving rival processions each designed to enlist the special favors of Heaven at the expense of the other faction, leads to picturesque quarrels even in the midst of attempts to make peace.

Despite these positive grounds of conflict, we might say that, in the last analysis, the decision here still lies beyond the realm of human jurisdiction. The primary responsibility still depends upon "acts of God" in accordance with the hallowed principle, "Man proposes, God disposes."

But to expose a further problem here, let us suppose that men do perfect their ability to control the weather by sheerly "scientific" or material means. From then on, obviously, God will let them make over some of His traditionally heavy work in this area of motions and motives. From then on, the subject of each day's weather will not be merely a matter of prognostication and/or prayer. It will also become decidedly a Controversial Issue, with squabbles that could become quite tough.

For millions and even billions of dollars would become involved in "decisions on weather-policy," since the diverting of precipitation from one area to another would have effects not only upon the crops or reservoirs immediately involved, but also upon property values in general. All told, tremendous sums could change hands; and intestine brawls about the "bureaucratic" allocating of good weather could make the altercations between Communism and Capitalism look pale by comparison.

For very good "positive" reasons, we'd be in a position like that of the superstitious savage who believes that the yams in his garden can flourish only if the yams in his neighbor's garden wither, since there is not enough good fortune available for both gardens (a malicious state of mind which our grand mixture of industrialism and world politics has recently been expanding to "global" proportions).

Already, though the Scientific Co-

KENNETH BURKE, poet and critic, is the author of Permanence and Change: An Anatomy of Purpose *and other books.*

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **EMORY VIA** 37

Bayard Rustin, listed as one of organizers 5/4/57 Afro.

Pittsburgh

UAW
Reuther & Oliver statements
Bill Abner, ~~Bro~~ Chicago NAACP

Porters
Randolph & the State groups
One of top figures — and ~~bro~~ Convener.

IUE
RWDSU
UPWA
ILGWU
UAW
USWA
} financial assistance according to M. L. King, Jr.

N.Y., RWDSU (10-st. GS) — "sending" 1000 members — $300 contribution.

TULIP TIME IN LONDON: Spr ground in London with tulips in pretty frame around Big Ben and

SOUTHERN UNIONS IN DISAGREEMENT

Membership Not in Accord With Official Viewpoint on School Segregation

By IRVING SPIEGEL
© New York Times News Service

ATLANTIC CITY, May 12 — A survey disclosed here today that the "overwhelming majority of white union members in the South" are indisagreement with the official position of the merged labor movement for desegregation in the public schools.

This survey, made public by the Jewish Labor Committee, also indicated "considerable support for the white citizens councils among union members," but added that "these members nonetheless are consistently loyal to their union locals and will not disaffiliate from the AFL-CIO."

Paradoxically, the survey showed that the "majority of those who personally support school segregation do not object to their national unions taking a desegregationist position."

Emanuel Muravchik, director of the anti-discrimination department of the committee, reported the survey to members of the national trade union council of the committee, which ended its biennial conference today. The committee, devoted to safeguarding human rights, represents 500,000 Jewish workers in the merged labor movement.

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Cooperation Noted

Muravchik said that the survey had the cooperation of the Southern Regional Council, with headquarters in Atlanta, composed of leaders, and the Catholic Committee of the South, with headquarters at Rock Hill, S.C.

The survey, which was started nine months ago, Muravchik said, covered more than 100 locals of various unions in Alabama, Florida, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Louisiana and Mississippi. The locals surveyed were chosen in each area because they were most representative of unionization in that region, he explained.

Muravchik pointed out that there are more than 2,500 union locals in the South with an over-all membership of more than 1½ million. Figures were not available as to Negro membership.

The survey showed that despite "the pattern of segregation which prevails in both Southern industry and other Southern organizations, two-thirds of the union locals in the South are biracial." One-quarter of these locals, the survey added, have at least one Negro officer, and one-half at least one Negro shop steward.

How Conducted

Muravchik said that the survey "was conducted by representatives who are associated with the labor movement in the South and who filled out questionnaires on the basis of interviews that they had with local and state union officials and members."

He asserted that "the Southern union members who support the white citizens councils are in sharp contrast to the Southern labor leadership which strongly maintains that the white citizens councils purpose is to fight the unionization of Southern workers and

See Page Two, Column Five

Chat Times
5/13/57

Return to EFL

NEWS from the AFL-CIO

NA. 8-3870

FOR RELEASE ON DELIVERY: Thursday, May 16, 1957

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New York City--Following is text of address by George Meany, President, AFL-CIO, at a dinner tonight in the Grand Ballroom of the Hotel Roosevelt at which he was given the second annual Philip Murray Award by the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund:

It is a distinct privilege to accept this award, not as a personal honor, but as a testimonial to the steadfast devotion of the trade union movement to the goal of justice, fair play and civil rights for all Americans.

This award is all the more gratifying because it is graced with the name of the late Phil Murray, a man of faith, humility and kindliness, to whom the cause of civil rights was God's cause.

Believe me, it was not merely by accident that from its earliest days the trade union movement in this country became identified as a proponent of civil rights and an opponent of racial and religious discrimination.

The very nature of a trade union, in which workers unite to fight for economic justice, conditions it for voluntary enlistment in the war against all injustice. Thus, the basic drive of the labor movement, from its inception to this very day has been for all forms of human justice and political justice, as well as economic justice. And the continuing denial of equal civil rights to millions of our citizens, merely because of their race or color, constitutes, in our opinion, wholesale injustice that stains the honor of our country. It is a blot that must be erased, with more than deliberate speed.

Among our adult population, reason and logic have been powerless to cope with the more bitter manifestations of racial hate and prejudice. Therefore, I have always had a good deal of sympathy for the view that the only effective way of overcoming such prejudice was the slow but sure path of education from the kindergarten up. However, it was obvious that this process of education would be completely futile as long as the well-springs of education -- the public schools themselves -- were poisoned by segregation.

The historic decision of the Supreme Court three years ago, declaring segregation in the public schools unconstitutional, opened new vistas of hope that at last the way would be cleared for the elimination of racial prejudice and discrimination through the permanent and democratic process of integrated education.

But let us face it -- progress has been painfully slow in the three-year period since the Supreme Court's decision was handed down.

RECEIVED
EDUCATION
MAY 15 1957

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It is not my purpose to criticize the Supreme Court for modifying the speed of enforcement of its decision with the word "deliberate". Taking all the facts into consideration, the Court had to act realistically. But I do want to say a few words about elected public officials, especially in the South and from the South, who have violated their oath of office to uphold the Constitution of the United States by wilfully obstructing and flaunting the Supreme Court's ruling.

In a free country like ours, it is the privilege of any citizen to disagree -- even with a Supreme Court decision. But obedience to the law is incumbent even upon dissenters. Respect for and compliance with the law is the responsibility of all citizens. Certainly public officials, elected to uphold and administer the law, are doubly bound to discharge that responsibility. Yet in the past three years, we have seen the unedifying spectacle of Governors of States, Senators, Congressmen and lesser lights in our political life conspiring together to defy the Supreme Court, to circumvent its decision and to make a mockery of the law.

In school we are taught that this is one nation, indivisible. The history of our country is marred by a great civil war which had to be fought to prove that this is one nation, and that secession and nullification are not permissible. Surely, that truth should now prevail.

Without question, the great majority of the people of the South, under wise leadership, would be willing to go along with the law of the land as interpreted, with finality, by the Supreme Court of the United States.

Unfortunately, however, the South, for the most part, lacks that kind of leadership. Some of the Southern States have produced outstanding public figures, Governors, Senators and Congressmen. But the politicians who predominate are cast in a lesser mold.

Let us examine the low-grade professional politician. We frequently encounter in the South. He trades on ignorance. He is tied in with a political machine that draws its revenue from the contributions of vested interests. This politician, in fact, is owned by the local utility, or mill owner or bank or oil interests. He makes emotional appeals to Southern pride and beats the drums for the moth-eaten myth of white supremacy. He is an accomplished spell-binder and an unprincipled liar. His credo calls for opposition to any progressive change that would disturb the existing order of society and its economic control.

This is the type of unscrupulous politician most active in the organization of White Citizen Councils in a number of Southern States. To say that the development of these extra-legal organizations is disturbing to the trade union movement is a gross understatement. I am convinced that they represent only a tiny minority of the people of the South -- but a loud and belligerent minority. These councils seek to substitute the intimidation of mob action for law and order. They are aimed not only at Negro organizations, such as yours, but at trade unions as well, and any other liberal group or individual that dares to support and defend the Supreme Court decision.

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We have done a little research into the people back of these White Citizens Councils and we have discovered an interesting and significant fact -- they are the same people who have fought the trade union movement most viciously over the years. In other words, the forces dominating this setup are against not only equal rights for Negroes, but equal rights for labor.

Under the circumstances, your organization can be proud of the way the beleaguered Negroes of key Southern communities have stood up to the test. They have been law-abiding. They have resisted the temptation to retaliate under extreme provocation. They have conducted themselves with dignity and restraint. By their own civilized and commendable conduct, they have shamed their traducers and created a strong-running tide of sympathy for their plight among all the American people.

Let me assure you that the trade union movement is not going to run away from the challenge presented by the White Citizens Councils. There have been many attempts in the past to drive union organizers out of Southern communities by intimidation and mob action. They failed before. They will fail again.

It is true that the emotional stresses of this issue are so strong as to warp the good judgment even of veteran trade unionists. I have received letters from union members saying they regarded themselves as Southerners first and trade unionists second. I told them they had things a little twisted -- that under the philosophy of our movement a man first has to be a good citizen before he can be a good union man and that the first duty of a good citizen is to obey all the laws of the land.

The interest of the trade union movement in the universal enjoyment of civil rights stems, as I said at the outset, from our dedication to human justice. At the turn of the century, a convention of the American Federation of Labor enunciated our basic philosophy in one simple sentence -- "We call all men brothers."

That spirit of brotherhood was built into the Constitution of the merged AFL-CIO. Among the objects and principles of the AFL-CIO, listed in Article 2, are these:

"To encourage all workers without regard to race, creed, color, national origin or ancestry to share equally in the full benefits of union organization.

"To protect and strengthen our democratic institutions, to secure full recognition and enjoyment of the rights and liberties, to which we are justly entitled."

Again in Article 9, the Executive Council is empowered to see to it that "all workers whatever their race, color, creed or national origin are entitled to share in the full benefits of trade union organization."

And finally, in Article 13, as an additional empowering step, the Constitution calls for the creation of a Committee on Civil Rights, "vested with the duty and responsibility to assist the Executive Council to bring about at the earliest possible date the effective implementation of the principle stated in this Constitution of non-discrimination."

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And finally, in Article 13, as an additional empowering step, the Constitution calls for the creation of a Committee on Civil Rights, "vested with the duty and responsibility to assist the Executive Council to bring about at the earliest possible date the effective implementation of the principle stated in this Constitution of non-discrimination."

These provisions in the AFL-CIO Constitution are not a dead-letter -- they are an every-day working policy. Yes, a number of our 68,000 local unions still ignore or violate that policy. Let me assure you, we are working on them.

It is not our purpose to try to settle each case that comes up on an ad hoc basis. By direction of the AFL-CIO Executive Council I have called a national conference of labor representatives a week from today in Washington, D. C. At that conference, our unions will be informed of measures we expect them to take in order to make certain that all their local unions comply fully with the basic AFL-CIO policy to accord equality of economic opportunity to all workers, regardless of race, color or creed.

Aside from the problems of equality of education and equality of economic opportunity -- which, by the way involves a great deal more employer cooperation than union compliance -- we are still stymied in our efforts to eliminate discrimination by the failure of Congress thus far to overcome the hurdles blocking enactment of civil rights legislation.

This legislation, as you know, seeks to establish equal status before the law for minority groups. Without such equality before the law, the American ideal of freedom and democracy becomes a hollow mockery.

I am confident that this civil rights legislation would be adopted by both Houses of Congress were it not for the rule permitting endless filibusters in the Senate. To date, all efforts to amend that rule so that the will of the majority can prevail have proven fruitless. The cause of justice has been defeated time and again by those elected to public office to administer justice.

The problem of coping with faithless and hypocritical politicians, who thwart the will of the people, can be solved in the same way we dealt with the faithless and hypocritical Communists. They must be exposed. The voters must be aroused against public officials who give lip service to the American ideal and betray it ruthlessly at every turn. The day of reckoning is coming.

Yes, it is coming soon. To the impatient the progress achieved to date may appear slow and disappointing. But to anyone who studies the developments of the past decade, it becomes apparent that a strong tide is running. Its pace is accelerating. Those who stand in its way will prove as futile as old King Canute.

My confidence is based upon one all-important factor. Aside from our moral responsibility to accord equal justice to all citizens, we are faced with a practical compulsion to do so in order to survive. In the court of world opinion, the great weakness in America's

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case -- in the case of the free way of life against totalitarianism -- is our failure to eliminate racial discrimination. Unless we can rally world opinion to our side, unless we can establish a solid front against the philosophy of slave labor and human degradation for which Soviet Russia stands, military power and atom bombs will not help us. Today, one of the most vulnerable flaws in our national defense is discrimination.

In the clear realization of this truth, in the full knowledge that racial discrimination and intolerance have no rightful place in a free land, we must do our utmost to end these evils as quickly as we can and thereby help to strengthen and make secure the American way of life.

2 stars

A. Stating clear positions
state merger (Big)
international union merger
1. Paper

gen. craft vs. industrial

B. 1. Struggle within Rep. will come to head.
1. Knowland vs. Nixon
2. Senator Cone + gaiety

C. R to W state taxes
1. Lehigh vs. Wash State
703,000
350,000

2 Hum expenditures –
3 Tennessee (State elections in south)

4. Health 1. Com Services (100)
2. Effect Cope – local level
3. Ed Work – participation

Ga. Lab. News. Digest 5/57

White Councils Called Anti-Union by Meany

New York—AFL-CIO Pres. Geo. Meany has charged that the people behind the White Citizens Councils in the South are "the same people who have fought the trade union movement most viciously over the years."

"In other words," he said, "the forces dominating this setup are against not only equal rights for Negroes, but equal rights for labor."

Meany's remarks were made in a speech accepting the second annual Philip Murray Award from the Legal Defence and Educational Fund of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored Peoples.

The AFL-CIO leader struck out especially at those "elected public officials, especially in the South and from the South, who have violated their oath of office to uphold the Constitution of the United States by wilfully obstructing and flouting the Supreme Court's ruling" against segregation. He also scored "the failure of Congress thus far to overcome the hurdles blocking enactment of civil rights legislation."

In Washington, the House Rules Committee finally has agreed to vote May 21 on clearing the Administration-backed rights measure for floor action. It has bottled up the bill ever since it was approved by the House Judiciary Committee April 1.

The Senate Judiciary Committee, however, just recently turned down an effort by Sen. Thomas C. Hennings (D.-Mo.) to get the group to vote on a similar measure.

Meany stressed that respect for, and compliance with, the law is the obligation of all citizens, and that "public offcials, elected to uphold and adminsietr the law, are doubly bound to discharge that responsibility."

He called the continuing denial of equal civil rights to millions of Americans because of race or color "a blot that must be erased, with more than deliberate speed."

The award, given annually "to an American who has conributed in great measure to the betterment of race relations in our country," was presented on behalf of the NAACP fund by Pres. Jacob S. Potofsky of the Clothing Workers.

Potofsky praised Meany for "his devotion to the American ideal that every citizen is entitled to be treated as an individual, not as a member of a racial, religious or national group."

"George Meany knows," he said, "that no labor movement worth its salt can compromise with the fundamental principles of democracy. By word and deed, he made clear his understanding that the rights of labor and the rights of all minorities are identical rights."

Meany said that he accepted the award "not as a personal honor, but as a testimonial to the steadfast devotion of the trade union movement to the goal of justice, fair play and civil rights for all Americans."

He called the award 'all the more gratifying because it is graced with the name of the late Philip Murray, a man of faith, humility and kindliness, to whom the cause of civil rights was God's cause."

by EMIL MAZEY

PRESIDENT, AFL-CIO

JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE

and

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE

ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

1957

Philip Murray Award

to

GEORGE MEANY

who, as an individual and as the leader of America's great trade union movement, has sought to secure for every American, regardless of race, creed or color, equal opportunity to achieve the best that his talents command in employment, in education, and in every area of American life, that each may best fulfill his human potential, this Award is tendered in gratitude on this 16th day of May, 1957.

INTRODUCTION

On the eve of the third anniversary of the Supreme Court decision outlawing racial segregation in the nation's public schools, George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, received the Philip Murray Award, annually presented by the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc. President Meany's acceptance speech, which appears in the following pages, pledges the organized labor movement to continued support and participation in the fight to eliminate racial segregation and discrimination throughout the United States.

As President Meany indicated in his opening remarks, trade unions in the United States have long been identified with the movement to secure full civil rights for every American. Today trade union support may well be a decisive factor in achieving equal rights within the American community for all citizens. The commitment of the National AFL-CIO to "help assure implementation of the Supreme Court decisions outlawing segregation in the public schools" is particularly meaningful in the light of attacks upon this policy by some local unions and the talk of disaffiliation because of the AFL-CIO's affirmative position on civil rights. In the words of President Meany we find a reaffirmation of the American labor movement's basic belief, "WE CALL ALL MEN BROTHERS."

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Jewish Labor Committee are pleased to make available to trade union members everywhere George Meany's historic speech which sets forth in bold terms the objectives for a secure and truly democratic America.

ADOLPH HELD
Chairman,
Jewish Labor Committee

ROY WILKINS
Executive Secretary,
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

WE CALL ALL MEN BROTHERS*

By GEORGE MEANY
President, AFL-CIO

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**Address delivered upon receipt of the Philip Murray Award from the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., New York City, May 16, 1957.*

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The historic decision of the Supreme Court three years ago, declaring segregation in the public schools unconstitutional, opened new vistas of hope that at last the way would be cleared for the elimination of racial prejudice and discrimination through the permanent and democratic process of integrated education.

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But, let us examine the lowest grade professional politician we encounter in the South. He trades on ignorance. He is tied

in with a political machine that draws its revenue from the contributions of vested interests. This politician, in fact, is owned by the local utility, or mill owner or bank or oil interests. He makes emotional appeals to southern pride and beats the drums for the moth-eaten myth of white supremacy. He is an accomplished spellbinder and an unprincipled liar. His credo calls for opposition to any progressive change that would disturb the existing order of society and its economic control.

This is the type of unscrupulous politician most active in the organization of White Citizen Councils in a number of southern states. To say that the development of these extra-legal organizations is disturbing to the trade union movement is a gross understatement. I am convinced that they represent only a tiny minority of the people of the South — but a loud and belligerent minority. These councils seek to substitute the intimidation of mob action for law and order. They are aimed not only at Negro organizations, but at trade unions as well, and any other liberal group or individual that dares to support and defend the Supreme Court decision.

We have done a little research into the people back of these White Citizens Councils and we have discovered an interesting and significant fact — they are the same people who have fought the trade union movement most viciously over the years. In other words, the forces dominating this setup are against not only equal rights for Negroes, but equal rights for labor.

Under the circumstances, the NAACP can be proud of the way the beleaguered Negroes of key southern communities have stood up to the test. They have been law-abiding. They have resisted the temptation to retaliate under extreme provocation. They have conducted themselves with dignity and restraint. By their own civilized and commendable conduct, they have shamed their traducers and created a strong-running tide of sympathy for their plight among all the American people.

Let me assure you that the trade union movement is not going to run away from the challenge presented by the White Citizens Councils. There have been many attempts in the past to drive union organizers out of southern communities by intimidation and mob action. They failed before. They will fail again.

It is true that the emotional stresses of this issue are so strong as to warp the good judgment even of veteran trade unionists. I have received letters from union members saying they regarded themselves as southerners first and trade unionists second. I told them they had things a little twisted — that under the philosophy of our movement a man first has to be a good citizen before he can be a good union man and that the first duty of a good citizen is to obey all the laws of the land.

The interest of the trade union movement in the universal enjoyment of civil rights stems, as I said at the outset, from our dedication to human justice. At the turn of the century, a convention of the American Federation of Labor enunciated our basic philosophy in one simple sentence — "We call all men brothers."

That spirit of brotherhood was built into the Constitution of the merged AFL-CIO. Among the objects and principles of the AFL-CIO, listed in Article 2, are these:

"To encourage all workers without regard to race, creed, color, national origin or ancestry to share equally in the full benefits of union organization.

"To protect and strengthen our democratic institutions, to secure full recognition and enjoyment of the rights and liberties to which we are justly entitled."

Again in Article 9, the Executive Council is empowered to see to it that "all workers whatever their race, color, creed or national origin are entitled to share in the full benefits of trade union organization."

And finally, in Article 13, as an additional empowering step, the Constitution calls for the creation of a Committee on Civil Rights, "vested with the duty and responsibility to assist the Executive Council to bring about at the earliest possible date the effective implementation of the principle stated in this Constitution of non-discrimination."

These provisions in the AFL-CIO Constitution are not a deadletter — they are an every-day working policy. Yes, a number of our 68,000 local unions still ignore or violate that policy. Let me assure you, we are working on them.

It is not our purpose to try to settle each case that comes up on an ad hoc basis. By direction of the AFL-CIO Executive Council I have called a national conference of labor representatives in Washington, D. C. At that conference, our unions will be informed of measures we expect them to take in order to make certain that all their local unions comply fully with the basic AFL-CIO policy to accord equality of economic opportunity to all workers, regardless of race, color or creed.

Aside from the problems of equality of education and equality of economic opportunity — which, by the way involves a great deal more employer cooperation than union compliance — we are still stymied in our efforts to eliminate discrimination by the failure of Congress thus far to overcome the hurdles blocking enactment of civil rights legislation.

This legislation, as you know, seeks to establish equal status before the law for minority groups. Without such equality before the law, the American ideal of freedom and democracy becomes a hollow mockery.

I am confident that this civil rights legislation would be adopted by both Houses of Congress were it not for the rule permitting endless filibusters in the Senate. To date, all efforts to amend that rule so that the will of the majority can prevail have proven fruitless. The cause of justice has been defeated time and again by those elected to public office to administer justice.*

The problem of coping with faithless and hypocritical politicians, who thwart the will of the people, can be solved in the same way we dealt with the faithless and hypocritical Communists. They must be exposed. The voters must be aroused against public officials who give lip service to the American ideal and betray it ruthlessly at every turn. The day of reckoning is coming.

Yes, it is coming soon. To the impatient, the progress achieved to date may appear slow and disappointing. But to anyone who studies the developments of the past decade, it becomes apparent that a strong tide is running. Its pace is accelerating. Those who stand in its way will prove as futile as old King Canute.

My confidence is based upon one all-important factor. Aside from our moral responsibility to accord equal justice to all citizens, we are faced with a practical compulsion to do so in order to survive. In the court of world opinion, the great weakness in America's case — in the case of the free way of life against totalitarianism — is our failure to eliminate racial discrimination. Unless we can rally world opinion to our side, unless we can establish a solid front against the philosophy of slave labor and human degradation for which Soviet Russia stands, military power and atom bombs will not help us. Today, one of the most vulnerable flaws in our national defense is discrimination.

In the clear realization of this truth, in the full knowledge that racial discrimination and intolerance have no rightful place in a free land, we must do our utmost to end these evils as quickly as we can and thereby help to strengthen and make secure the American way of life.

**Since the delivery of this address a civil rights bill to protect the right to vote has been passed by the Congress and signed by the President.*

McDonnell and John W. Martin. The audit committee has checked books each year since at least 1899. (See story on Page 8.)

AFL-CIO News 6/1/57

Meany Spurs Drive On Discrimination

"The AFL-CIO stands in the foremost ranks in the defense of civil rights and of human rights as indispensable to freedom and to true democracy," Pres. George Meany told the first AFL-CIO National Conference on Civil Rights at Washington.

More than 100 delegates from international unions, and state central bodies attended the afternoon and evening sessions.

The conference was held to implement the AFL-CIO policy of non-discrimination.

Counsel and Advise

Meany said that the philosophy of equal rights of union members irrespective of race and religion "is the cornerstone of the constitution of the merged AFL-CIO."

"We are met here today," the AFL-CIO president said, "not to pass resolutions or to make declarations. We are met here for one purpose alone—to counsel and advise together on the best ways and means of putting the policy of non-discrimination into practice. The question before this group is—what are the best ways and means of getting the job done?"

He said that the task requires taking "initiative and leadership."

"It also takes experience," Meany added. "And it takes tools. It takes tools such as information and education. And it also takes organization. . . .

"This conference will make no binding decisions. It will lay down no binding rules. What it will do is to give us an opportunity to counsel together and to pool our best considered judgment in order to help find the best way toward our common goal on non-discrimination in employment and in union membership."

Zimmerman Appointed

Meany announced the appointment of Charles S. Zimmerman, vice president of the Ladies' Garment Workers, as chairman of the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Committee,

(Continued on Page 2)

Civil Rights Stressed

AFL-CIO News. 6/8/59

Rights Stressed At Two Conferences

Chicago—The presentation of six awards to students of the Ph Murray Elementary Public School here for prize-winning essays the spirit of Philip Murray highlighted the Civil Rights Conferen of the Intl. Union of Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers.

The awards were presented by IUE Pres. James B. Carey, who served as secretary-treasurer of the CIO under Murray and is now an AFL-CIO vice president. He paid a glowing tribute to Murray's leadership in the field of civil rights and liberties, the aspect of the late CIO president's work which was particularly stressed in the essay contest.

Union Operation

Meanwhile, at the seventh annual Labor Institute on Human Rights at Boston College, Boston, AFL-CIO Vice Pres. Joseph D. Keenan told some 225 delegates that the labor movement will move into the civil rights field far more aggressively in the future.

"Now that we do not have to give the greatest part of our attention to wages and hours, we must make civil rights a trade union operation," Keenan, who is secretary of the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and a member of the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Committee, declared.

Helping to bring about equal opportunity for all people, he said, is a natural development of the trade union movement, and "anything that happens to the trade unions in this country will also affect civil rights, so it is important that we tie these two issues together and make them a joint operation."

Break Down Barriers

Keenan spoke of the AFL-CIO civil rights program and added:

"Our international unions recognize their responsibility to act on this program and to break down barriers where they exist. Since discrimination cuts across the economy and affects us too, labor will concern itself with this issue both internally and in the community."

Other speakers who addressed the institute included Victor Reuther, international affairs director of the Auto Workers and Philip Heller of the Jewish Labor Committee. Leaders of workshops included Philip Weightman, of the AFL-CIO Committee on Politica Education; James Turner, fai practices director of the Rubber Workers; Arnold Beichman, American press representative of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions; and Sam Jacobs, director of the UAW economics and research department.

The IUE conference here honored the memory of Murray and was held on his 71st birthday. More than 175 delegates attended, coming from 40 states and Canada. Other speakers included Dr. Francis McPeek, head of Chicago's Commission on Human Relations; Dir. Boris Shiskin of the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Committee and Rep George S. McGovern (D-S. D.).

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Guy Nunn's Broadcast Helps Negro Regain Bombed Home

LOUISVILLE, Kentucky — A broadcast by UAW radio commentator Guy Nunn has been credited with helping a Louisville Negro regain and repair his home, which had been dynamited by racial bigots in 1954.

Andrew E. Wade IV last month regained clear title to his partially-wrecked house after a three-year struggle which made headlines all over the world. The house was bombed by unknown persons shortly after Wade took possession of it from Carl Braden, white newspaperman who had bought the home for Wade in a so-called "white" neighborhood.

After the bombing, instead of seeking those responsible for it, the local authorities arrested Braden and five other white supporters of Wade and charged them with "sedition" and a variety of other criminal acts.

Braden was convicted and sentenced to 15 years in prison. Last summer, a higher court reversed his conviction and he was released after having served eight months behind bars. Two of the others spent up to six months in jail before all charges were dropped without trial last November. However, all those involved were fired from their jobs.

At the same time, the builder of the house and the bank holding the mortgage sued on a technicality to foreclose the mortgage after the transfer of the property from Braden to Wade. The suit held up repair of the home, though an insurance company paid $5,800 to restore the property. A local court ruled that the money could not be used until the foreclosure suits had been adjudicated.

At this point, Guy Nunn and UAW's nationwide "Eye Opener" early-morning radio show entered the picture. Nunn aired an interview with Wade and Braden, which was heard by a Chicagoan, David Simonson, who was so outraged by the injustices of this case that he loaned Wade more than $12,000 to pay off the old mortgages, accumulated interest and court costs.

The house is now being repaired and readied for re-occupancy by Wade and his wife.

In a letter to Nunn in which he expressed his appreciation, Wade said:

"You no doubt have had many similar successes as a result of good deeds on your part. I am proud to have made your acquaintance and am appreciative of the assistance . . . (I received from) you and "Eye Opener."

United Auto. Worker 6/57

sonally. Come DOWN SOUTH, gentlemen, and grow with Georgia."

Ga. Labor News Digest 6/57

Southern Unions Studied On Race Question

Atlantic City, N. J.—Patterns of segregation in the South are changing, according to a survey of the impact of the race issue on Southern unions. The survey indicated that two-thirds of Southern locals have both Negro and White membership, and one-quarter of these locals have at least one Negro officer. In no other Southern organization has segregation declined as much.

A report of the survey was presented to the Executive Board of the JLC National Trade Union Council by Emanuel Muravchik, National Field Director of the Jewish Labor Committee. Prepared for the AFL-CIO, the survey is intended to serve as a guide for organized labor in meeting the problems of racial tension in the South.

Despite the predominantly pro-segregationist attitudes of Southern trade unionists, the survey finds that only one-third of the locals

(Continued on Next Page)

Ga. Labor News Digest 6/57

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questioned replied that many or most of their members "have a strong feeling against the labor movement for its opposition to segregation." Loyalty to the AFL-CIO is indicated by the fact that not a single local has disaffiliated because of the national organization's position on the Supreme Court decision.

Nevertheless, the survey warned that the race issue could seriously disrupt many Southern union locals, and Mr. Muravchik therefore recommended a comprehensive program for assisting local union leaders in the South in coping with current racial problems.

The survey covered more than one hundred representative locals in Alabama, Florida, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Louisiana and Mississippi, and was made possible by a grant from the Fund for the Republic.

EFY

RECEIVED JUL 1 1957

NATIONAL LABOR SERVICE

386 FOURTH AVENUE NEW YORK 16, N. Y. MURRAY HILL 5-0181

HARRY FLEISCHMAN, Director

To Union Educational Directors

Dear Brother:

Enclosed is a sample of "Twenty Questions on Civil Liberties and Civil Rights" which I am using at union summer schools and seminars. I find that the questionnaire, when distributed and filled out without any briefing at the beginning of a session, leads to lively and fruitful discussions on these subjects.

Several educational directors have indicated that they would like to reproduce the enclosed questionnaire for use at their various schools. You, of course, have our permission to do the same.

If you send me the questionnaires after they have been filled out, I shall be happy to compile the results and inform you of the picture presented from all of the schools.

Fraternally yours,

Harry Fleischman

Harry Fleischman

HF/ht
Encl.
6/26/57

TWENTY QUESTIONS ON CIVIL LIBERTIES AND CIVIL RIGHTS

WHAT DO YOU THINK?

NOTE TO UNION MEMBERS: Please fill out carefully. Many union members disagree on the correct answers to the questions below. All we are looking for is **your** opinion. PLEASE DON'T SIGN YOUR NAME.

Put a circle around Y (for Yes) if you agree with a statement below; if you do not agree, circle N (for No).

1. Should a man who favors government ownership of the railroads and big industry

   (a) be allowed to teach in a college? Y N

   (b) be expelled if he is a member of your union? Y N

2. Should an atheist (a man who doesn't believe in the existence of God)

   (a) be allowed to teach in a college? Y N

   (b) be expelled if he is a member of your union? Y N

3. Should an admitted Communist

   (a) be allowed to teach in a college? Y N

   (b) be expelled if he is a member of your union? Y N

   (c) be fired if he works in a defense plant? Y N

   (d) be fired if he is a clerk in a store? Y N

   (e) be fired if he is a radio singer? Y N

4. Should an admitted Communist have his American citizenship taken away from him? Y N

5. Should admitted Communists be jailed? Y N

6. Is it more important to identify all the Communists, even if some innocent people should be hurt than to protect the innocent even if some Communists are not found out? Y N

7. Should a union member who joins

   (a) a White Citizens' Council be expelled from the union? Y N

   (b) the Ku Klux Klan be expelled from the union? Y N

8. Should Government employees accused of disloyalty have the right to know the sources of information against them and to cross-examine their accusers? Y N

9. Are there any jobs for which Government security tests should be required? Y N

10. Should security tests be confined only to sensitive positions involving military, atomic, government or international affairs and not be required for other positions? Y N

11. Should public school and college teachers be required to sign a special non-Communist loyalty oath? Y N

12. Is the Attorney General justified in maintaining a list of "subversive" organizations without holding prior hearings? Y N

13. Should Congress investigate political beliefs and associations in order to determine whether they are "un-American?" Y N

14. Should all children, no matter what their race, be allowed to go to the same schools? Y N

15. Are universities justified in using a quota system to limit admission of members of certain racial and religious groups? Y N

16. Should movies, plays and books be suppressed by the Government if they present an offensive characterization of a particular racial or religious group? Y N

17. Should employers be permitted to state their views regarding labor unions to their workers? Y N

18. Should trade unions be entitled to restrict their membership on the basis of color, religion or national origin? Y N

19. Should unions put anti-discrimination clauses in all their collective bargaining contracts? Y N

20. Should unions enforce equal opportunity for all, regardless of race or religion, in respect to apprenticeship training and job promotions? Y N

(Distributed by National Labor Service, 386 Fourth Avenue, New Y rk 16,N.Y.)

6/25/57

HUNGER [illegible] members of the Greek Confederation of Labor and their families were staved off following the earthquake and floods in Thessaly by the timely arrival of these 1,40000 CARE food packages from American workers. Weighing 22 lbs. each, they were made possible through miscellaneous donations from a score or more of local unions and central bodies.

Reuther Tells NAACP Labor Solid on Rights

AFL-CIO NEWS 7/6/57

Detroit—American labor is not just "a fair-weather friend" of minority groups, UAW Pres. Walter P. Reuther told delegates to the national convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

"From Pres. George Meany and other leaders of the AFL-CIO on down, the united labor movement is with you all the way in this fight for effective civil rights legislation in all areas of human endeavor," he declared amidst cheers from the 3,000 NAACP delegates and visitors.

Fight With Ideas

Speaking of the Detroit race riot during World War II, Reuther observed that while "Detroit went wrong in the Forties," it had always been a matter of pride with him that in the city's union-organized plants, Negro and white workers continued to work side by side and did not participate in the bloodshed.

"The workers realized that where an employer manages to divide white from black, native from foreign-born, he also usually manages to exploit every single one of them," he pointed out.

"Our struggle against Communist tyranny cannot be won with guns, but must be fought with ideas, and in this battle for the hearts and minds of millions of the world's uncommitted peoples, our actions on the civil rights front loom very important. Excuses are not good enough," Reuther went on. "America's immorality on the civil rights question could be our Achilles' heel in the struggle against communism."

Both Parties at Fault

Speaking of the current fight on Capitol Hill over civil rights legislation, he said, "Both major political parties should be ashamed of their shoddy performance" on civil rights . . . "the same people who fight against civil rights legislation also fight against minimum wages and needed social legislation."

Sec.-Treas. Emil Mazey and Vic Pres. Leonard Woodcock of the UAW, Vice Pres. Myra Wolfgang of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers, National Labor Sec. Herbert Hill and Executive Sec. Roy Wilkins of the NAACP spoke at a dinner for fraternal union delegates to the convention.

Ted Brown and Charles Webber represented the AFL-CIO.

The Advance

442

July 15, 1957
VOL. 43 NO. 14

THE ADVANCE published semi-monthly by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (AFL-CIO) at 15 Union Square, New York City 3, N.Y. One Year $1.50. In Canada, One Year $1.75. Single Copies 10c Re-entered as Second Class Matter. November 29, 1941, at the Post Office at New York, N.Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879. C. Edmund Fisher, Editor.

***The Advance* seeks to help translate into the daily lives of our people the beliefs of three great Americans.**

"I vision a people living in comfort on the fruits of their industry." —Thomas Jefferson

"To secure to each laborer the whole product of his labor or as nearly as possible, is a worthy object of any good government."

—Abraham Lincoln

"They (the people) want assurance against the evils of all major economic hazards — assurance that will extend from the cradle to the grave. This great government can and must provide this assurance."

—Franklin D. Roosevelt

Civil Rights—The American Dilemma

Important civil rights legislation, which will do much to eliminate the ignominious second class citizenship category for Negroes, has passed the House of Representatives and is now pending in the Senate.

Basically, this legislation, if passed by Congress, would project the power of the Federal Government into all localities of the country to help enforce the voting rights and other constitutional rights of Negroes as well as the rights of other minority groups.

The program would put teeth into recent decisions of the Supreme Court holding that there must be an end to separate schools, separate recreational facilities and an end to other local regulations that require segregation of people on the basis of race.

The progress toward the elimination of racial prejudice, segregation and disenfranchisement of the Negro citizen that can be made under the pending measure is very great. Here are some examples of what can be accomplished if this legislation becomes law:

In a southern state where an election official may be accused of deliberately misusing his powers in order to bar Negroes from getting on the voting lists, the U. S. Attorney General could seek an injunction, or restraining order, against this official in a federal district court. That would amount to a warning that, unless the official stops misusing his powers, and allows eligible Negroes to register, he can be prosecuted for contempt of court and sentenced to prison.

In the event that a Negro has a grievance over an alleged violation of his rights, he can apply directly to federal authorities for help, but he may not have to act on his own. Federal action can be taken in any civil rights case even if no one has asked federal authorities to step in, according to the wording of the proposed law. The Attorney General has requested this power so that anybody who may fear to go to the authorities because of local pressure, can get protection anyway.

Under the pending legislation, such groups as the Ku Klux Klan and the White Citizens Councils could be prosecuted if they interfered with any eligible Negro's right to vote in federal elections, or his right to ride desegregated, or interstate, trains and buses. Such organizations might also get into trouble under the proposed law for interfering with public school integration.

On the problem of segregation in the schools, the new legislation would enable the Federal Government to initiate suits on behalf of individuals who are denied the right of attending mixed classes.

In the event that a school decided to hold mixed classes and outside individuals threatened trouble unless the mixed classes were dropped, the Attorney General could get an injunction in a federal district court against those trying to interfere. Then, these individuals would face arrest and imprisonment for contempt of court.

Another part of the proposed legislation calls for a new "Commission on Civil Rights". This agency would be set up on a bi-partisan basis, with six members appointed by the President. The agency would be charged with making a full-scale investigation of alleged violations of the rights of Negroes throughout the country. The agency would hold hearings—closed hearings, if it prefers—and collect sworn affidavits. Within two years the agency would submit a report to the President of its findings and recommendations—on what to do next about civil rights.

These are some of the primary reasons why American labor supports this civil rights legislation. This bill would give real meaning to the democratic principle of "equal rights for all without regard to race, creed or color"—a principle that, for too long, has been only a part of American thought and not American action.

If we are to live by what we believe, we cannot in good conscience continue to put off enacting civil rights legislation that would give the Negro the same rights to a decent life that his white brother has so long possessed.

Pickets demonstrate outside Styl-Rite shop on New York's 14th Street with signs in Spanish and English. At right, striker Rafael Torres and his family in their one-room "home" across the street from Styl-Rite. Most of the strikers, like Torres, pay exhorbitant rents for miserable apartments.

..—Record Photo by Frank Kerness

PUERTO RICANS: *200 families find new hope in '65'*

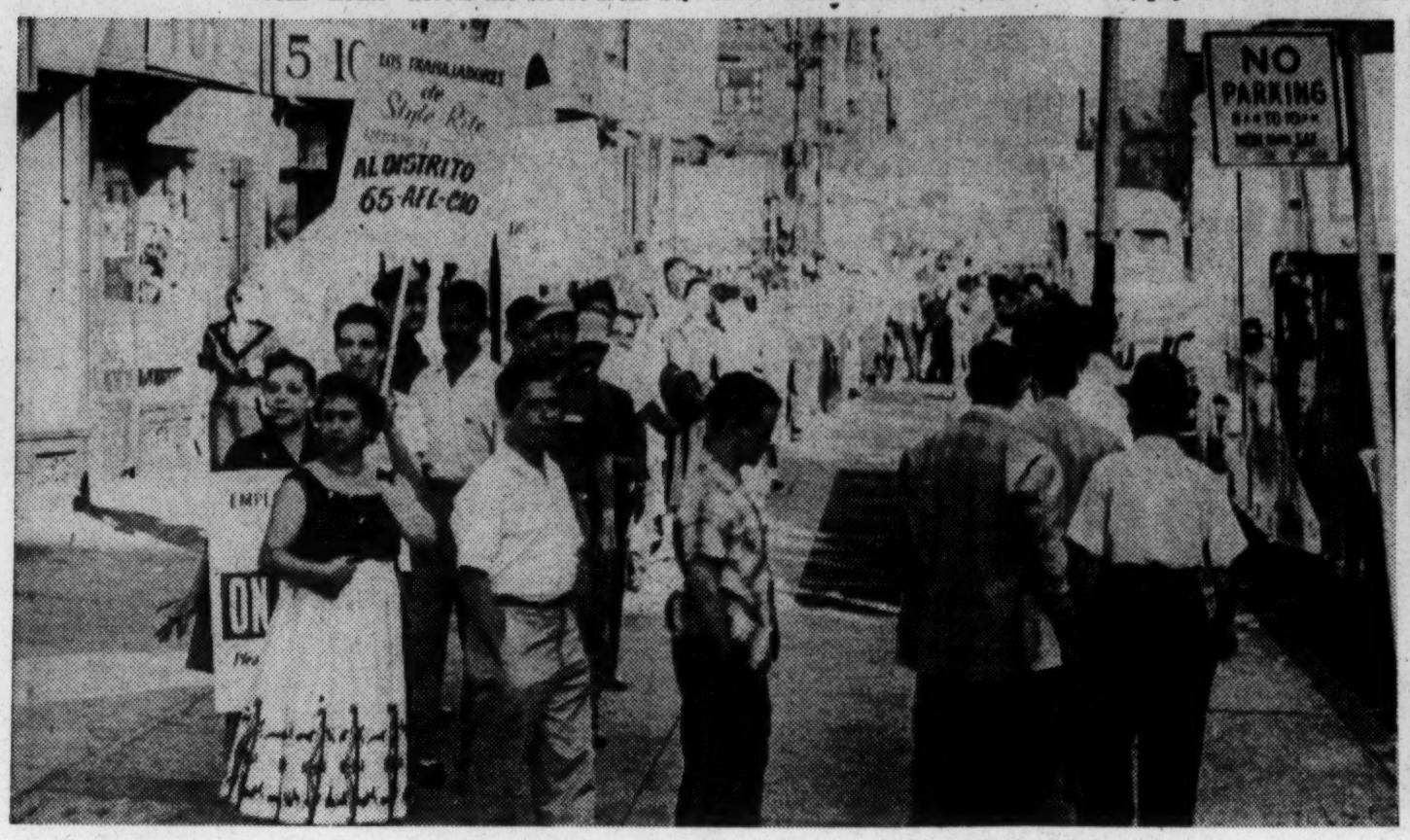
Every year thousands of Puerto Ricans come to the United States. Poor and exploited on their overcrowded island, they buy a $60 airplane ticket to New York—on credit—and arrive in the metropolis with high hopes of a new and better life.

But all too often the new arrivals find themselves even more the victims of exploitation in their new homeland than they were in Puerto Rico. Unscrupulous employers hire them at substandard wages and, with the aid of racket unions, prevent them from organizing to win decent conditions. Landlords and rooming house operators prey on the Puerto Ricans' desperate need for housing, intensified in New York by the

the Torres family, like the families of the other strikers, is getting strike benefits and food cartons from District 65. In addition, the family is getting emergency assistance from the city's Welfare Department, which the union has prodded into fast action.

District 65 has gotten doctors to provide medical care on an emergency basis. And additional strike relief will be forthcoming as the result of a drive now going on among the District's 30,000 members to raise funds for the Styl-Rite workers.

Pickets demonstrate outside Styl-Rite shop on New York's 14th Street with signs in Spanish and English. At right, striker Rafael Torres and his family in their one-room "home" across the street from Styl-Rite. Most of the strikers, like Torres, pay exhorbitant rents for miserable apartments.



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The AFL-CIO, appalled by this exploitation of a minority group, has set machinery in motion to help Puerto Ricans organize into unions of their own choice. The first big test of this new machinery came last month when 200 workers of Styl-Rite Optics, Inc., an eyeglass frame company, bolted a "phantom" local of the Jewelry Workers Union—which claimed a "contract" with the employer—and joined the RWDSU's District 65, with the blessings and encouragement of Pres. George Meany and other top leaders.

The workers have been out on strike for more than three weeks now, fighting for a real union contract at Styl-Rite, instead of the phony back-door agreement that formerly "covered" them. In the course of their strike, these 200 Puerto Ricans have learned that they do have friends and that the labor movement is backing up their struggle against exploitation. At the same time, their plight serves as a sharp reminder to their fellow union members that American "prosperity" is only a bitter mockery for those who must eke out a living by working in shops that are unorganized or—worse yet—covered by a phony union "contract."

The Story of One Striker

Take Rafael Torres, for instance, who has been in the U. S. for 11 months.

Rafael can look out of the window of the single furnished room he shares with his wife and four children and see his fellow strikers at Styl-Rite Optics picketing the plant in the building across 14th Street.

"I feel good when I see them," he says in Spanish. "It shows that we all stand together to help each other. . . ."

But he doesn't feel so good when he sees the way his four kids and his wife, Eufemia, have to live. The six human beings are cluttered together in one wretched room—about 8 by 20 feet—already cluttered with two beds, a dresser, chest, stool, stove, and sink. (The community toilet is in the dark hallway, shared by the other tenants on their floor.) The two older children, Rafael, Jr., 15, and Carlos, 10, both sleep in the smaller of the two beds. Nine-year-old Maria and 2-year-old Sonia, who don't take up much room, sleep in the larger bed with their parents. There is no icebox or refrigerator. Food must be kept cool in the sink.

In Puerto Rico, Rafael was a field hand on a sugar-cane plantation. He came to this country in the hope of a better life for himself, his wife and the kids. But the experiences of the first few months made him want to turn around and go back to his native land.

His first and only job was on the Styl-Rite production line. His wages were $40 a week, his take-home pay $38.90. Out of this, he paid $8 a week room rent, $5 a week to repay the cost of transportation from Puerto Rico. Out of the remaining $25.90, the Torres family had to be fed and clothed, and all their medical and other bills paid.

Now that he's on strike, even that measly wage has stopped. Instead, the Torres family, like the families of the other strikers, is getting strike benefits and food cartons from District 65. In addition, the family is getting emergency assistance from the city's Welfare Department, which the union has prodded into fast action.

District 65 has gotten doctors to provide medical care on an emergency basis. And additional strike relief will be forthcoming as the result of a drive now going on among the District's 30,000 members to raise funds for the Styl-Rite workers.

Union Fights for Lower Rents

There have been other important developments that give encouragement to the strikers. The 80 workers at Ideal Optical Co., a Brooklyn plant owned by the same employer, went out in sympathy with the Styl-Rite workers on July 12. And the State Rent Commission, in response to a request by District 65, sent investigators down to union headquarters July 16 and 17 for the purpose of interviewing the strikers and determining whether they were paying excessive rents. City housing officials are acting on union reports of violations of health and safety ordinances in the strikers' apartments. If such violations aren't corrected, the tenants can get a reduction in rent.

All in all, enough has been happening in recent weeks to give Rafael Torres and his fellow strikers new hope for the future. And all of these hopeful signs can be traced directly to membership in a decent union. Says Rafael "I'm not worried about being on strike. I feel that the union will improve our conditions, not only at Styl-Rite but also in helping us in our housing situation and in everything else that presents a problem to people like me who have arrived in this country only recently. I am proud to be part of such a union."

Housing complaints of Styl-Rite strikers are acted upon right at union headquarters, where Trina Torres, left, a Spanish interpreter on staff of State Rent Commission, gathers data directly from workers. Among those waiting to tell their story is Rafael Torres (no relation to Miss Torres), who is seated in center of group in rear.

New York Times
January 22, 1958

3 VIRGINIA LAWS ON N.A.A.C.P. VOID

3-Judge U.S. Court Finds Rolls Need Not Be Listed

RICHMOND, Va., Jan. 21--Three of Virginia's so-called "anti-N.A.A.C.P. laws" were declared unconstitutional here today. The ruling was made by a special three-judge Federal court. The decision was split, 2 to 1.

The ruling meant that two laws requiring such organizations as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to disclose membership lists, reveal monies collected and register with the state are of no effect. It also meant that a third law, prohibiting such organizations from engaging in any form of barratry (the stirring up of litigation), was declared illegal.

The majority opinion, written by Judge Morris A. Soper, of the Fourth United States Circuit Court, labeled the laws "onerous." The opinion further added:

"The right of access to the court is one of the greatest safeguards of the liberties of the people, and its denial or undue restriction is a violation of the due process clauses of the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments."

The opinion further stated that if the registration acts were to be held constitutional, Negroes would be deprived of resources needed to resist racial segregation measures in the courts. Judge Walter Hoffman, of Norfolk District Court, concurred with the majority opinion.

In a dissenting opinion, Judge Sterling Hutcheson, of Richmond District Court, said that it was up to the state courts to declare the registration statutes legal or void.

The three statutes were part of a five-statute package passed by a special session of the Virginia General Assembly in September, 1956.

The other two laws, which made up the "anti-N.A.A.C.P. laws," were designed to regulate the conduct of those licensed to practice law, or those engaged in the practice of law, in Virginia. The three judges concurred in their opinion that these laws should be judged in the state courts.

The Virginia Supreme Court had ruled that the N.A.A.C.P. could be legally required to produce its membership rolls and financial records for a special racial investigating committee.

Validity Contested

The N.A.A.C.P. vigorously contested the validity of the laws, contending they were designed to hamper the organization's activities. The organization also said that the laws had denied it access to the courts by hamstringing its legal work.

The association also said that the laws were a part of a scheme to thwart the United States Supreme Court's desegregation ruling.

Virginia has been one of the militant battlers against the United States Supreme Court's ruling on integration in public schools. The state took the issue to the highest court last summer. It had asked the Supreme Court to review a judgment of a lower Federal court ordering integration of the public schools of Norfolk and Newport News. The high court refused to review the lower court's ruling.

Several additional cases concerning the state's public school segregation policy are on state and Federal court dockets in Virginia. Some of these are expected to come before the courts within the next few months.

At present there are no integrated public schools in Virginia.

EFV. Sent to SRC by Art Levin, ADL.

FACT SHEET

ON ANTI-NAACP REGISTRATION STATUTES

Within the past two years, four states -- Virginia, Tennessee, Arkansas and Texas -- have enacted legislation intended to provide the statutory basis for requiring certain organizations to register with state authorities and give information as to members, officers, finances, etc. The target of this legislation is the NAACP which for many years has been in the forefront of the fight against racial discrimination and segregation, and which has been responsible for the series of court decisions which have struck down racial segregation in the public schools and elsewhere. However, the language of these laws may be broad enough to make them applicable to organizations other than the NAACP. This fact sheet summarizes these laws and discusses their scope.

VIRGINIA

The first law of this kind was enacted in Virginia. It is Chapter 32 of the Acts of the General Assembly, enacted in the Extra Session in 1956, and was approved on September 29, 1956.

The Act declares the continued harmonious relations between the races to be essential to the welfare, health and safety of the people of Virginia. It goes on to state that it is contrary to the public policy of the State to permit those conditions to arise between the races which impede the peaceful co-existence of all peoples in the state. The Act further declares that it is therefore vital in the public interest that information be obtained with "respect to persons, firms, partnerships, corporations and associations whose activities are causing or may cause any racial tension and unrest." (Section 1)

The Act requires every person, firm, partnership, corporation or association "who or which engages, as one of its principal functions or activities, in the promoting or opposing in any manner the passage of legislation by the General Assembly on behalf of any race or color, or who or which has as one of its principal functions or activities the advocating of racial integration or segregation, or whose activities cause or tend to cause racial conflicts or violence, or who or which is engaged in raising or expending funds for the employment of counsel or payment of costs in connection with litigation in behalf of any race or color" to register with the State Corporation Commission within sixty days after the Act takes effect and annually thereafter. (Section 2)

The person or corporation required to register must submit a sworn statement. The information required in the case of corporations and associations includes copies of the charter, by-laws, and other documents regulating their operation, the names and addresses of all officers, agents, employees, voluntary workers and associates through which the organization carries on its activities, a financial statement showing its assets and liabilities, sources of its income, with an itemized list of all contributions, donations, gifts or other income, and a list of its expenditures. (Section 3)

The information given under this Act must be open to public inspection. (Section 4)

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Persons or corporations acting in any manner as described in Section 2 without first registering commit a misdemeanor punishable by fines up to $10,000. Non-registering individuals and partnerships are also subject to imprisonment. Each day's failure to register constitutes a separate offense. A person filing knowingly a false statement is guilty of a felony. (Section 5)

Any person or organization engaging in any activity described in Section 2 without first registering may be enjoined by the court from engaging in such activity. (Section 6)

The Act also provides that if a citizen files a statement with the Attorney General, alleging a violation, the Attorney General, if he finds the complaint well founded, must institute court proceedings for an injunction to restrain the violation. (Section 7)

The Act exempts from its application persons and organizations who carry on activities described in Section 2 solely through newspapers, periodicals or magazines. It further exempts persons and organizations engaging in a political election campaign. (Section 9)

TENNESSEE

Chapter 151 of the Public Acts of the 1957 Tennessee General Assembly, approved March 11, 1957, is virtually identical with the Virginia Act discussed above. The difference between the two Acts is that Section 2 of the Tennessee Act, in describing organizations required to register does not include those which have as one of their principal functions or activities the "advocating of racial integration or segregation." This omission, however, is insignificant, inasmuch as organizations carrying on such activities would certainly fall under some of the other categories of organizations required to register under the Tennessee Act.

Another difference between the two Acts is that in Tennessee organizations required to register must do so with the Secretary of State, whereas in Virginia the State Corporation Commission is the state organ given this function.

ARKANSAS

On February 26, 1957 the Governor of Arkansas signed an Act "to require persons engaged in certain activities to register with and make periodical reports to the State Sovereignty Commission."

This Act applies to persons and organizations who by themselves or through agents or employees, directly or indirectly, solicit, collect or receive contributions to be used in all or in part to aid in the accomplishment of any of the following purposes:

a) The passage by the U. S. Congress of legislation designed to limit or circumscribe the operation and control of Arkansas public schools;

b) The defeat by the Arkansas Assembly of any legislation "designed to maintain and preserve inviolate the rights of the state of Arkansas to control and operate its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment;"

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

c) Soliciting and recruiting plaintiffs for prospective litigation involving domestic institutions, including public schools;

d) "The promotion of integration of races in the public schools of the state of Arkansas contrary to the choice and desires of the patrons of such schools and the rendition of legal aid gratuitously" to Negroes engaged in litigation involving admission to the public schools. (Section 5)

Every person or organization soliciting and receiving a contribution to any organization or fund for the purposes mentioned in Section 5 is required to keep a detailed account of all contributions, the persons making such contributions, all expenditures, and all persons to whom the expenditure is made. (Section 2)

Every individual receiving such a contribution must, within five days after receipt, render a detailed account to the person or organization for which the contribution was received. (Section 3)

Every person receiving any contribution or expending any money for any of the purposes listed in Section 5 must file quarterly statements with the secretary of the State Sovereignty Commission, a body created by a companion Act (Act 83) and consisting of the Governor, the Lt. Governor, the Attorney General, the Speaker, five members of the General Assembly, and three citizens of Arkansas appointed by the Governor. This statement must contain information concerning the name and address of persons making contributions, the amount of such contributions, and information on expenditures. (Section 4)

The Act further provides that no person may engage in any of the activities set forth in Section 5 unless he registers before with the State Sovereignty Commission giving information about himself, his employer, terms of employment, and indication for whose interest he works. (Section 6) Such report, as well as any other report made under the Act must be under oath. (Section 7)

Violations of the Act are declared misdemeanors punishable by fine up to $5,000 and imprisonment up to 12 months.

TEXAS

The latest statute in this group is a Texas Act signed December 1957 after passage by the Legislature in a special session. It will take effect on March 2, 1958.

The Act starts by declaring its purpose to be "to provide for the maintenance of law, peace and order in the operation of the public schools without the use of military forces by requiring certain organizations which engage in activities designed to hinder, harass and interfere with the powers and duties of the State of Texas to control and operate its public schools, and which activities may result in serious disturbance of the public peace, to register and report certain information upon the request of the County Superintendent or the County Judge." (Section 1)

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

The Act also provides that any organization operating or functioning within any county of Texas, upon the request of the County Superintendent or County Judge, must file with the County Clerk's office, within seven days after such request, information regarding its name, place of business, names of members, officers, agents, and employees, and the purposes of the organization. If the organization is a subordinate of a parent organization, the latter's name also must be given. (Section 3)

Information filed under Section 3 is declared public and subject to the inspection of any interested party. (Section 4)

Violations are declared to be misdemeanors punishable by fines between $50 and $200, each day of violation constituting a separate offense. (Section 5)

This Act differs from the three preceding acts in one important respect. The other three laws contain a description of certain types of organizations and require organizations falling under such description to register without waiting for a specific request from a state agency to do so. In contrast, the Texas law does not require any organization to register automatically but makes such obligation dependent on a request by the County Superintendent or the County Judge.

It is important to note that Section 3 of the Act, setting forth the obligation to register on request by the county official does not in any way spell out the type of organizations subject to such duty. According to that section, "any organization" operating or functioning within the state may be required to register.

Read by itself Section 3 would leave it in the uncontrolled discretion of the County Superintendent or County Judge which organization would have to submit and, in effect, publish information as required in the Act. Such a blanket delegation to a county official with no standards established by the Legislature for the exercise of the function would be obviously unconstitutional as a violation of the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.

It may therefore be expected that Section 1 of the Act, which in its declaration of the purpose of the Act, describes those types of organizations in which the Act is interested, will be read into Section 3. Under such an interpretation the County Superintendent or County Judge will be authorized to require pertinent information only from organizations falling under the description of Section 1. Hence, to save the Act from obvious unconstitutionality, its applicability would have to be limited to organizations "which engage in activities designed to hinder, harass, and interfere with the powers and duties of the State of Texas to control and operate its public schools, and which activities may result in serious disturbance of the public peace."

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It also will be used for the defense of victims of attack by organized medical monopolies.

Labor Leads In Defense Of Rights

(Continued from Page 1)

succeeding AFL-CIO Vice-Pres. James B. Carey, who resigned a few weeks ago.

In accepting the position, Zimmerman pledged that he would devote his best efforts to the chairmanship and called for cooperation of AFL-CIO affiliates.

He has played a leading role in the fight against discrimination. Zimmerman is chairman of the executive board of the labor advisory committee of the New York State Commission Against Discrimination and a member of the New York Mayor's Commission on Inter-Group Relations.

He also is chairman of the Anti-Discrimination Dept. of the Jewish Labor Committee and, a member

Charles S. Zimmerman

of the board of trustees of the National Urban League and of the board of directors of the Legal and Educational Defense Fund of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Zimmerman has been manager of Dress Makers Local 22, ILGWU, since 1933, and vice president of the international union since 1934.

Boris Shishkin, director of the AFL-CIO Department of Civil Rights, explained the procedure that has been set up by the Civil Rights Committee, with the approval of the AFL-CIO Executive Council, to handle complaints of discrimination.

Other subjects discussed included civil rights machinery of national and international unions, civil rights problems of local unions, civil rights committees of state and local central bodies, non-discrimination clauses in collective bargaining agreements; discrimination in hiring, promotion, tenure, job training and apprenticeship.

Also administration of the non-discrimination clause, grievance procedure, the President's Committee on Government Contracts as a means of preventing discrimination, and the use of state and city fair employment practices committees.

NEWS

LABOR-SUPPORTED CIVIL RIGHTS BILL FACES FIGHT

Washington--In testimony before the Senate and House subcommittees considering civil rights legislation, the AFL-CIO stressed labor's concern for the enactment of a meaningful civil rights law. The four-part package which the President has proposed is wholeheartedly supported, but the AFL-CIO program goes beyond the President's recommendations, calling for the passage of a Fair Employment Practices law, an anti-lynch law and the elimination of the poll tax. Nevertheless, President Eisenhower's proposals are considered by labor a "basic minimum" at the present time.

In addition to the AFL-CIO, statements were submitted for the record by many labor organizations. These statements were filed with the committees rather than presented in person, since opponents of civil rights legislation would have welcomed extensive hearings as a delaying tactic.

Walter P. Reuther, President of the UAW and Vice-President of the AFL-CIO, in supporting what he termed was a "stripped down" bill, urged immediate action to bring the measure to the Senate floor if a Southern filibuster is to be defeated. Labor's concern with civil rights was outlined by Earl W. Jimerson and Patrick E. Gorman. According to the Amalgamated Meatcutters and Butcher Workmen officials, discrimination is not only a moral evil but a practical danger to unions and is used to divide workers and drive down the economic gains of all groups. The federal government, they insisted has a rightful and necessary role in assuring the dignity of all its citizens.

The fight for the enactment of civil rights legislation has moved in the House from the Judiciary Committee to the Rules Committee. Representative Howard W. Smith of Virginia, an opponent of the bill, is chairman of the Rules Committee. If the bill is held up, a discharge petition, signed by a majority of 218 members of the House would then be necessary to force the legislation to the floor.

In the Senate, the Sub-Committee on Constitutional Rights approved the President's program, but it is now expected to meet opposition in the Judiciary Committee of the Senate, headed by Senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi. Getting past Eastland will bring the civil rights bill up against one of the strongest filibusters in Senate history.

JLC Labor Reports

N.J. CIO SPONSORS CIVIL RIGHTS CONTEST

Newark--Has your local taken any action to improve human relations? If it has, it may be eligible for an award which will highlight the annual human relations conference of the New Jersey State CIO, Sunday, May 5th in Camden. All New Jersey CIO locals have been invited to the conference, according to Human Relations Director Arthur Chapin.

Local unions interested should submit a statement outlining their accomplishments in 200 words or less to the New Jersey State CIO Human Relations Committee, 772 High Street, Newark, New Jersey, by April 15th.

JLC Labor Reports

FEATURE

THE LIFE YOU ENSLAVE MAY BE YOUR OWN!

By Alton Levy

Wanna wreck your union
 A very easy way?
Wanna ruin your standards
 And your rates of pay?
Wanna help the bosses
 Wipe out all your gains?
It's really very simple;
 And it will not tax your brains.

Hitler set the pattern,
 Mussolini, too.
The KKK is in the act;
 They've got some gimmicks new.

Fight, in places where you work,
 With others on the job,
And if you do not like their looks -
 Just organize a mob!

Then beat them up, or call them names,
 Or start a wildcat strike
And say you will not work with men
 Whose names you do not like.

The first thing that will happen
 (This will cause you real elation);
You'll make your union guilty
 Of a contract violation.

This will make the bosses happy
 (They've been looking for a wedge),
And when dealing with the union
 They are bound to have the edge.

Be sure that you don't weaken,
 That you really follow through.
Don't work beside a Catholic,
 Or a Negro or a Jew.

Don't let them talk you out of it,
 Stand firm and speak your mind;
And make it clear you will not work
 With any but your kind.

Don't work with Poles, don't work with Czechs,
 For it's so plain to see;
No real American has a name
 That ends with "witz" or "ski."

Stir trouble up for long enough -
 Perhaps another year -
And you're sure to help the bosses
 Bounce the union on its ear.

Then you can be real free again
 To do just as you please;
But remember this when crawling
 To the bosses on your knees:

<u>You</u> went ahead and took the step!
 <u>You</u> had those hate seeds sown!
How just the life you helped enslave
 Turned out to be your own!

JLC Labor Reports

PAGINATION INCORRECT

March 11, 1957

Mr. George Weaver
Executive Secretary
AFL-CIO Civil Rights Committee
AFL-CIO Building
815 - 16th Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Brother Weaver:

The Atlanta taxis are rigidly segregated; cabs with white drivers take only white passengers, and Negro drivers take only Negro passengers. Sometimes white drivers do not seem to know where Atlanta University is, but are not unwilling to take you there. One route to Atlanta University is to go out Hunter Street to Chestnut Street.

The address of the Administration Building where we will be meeting is 223 Chestnut Street.

We are happy that you will be with us and look forward to a good conference.

I do not think you will have any difficulty in getting to the University, but don't hesitate to call the Council's office (JAckson 2-8764) if you do.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:mm

Attached letter forwarded to:

Earl Henderson
Tom Murray
John Powderly
James E. Wolfe
Julius Fry
E. R. Williamson
Charles Jones
George Berry
Al Hartnett
Ben Segal
Henry Wilson
Paul Ward
Henry T. Wilson
George Weaver
Ken Peterson
Bill Oliver
Jim Turner
Francis Shane
B. F. McLaurin
Julius Frazier

All sessions:

Conference Room
Atlanta University
223 Chestnut Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dormitory accomodations:

Atlanta University Dormitory
50 Chestnut Street

The schedule of meetings is as follows:

Wednesday, March 13, 1957

4:30 P.M. - General Orientation Session

6:00 P.M. - Dinner

7:30 P.M. - Discussion of "The South: Problems and Prospects," led by Harold C. Fleming, Director of Southern Regional Council

Thursday, March 14, 1957

7:30 A.M. - Breakfast

9:00 A.M. - General Session - Discussion of "Hate Groups - Race Relations Patterns in Southern Unions," Emory F. Via

12:30 P.M. - Lunch

1:30 P.M. - General Session

Summary of Conference: Ben Segal, Trade Union Consultant, Fund for the Republic

4:30 P.M. - Close of Conference

SRC Labor Conference - 3/13-14/57

Literature sold at SRC Labor Conference:

(1) 7 copies, Integration North & South, @ .40¢ - - - - $2.80

(2) 4 copies, Next Steps, @ .20¢ - - - - - - - - - - - - - .80

$3.60

NOTE: 1 copy Integration North & South missing;
17 copies Next Steps missing.

Free literature taken by conferees:

7 copies	What's Happening in School Integration?
12 copies	Pro-Segregation Groups in the South
13 copies	The South of Promise
11 copies	State Summary of Recent Segregation Laws
26 copies	Mimeographed list of state affiliates
22 copies	The South & the Supreme Court's School Decisions

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL LABOR CONFERENCE
March 13, 14, 1957
Atlanta University

Not For Publication

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Southeastern Regional Office
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Atlanta, Georgia

(1)

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TWUA
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(2)

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UAW
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Atlanta, Georgia

Earl H. Henderson
Field Representative
UAW
526 St. Paul Place
Baltimore, Maryland

Charles Jones
Minister
Community Church
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

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Representative
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J. C. McFarlin
Secretary-Treasurer, Atlanta Division
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
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Atlanta, Georgia

9375
JA 2 ~~9395~~

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Nat.

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Director of Special Services
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Municipal Employees
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Madison 1, Wisconsin
Nat.

James E. Wolfe
Director, Research and Education
United Brewery Workers
2347 Vine Street
Cincinnati, Ohio
Nat.

SRC Labor Conference
March 13-14

Letters of invitation forwarded to:

(1) Charles H. Gillman, Director, AFL-CIO Region 6, Atlanta, Georgia

(2) George Gill, Director, District 3, CWA, Atlanta, Georgia
(Union board meeting requiring attendance scheduled on same dates)

*(3) Earl Henderson, UAW Employment Practices Representative, Baltimore, Md.

(4) Carey E. Haigler, Director AFL-CIO Region 5, Charlotte, N.C.
(Press of business prevented attendance)

(5) Paul R. Christopher, Director, AFL-CIO Region 8, Knoxville, Tennessee
(Death in family prevented attendance)

*(6) Nick Bonanno, ILGWU, (Special Assistant, Southern Regional Office, Atlanta, Ga.

*(7) Al Kehrer, Southeast Regional Director, ILGWU, Atlanta, Georgia

(8) Eric Polisar, ACWA, Atlanta, Georgia

(9) Ray Nixon, URWA, Atlanta, Georgia
(in negotiations)

*(10) Lorne H. Nelles, Director, District 35, USWA, Atlanta, Georgia

(11) John Bateman, Assistant Regional Director, UAW, Atlanta, Georgia

(12) Dial Murphy, Regional Director, District 9, OCAWIU, Knoxville, Tenn.
(Emergency union matter required cancellation.)

(13) E. C. Pippin, Alabama Legislative Representative, AFL-CIO, Montgomery, Ala.
(Sent regrets.)

(14) Jarvis Baughman, IWWA, Atlanta, Georgia

(15) Joe Jacobs, UTWA, Atlanta, Georgia

(16) W. T. Archer, LWIU, Atlanta, Georgia

(17) Howard D. Walton, President, Florida State IUC, Miami, Florida
(Heavy schedule of other meetings prohibits attendance)

~~(18) E. H. Williams, Director, AFL-CIO Region 7, New Orleans, La.~~

~~(19) Oliver Singleton, Acting Director, AFL-CIO Region 4, Baltimore, Md.~~

~~(20) Larry Regin, TWUA, Charlotte, N.C.~~

(21) Wilbur Hobby, Editor, Durham Labor Journal, Durham, N.C.

*(22) E. R. Williamson, Area Director, COPE Area No. 3, Durham, N.C.

(23) Jackson Curry, AFHW, Greensboro, N.C.

(24) Forrest H. Craig, Pasadena, Texas

(25) H. J. McClain, LaMarque, Texas

(26) David Herman, President, Local #6, Hotel & Restaurant Workers Employees Union, New York City
(Out of town - unable to attend.)

(27) Thomas W. Culpepper, President, Atlanta Division, Sleeping Car Porters, Atlanta, Georgia
(Will be out of town.)

*(28) Mr. J. C. McFarlin, Secretary-Treasurer, Atlanta Division, Sleeping Car Porters, Atlanta, Georgia

*(29) Rev. Charles Jones, Community Church, Chapel Hill, N.C.

(30) James Carey, President, IUE, Washington, D.C.
(Sent representative)

*(31) Julius Fry, Representative, TWUA, High Point, North Carolina

*Indicates attendance at conference.

Notes on statements and observations made by
Julius Fry, TWUA, at SRC Labor Conference, March 14.

(a summary - not exact quotations)

Mr. Fry observed that the structure of the union itself is an important consideration - the two levels of the international and the lower, local level. The failure of the local union guy, who is willing to agree with the popular trend, compromises the principles of the international union. It should be gotten across that such individuals must be converted or replaced.

The TWUA went on record as favoring school desegregation and opposing the White Citizens Council; however, at the last convention, staff people - including Northerners - fought the resolution. They professed privately to favor it, but joined the parade of opposition. Mr. Fry personally was almost crucified for his stand (favoring the resolution), but he did not vary, and used as an argument the tactic that the real aim of pro-segregationists is to destroy the union.

It is Mr. Fry's opinion that the international union should be in close contact with staff members and, either through conversion or replacement, see that policy in regard to desegregation and anti-discrimination is carried out. The international should make a special effort to educate or replace. It must be recognized that sometimes you have to keep your mouth shut to avoid being kicked out. The idea of working with the employer is good, when he's on the side of union policy, although this is impossible with most in the textile industry in the case of civil rights.

Recently the activities of DUPEC (Durham United Political Education Committee) influenced some of TWUA's best local people to demand an explanation of Fry's statements (again favoring the TWUA resolution favoring desegregation). Hate organizations had been actively propogandizing the locals. Mr. Fry turned

the union tie into an advantage by giving a good union reason - the union could not afford to be a laughing stock. He also used the approach that this country is a melting pot of many races. He did not waver in his views and perhaps caused opponents to think. Although he states that he knows little about formal programs, he personally takes advantage of every little opportunity to promote thinking which will perhaps convert pro-segregationists into agreement with TWUA's stated policy favoring desegregation.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

HAROLD C. FLEMING
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

April 1, 1957

I am very glad that you were able to attend the labor conference called by the Southern Regional Council on March 13th and 14th. Enclosed is a summary of some of the things that were said during the course of this meeting and a list of the participants.

You will recall that this was an off-the-record meeting and the reports of the sessions are being treated as confidential. In the summary, we have consciously refrained from attributing comments by name to any persons other than members of our staff and Ben Segal.

Informal committees were named at the close of the conference which could meet with Ben Segal in Washington and with me in Atlanta to discuss follow-up activities.

I hope that you will begin to send me clips and available reports regarding race relations, hate group activity, trouble spots, and success stories as an aid in continuing to develop an overall picture of what is happening in race relations that affect unions in the South.

In the near future we will send you a copy of a special report which will detail the treatment given to unions in the publications of the pro-segregation groups.

You are welcome to call upon me and the facilities of the Southern Regional Council if there is any way in which we can be of service to you. I look forward to seeing you personally again soon and to having an opportunity to work further with you.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:mm
Enclosures

Confidential: Not for Publication

Summary of Southern Regional Council's Labor Conference

The conference was called to provide an opportunity for selected Southern labor leadership and representatives of national unions with specific interests in civil rights and race relations to meet and to discuss the problems that unions face in the field of race relations, to receive basic information on the current Southern scene, and to exchange information which would be helpful in meeting the problems discussed. This was not a policy-making or official union conference. The conference was called by the Southern Regional Council in close cooperation with Ben Segal, Trade Union Consultant for the Fund for the Republic.

Harold Fleming, Director of the Council, described the interests, organization, and general approach of the Southern Regional Council in working toward a desegregated and democratic society in the South. The Council is composed of Southerners, is not doctrinaire, and is not a litigating body. It recognizes the validity of the use of the courts in securing the rights of all people. The Council uses the methods of education, research, consultation, and public information.

The advances made in the rights of Negroes since War II were detailed; these included the expansion of the right to vote, ending segregation on interstate transportation, and desegregation of the armed forces. These and other steps were made prior to the Supreme Court's Decision on school desegregation. That decision was a momentous one and the nature of the problem faced by Southerners was changed. However, Fleming does not accept the view that racial relations have been set back. On the contrary, the legal rights of Negroes are more clearly understood and the framework has been set wherein people of good will can work for increased understanding and democratic practice in all areas of life.

The relationship between historical forces, economic conditions, and political facts of life was discussed. Often those who favor maintaining segregation in all its forms are supporting a way of life which benefits a favored few rather than the whole population. One of the results of this way of life is outdated political systems, and it largely explains die-hard opposition to union organization.

Too often our attention has been captured by bad relations and violence; the press, and others, have tended to underplay the solid gains that have been achieved peacefully in many Southern and border-state communities. For instance, numerous counties and school districts have desegregated schools in Texas, Arkansas, Maryland, Kentucky, Delaware, and West Virginia. Bus desegregation has taken place in some twenty-four cities in Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Alabama, Tennessee, Arkansas, and Texas. The myth that desegregation will not work is being disproved by the facts, and social change has proved not to be as drastic as the myth-makers would have it.

The discussion explored what unions could do with community groups and the Council toward building fresh attitudes in the current situation. The problem of coordinating the interest and efforts of unions with the efforts of the Council was raised. Such specific problems were raised as those unions and staff persons who say that there is no problem regarding race relations (especially in locals that have few or no Negro members), the fear of speaking out even moderately on the rights of others, the fact that race relations and the possibilities of action differ from community to community, union to union, and industry to industry (but usually no generality about an industry, a union, or a community will hold true), and the difficulty in getting like-minded persons in unions and in the community together.

In the Thursday morning session Paul Anthony of the Southern Regional Council's staff opened a discussion on the role of pro-segregation groups. These groups are quite active, and have substantial financial resources. It is estimated that they have about 300,000 members. The literature of the hate groups is widespread and far exceeds, in volume, that of the groups working toward desegregation. Much of this literature furnishes us with examples of the basic anti-union position of these groups. Although some of the current dissensions among the hate group leadership was viewed as a hopeful sign, it was pointed out that most of the White Citizen Councils were conducting real membership drives and attempting to get new chapter organizations. Anthony stated that few things pleased the hate groups more than to know that Southern unions remained quiet on matters regarding racial relations, since this was proof of hate group success, and confirmation of the effectiveness of the divide and conquer technique in separating locals from nationals on matters of major policy.

Emory Via reported statements by White Citizen Council leaders indicating the closeness of their position to that of fanatical action, which tends to puncture the myth that these movements are respectable. The efforts of such groups to infiltrate unions were discussed, with specific attention being given to those attempting to organize competing labor unions. The activities and anti-union position of the United Southern Employees Association in North and South Carolina were mentioned. The strongly pro-segregationist political organization, the Durham United Political Education Committee, was cited as a group which had worked actively to divide labor and raise racial questions in political campaigns as well as within unions. The activities in Alabama and Tennessee toward a Southern labor movement were considered ineffective in splitting off membership or local unions from the main stream of organized labor. However, such moves have caused racial issues to be debated heatedly in some areas. Ben Segal introduced

copies of letters and news clips to show that some North and South Carolina employers have used the race issue in the attempt to defeat organizing campaigns. Of particular interest here was the fact that in five or six different campaigns in the textile and hosiery industries, the same wording was used.

Frank discussions revealed that there is no uniformity of approach in handling racial questions, that some staff men attempt to dodge the issue at almost any cost, that there is a lack of firmness in accepting the policies of international unions regarding discrimination, and that there is a major lack of information on the part of many staff men regarding the following points: (a) how to meet racial propaganda when it is raised in the union; (b) the status of desegregation moves in the South today; (c) the historical, political, and economic background of segregation and their relevance to the present situation; (d) the relation of hate groups to anti-union forces in the South; (e) the basic arguments and techniques that are useful in meeting questions and dissensions within locals and from members regarding racial questions.

The importance of the rapid industrialization of the South and the factors that would lead employers to hire increasing numbers of Negroes and in new job classifications was discussed. In the short run, the government contracts provisions and the work of organizations interested in job opportunities for Negroes will lead to the change in many patterns; in the long run, an increasing number of the needed skills will be spread broadly throughout the whole population and the supply of all-white labor will be exhausted so that there will be an even greater economic necessity for making fuller use of the pool of Negro labor. Also, instances were cited where new industry hesitated to move into areas of racial unrest.

It was recognized that the survival and success of the labor movement in the South was intimately tied to a proper handling of racial issues. It is impossible to separate at all times racial issues in the community from those that affect

unions most directly. This may mean that locals and other union bodies will have to decide how to relate themselves to organizations at work on the problems of desegregation, and what position they will take on such community matters. Other interested groups and individuals could be of help when the union is faced with a racial problem.

Repeated emphasis was placed on the importance of the service representative in these matters. It was agreed that more training was needed in human relations, that clearer policy lines should be established, not just in the form of national pronouncements, but especially in terms of operational policy. Understanding how these issues affect the whole effort of labor now, and in the future, is imperative. Staff men need a chance to learn how to operate in this field and to know where they stand in regard to policy, and support from regional and national offices.

In the closing session of the conference, the following points were brought out in summaries by Emory Via and Ben Segal:

1. A first key in handling racial issues is the staff man; he needs a more fundamental orientation to the total Southern picture, facts about desegregation and the law, training in handling members and locals when racial issues arise, information and assistance in developing a "core group" of unionists who understand the issues and know that they must be handled well if the union is to succeed. Certainly, most staff men are already burdened with duties, but racial questions are a fundamental part of unionism in the South and cannot be avoided. Conferences, institutes, and special staff meetings were urged as ways to begin to meet these problems.

2. A "core group" must be developed within locals which has information and skills in meeting the problems raised by membership.

3. There is a continuing need for information and publications. More facts on the operation of hate groups is needed. Information on the successful handling of racial problems in other locals would be useful -- in some instances care must be exercised to protect the group which made the "success story." Facts are needed on industrial development and what it means to employment patterns, etc. More information is needed regarding current patterns of race relations and discrimination in unions and in industry; clearly there is a great variety of patterns in most localities and many of them demonstrate successful integration on the job and in the union.

Needed on this information front: (a) channeling reports of trouble spots, hate group activity, success stories, and general racial patterns through a central agency which can then see that interested unions are informed as to what is happening (Southern Regional Council was mentioned as such a central agency); (b) publicity pieces useful in the South, perhaps being issued jointly by the unions in the area.

4. A series of conferences and institutes should be held on a regional and/or sub-regional basis to give more intensive training to those who can make best use of it. A continuation of the regional conference such as this one.

5. Sessions on human relations, general Southern conditions, and the role of hate groups should be included in summer institutes and other educational programs. Charlie Jones, Ben Segal, and Emory Via are available for such sessions. There are resource people who can handle any level of membership, or any approach to the racial problems - such as legal, moral, economic necessity, historical implications, and the straight union arguments for unity and non-discrimination.

6. Unions should increase their contact with community resources interested in desegregation and the handling of human relations problems. This would include professional agencies in the field, church groups, and competent individuals. A list of the Southern Regional Council's state affiliates was made available, and the SRC's labor consultant will aid unions in making contacts with other Southern groups with similar concerns.

7. Approaches to management are possible. In many instances these approaches will not be made by the union itself. Management's cooperation in reducing racial tensions or in making advances in desegregation can be instrumental in making these changes with a minimum of trouble for union and community. Where the provisions of the government contracts act are invoked, management can be required to desegregate the work force. Management may be responsive to arguments based on economic realities, on moral grounds, and to an appeal not to take actions that would increase racial feeling to the long-run detriment of the community.

8. An interest was expressed in the establishment of a channel of communication and coordination for unions in the South in the handling of problems that bear on race relations. Information exchange, strategy, publicity, and the necessity for developing an overall approach all pointed toward some form of coordination among the various regional offices. On an informal level some of these functions could be aided by use of the Labor Consultant of the Council; the Civil Rights Department of the AFL-CIO was viewed as a possible agency for this work once the machinery is developed.

9. Unions must face the fact that racial issues cannot be dodged; even if our first concern is to organize, and to maintain organizations, there is no escape from facing the responsibility of unions in ending discrimination and finding reasonable answers to the racial problems that face them in the South.

Literature available
Name list attached separately

Cancellations - labor conference

2 Brewery Wks.

Frank Shane, USA - sick

Tom Murray, USA - changed plans

Paul Christopher, AFL-CIO Reg. 8 - Death in family

Ray Nixon, URWA - in negotiations

E. C. Pippin, AFL-CIO Ala. - sent regrets

Dial Murphy, OCAW - Int'l. Chemical Workers

? ~~Lee White CWA - called out of town~~

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

HAROLD C. FLEMING
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

November 26, 1958

MEMORANDUM

To: All State Organizations

From: Fred Routh

Re: Inter-faith Statement

:

Enclosed is a Declaration of Conscience, drafted by the Commission of Social Action of Reform Judaism.

You might consider sending copies of it to clergymen you know in the key cities of your state to see if they think a local group might issue such a statement. Your State Council of Churches (if there is one) might support this.

- : -

A DECLARATION OF CONSCIENCE

We are Christians and Jews. We are laymen and clergymen of many denominations. We live in the South and in the North. We join in a sense of outrage at the recent dynamitings of Houses of God. But we join to express something more than a sense of shock, more than a sadness that these things have happened in our land. We join to give voice to our religious conscience. We wish to declare: These bombs are aimed at all of us. They are aimed at the heart of our democracy. They are aimed at all of our churches and temples. They are aimed at the principles for which religion stands. They seek to blot out the teachings of Moses, Jesus, and Isaiah. The bombs are intended to silence our religious conscious.

But we say this: the bombers, in their frenzy, have sensed a truth -- that the church and the synagogue are the ultimate enemies of evil and hatred. Our faith is built upon the rock of conviction that all men are created equal because they are created in the imgae of God. The hate-mongers may blow up our churches and our temples, one by one, but the rock will remain. They may burn the Bible and the prayerbooks, but the flame within cannot be quenched. Nor will they silence us. They will not stifle the spirit of free men. We will join hands and lift up our voices until peace will reign in the land and justice will flow as a mighty stream. And God will bless the work of our hands.

- : -

MEMORANDUM October 26, 1959

To: Les Dunbar
From: Paul Rilling

Re: CRISIS IN NORFOLK Report

I have read the Norfolk manuscript and will be happy to discuss it with you in detail. I have two immediate general reactions: 1.) I feel that the article is well written, accurate, and a work that should be of some value for persons and communities facing the same situation across the South in future years. 2.) I think the work is too long and should be cut, not by deleting whole sections, necessarily, but by working on sections and paragraphs with the blue pencil. I think this can be done fairly easily and would be glad to help in the operation if needed.

I do think that the entire section entitled "Grapevine," pp. 53-56, could be deleted with no particular loss to the work.

I believe Chapter 2 beginning with page 7 could be cut somewhat, also the section dealing with the Navy, pp. 25-29, and the section on the Referendum, pp. 40-46.

I think the entire series of paragraphs on the "annexation territory" could be cut. (beginning p. 51)

I believe the lack of response of the business community is important and should clearly shine through. I agree that some of the repetitive editorializing on this matter should be cut or changed.

In my way of thinking, there is too strong an emphasis on the Public School Committee, but there is little we can do about this. The author was warned about this danger, and did not begin this work with any preconceived idea; it apparently grew out of her research for the article.

I believe the discussion of the contact between the new school board member and Superintendent Brewbaker concerning the NEA is not particularly helpful or necessary, P. 73, and could be cut.

I agree with the pencilled notation on the article on page 13, suggesting that the mention of the role of the NCPS in connection with the court suit be rewritten. I would also rewrite the paragraph on page 34 concerning the public announcement of the Committee of 100. I believe the treatment of this subject to be unnecessarily negative and not representative of the thinking of most of the public school leaders who were thankful for the announcement, however belated.

PMR/sm

MEMORANDUM November 17, 1959

To: Harold Fleming
From: Paul Rilling

Re: Considerations for foundation support

Here are some of the ideas, vague and specific, which I threw out last night concerning possible foundation support in the human relations field. I reduce it to writing because of the obviously fuzzy state of your retentive powers at the time.

1. Support for the Washington Fellowship House. This is a well organized, well programmed and ably supervised operation, functioning on a shoestring. It serves a neighborhood, biracial constituency. It also carries on city-wide programming in inter-personal and inter-group relations. David Scull is the past president of this organization.

2. I believe that some effort should be made to channel significant foundation funds into an intensive drive for Negro registration and voting. This is clearly one of the major needs. I don't know through what channels such funds could go, but the need is such that we should find out as quickly as possible. I will explore the possibility forthwith.

3. In our discussion of effective agencies in need of further financing, we did not include the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. I think we have agreed that this is a strategic group with considerable potential.

4. This is a wild one. We have touched on it from time to time. That is the possibility of major funds channeled into a series of top quality TV films or documentaries which could be used on a network basis or be made available to stations or networks across the South and throughout the nation. I think subject matter available would lend itself to such an effort. I really have no idea of the feasibility so far as financing or promotion are concerned.

Concerning possible staff personnel for the foundation, you have thought of Frank Loescher, of course. Other thoughts: Ken Moreland, Tartt Bell, Will Campbell, Jim Brewer, Nate Perlmutter.

MEMORANDUM December 8, 1959

To: Harold Fleming
From: Paul Rilling

Re: Suggestions for Progressive Magazine

1. J. L. Blair Buck and the Virginia Committee for Public Schools.

2. Mrs. Joseph Brewer and the Women's Emergency Committee of Little Rock.

3. The Rev. L. F. Griffin and the Prince Edward County Christian Association.

4. The Rev. Carlos E. Martin, Pine Bluff, Arkansas, who has been under heavy fire for his constructive attitude during the school crisis there. He has preached against an atmosphere of hatred and bitterness, etc.

5. Ira F. Willard, city manager of Miami who quietly ordered recreational facilities of Miami desegregated because "that is the law."

6. The Rev. Robert Hughes, executive director of the Alabama Council on Human Relations, who has been under heavy attack from the Methodist Laymen's Union, a segregationist group, for his activities in behalf of better communication and understanding between the races in Alabama. He has had a cross or two burned in fromt of his home this year. He was responsible for the organization of a state-wide interracial ministerial association.

7. Mr. Ellis James and the other white children who were litigants in the case of James vs. Almond in Norfolk, Virginia. This case, brought by white students and parents forced the reopening of the closed schools in Norfolk, Charlottesville, and Front Royal, Virginia, and caused key massive resistance statutes to be declared unconstitutional by the federal courts.

MEMORANDUM December 10, 1959

To: John Constable
From: Paul Rilling

I think it might be a good idea to have some coverage in New South concerning the situations in Prince Edward County, Virginia and in Burnsville, North Carolina. In both cases, there are Negro children receiving no schooling, or emergency schooling.

I am enclosing a memorandum on the Burnsville situation. We will shortly have more complete details on Prince Edward.

Enc.

1959 Memo - Gen file

MEMORANDUM December 14, 1959

To: Harold Fleming
From: Paul Rilling

Re: Foundation assistance for the Washington Fellowship House

Let me urge you to suggest to some of your foundation contacts the possibility of assistance to the Washington Fellowship House during 1960. The Fellowship is in acute need of financial support at the present time. Their operating budget is $13,000 per year and the staff salaries are now three months in arrears. In addition to this ongoing staff and program effort the Fellowship is currently in the process of buying the building which they presently occupy. They must buy or lose the building altogether. They are seeking $50,000 for house purchase and improvement fund. Dave Scull is chairman of the house purchase committee. Fellowship members have already contributed $5,000 and have pledged an additional $10,000 over the next three years towards the purchase of the house.

The Fellowship carries on a fairly ambitious program under the direction of Miss Joan Ohrenstein, a dedicated and capable inter-group relations worker. The program includes week-end work camps, a Fellowship choir, a children's program, regular dinner meetings, discussion and study groups, and a wide variety of informal contacts and small groups. Much of this effort is devoted to trying to bridge the increasing gulf between the colored population of the central city and the large lily-white suburbs. The Fellowship is virtually the only agency carrying forward a local and neighborhood program in Washington aiming at improving inter-group relations.

The Fellowship is tax exempt. Although the program grew out of a Quaker concern the Fellowship has no relationship with the Friends Service Committee. The local Friends Meeting does participate in sponsoring week-end work camps but is not able to give financial help to any substantial degree. I ~~have~~ met with several of the discussion groups of the Fellowship during the time I was in Virginia and have seen several of the program activities in operation. I am convinced that the Fellowship is making a valuable contribution to the local scene and that more good could be accomplished if increased financial aid could be obtained. I am anxious that we make what contribution we can in this direction. Let me know if you need more specific budget or program information, testimonials from persons in Washington, or what.

MEMORANDUM December 18, 1959

To: John Constable
From: Paul Rilling

Has Waring's temporizing statement on the acceptance of some token desegregation been reprinted yet in the New South? If not, it would seem to me well worth publication in view of his reputation as a die-hard.

MEMORANDUM December 18, 1959

To: Harold Fleming
From: Paul Rilling

Re: the Alabama Council on Human Relations

I noted the following things at a recent Board Workshop at the ACHR:

1. The finances of the Alabama Council are in reasonably good shape considering. They have just begun to dig into the money set aside last summer as a reserve fund for the 1960 operation. The board and the director seem to have a clear understanding of their financial status and are taking logical steps to improve their situation.

2. There are now ten local groups connected with the Alabama Council, an increase of five over last summer. For the first time, Alabama is now geographically covered by a network of local and district organizations of the ACHR. Membership remains constant at about 500.

3. Morale of the Council leadership is reasonably good although some of the more "moderate" members of the state board, including Duncan Hunter, have virtually ceased attendance at board meetings or involvement in program activities.

4. A considerable sense of frustration was expressed by a number of board members and by the director. A number of fairly discouraging questions were raised, such as "What are we really accomplishing?", "Are we doing anything worth the conflict and sacrifice sometimes involved?", "Aren't we simply talking to the same people over and over again?", etc.

Bob himself seems to be somewhat tired and discouraged, although he does not show it in his program activities.

5. The group is rather excited about Father Foley's bold new plan for an educational effort. As soon as it is reworked and boiled down, they will push it hard. They will need help or advice from you as to where to try to sell the idea.

PR's original draft in Texas Dept file.

MEMORANDUM December 18, 1959

To: Harold Fleming
From: Paul Rilling

Re: Recent Relationship of Texas Council on Human Relations and the Southern Regional Council.

This is in response to your request for a memorandum summarizing the relationship between the Texas Council and the Southern Regional Council from 1957 to date. It should be noted that I was not with the Southern Regional Council during most of this period and that consequently this information has come from the files.

1. The fiscal year of 1957-58 was the last year in which the Texas Council received a full grant comparable to that allocated to other state councils during these years.

2. On July 12, 1957, Mrs. Crate, as president of the Texas Council, submitted a request for financial aid during the fiscal year of 1957-58 in the amount of $4,873.33.

3. During the period of August 20-22, 1957, Fred Routh, Assistant Director and Dr. C. H. Parrish, Program Associate, of the Southern Regional Council held conversations with Texas Council leadership in Houston concerning the program of the Texas Council and the request for financial assistance during 1957-58.

4. On August 26, 1957, a memorandum from Dr. Parrish was sent to Mrs. Crate and to Edwin G. Kloppe, Executive Director of the Texas Council. This memorandum stated that, in order to qualify for financial assistance from the Southern Regional Council, the Texas Council was requested to redirect its program emphasis. It said in part: "... the proposal is that the Texas Council on Human Relations amend its request to the Southern Regional Council for a grant-in-aid to include a greater concentration on the major cities of Texas in the manner herein described. 'In the several conversations with Mrs. Crate, considerable time was given to an explanation of the change in relationship between the Southern Regional Council and its state affiliates. I tried to make it clear that no funds were now available to any state merely to carry on a program such as it had carried on in the past....'"

5. On the basis of the new program emphasis concentrating on urban centers of Texas and primarily on Dallas, the Southern Regional Council allocated the sum of $2,500 to the Texas Council for the fiscal year 1957-58. Mrs. Crate was notified of this allocation as of

October 18, 1957. Although the first quarterly grant of $625 was made available to the Texas Council in the fall of 1957, the balance of the $2,500 allocation was forfeited by the failure of the Texas Council to submit the required quarterly program and financial reports during 1958.

6. In the late summer of 1958, SRC began to consider financial aid to state councils for 1959. In a letter to Mrs. Crate, dated July 24, 1958, Fred Routh stated, "If the Texas Council should devise a program or project that would fall within the scope of SRC's current plan of assistance to state groups, I hope you will feel free to submit it to us in detail for consideration by our staff and executive committee...."

On August 25, Fred wrote again to Mrs. Crate, "Should the Texas Council decide to crank up within SRC's framework, we would consider a request for further financial assistance to the Texas Council."

7. The board of directors of the Texas Council did not submit a request for financial assistance in 1959. However, Fred Routh consulted with Ed Kloppe by telephone, learned that Ed had taken a fairly full teaching load at the University of Texas and that he would be available only about one-fourth time for council work. Upon Fred's recommendation, the SRC Board approved an allocation of $600 to the Texas Council for 1959. In a letter to Ed Kloppe, dated November 14, 1958, Fred wrote, "The $600 figure for Texas is based upon your estimate of one-fourth time work which we talked about on the telephone, and because other agencies will be contributing to the special Houston effort." It was apparently understood that the $600 could be claimed by the Texas Council if it was decided to use it for part-time salary for Ed Kloppe or other special program purposes.

8. On April 1, 1959, Ed Kloppe wrote to Fred indicating that he was now working full-time at the University of Texas, and that he was no longer working as a staff employee of the Texas Council in more than name. He suggested that the $600 set aside for the Texas Council might be made available to a new organisational effort known as the Houston Council on Human Relations.

9. Following a survey of the Houston possibilities by Mrs. Bonita Valien and a subsequent trip to Houston by me in late July, Mrs. Crate wrote to Harold Fleming on August 7, 1959, "If Mr. Rilling's report meets with your approval, and as he told the group, it is up to me to request the $600 be given to the Houston Council on Human Relations, please consider this as my request for this action."

The $600 set aside for the Texas Council for 1959 was not claimed by the state group and at Mrs. Crate's request of August 7, was made available to the Houston Council.

10. On September 2, 1959, a memorandum was circulated to all state councils inviting their applications for financial aid for the calendar year of 1960. The Texas Council on Human Relations did not respond to this memorandum, nor did the Texas Council give any other indication of a desire to qualify for such assistance prior to Mr. Shaw's comments at the recent Annual Board Meeting of the Southern Regional Council.

MEMORANDUM October 22, 1959

To: Harold Fleming
From: Paul Rilling
Re: Eliza Paschall

I believe that the idea of Eliza Paschall for the directorship of the Georgia Council merits serious consideration.

Actually, you would probably be in a better position to evaluate her potential for this job than I.

On the one hand, she is well known in the state, has respectable status, has had useful experience with the League of Women Voters, and is conscientious and dedicated. On the other hand, she has not had professional orientation in this field and I have no way of evaluating the scope of her understanding of subject matter or strategy. I would expect her to be a good organizer and administrator, but how effective would she be in program initiation and advice?

There was some criticism of her work as president of the Georgia League of Women Voters by Frances Paulley and others. Of course, Frances can always find something critical to say about everyone.

December 23, 1959

MEMORANDUM

To: Ruth Alexander
From: Paul Rilling

Re: January Installments of Grant-In-Aid

The following states are entitled to their next quarterly grant-in-aid payments: Virginia, Georgia, Kentucky, and North Carolina.

MEMORANDUM December 29, 1959

To: Les Dunbar
From: Paul Rilling

Re: LWD Memo of December 22

I doubt that SRC can do much in the way of drafting a program responding to crisis situations in Atlanta, Dallas, Houston, New Orleans, etc. I don't think we have sufficient levers in these local situations, with the exception of Atlanta, to play much of a role in the drafting of local strategy or the preparation of specific materials for local use. I think our major contribution must continue to be our overall on-going program, with resource assistance to whatever groups or strategy emerges from local liberal and moderate leadership.

I do recommend the preparation of fairly extensive background reports on these cities after the fashion of those issued on Norfolk and Charlottesville in the past. Such reports could be useful to human relations agencies and perhaps to the press as well as to us. They could contain your breakdown of favorable and unfavorable factors.

MEMORANDUM January 27, 1960

To: SRC Staff
From: Paul Rilling

Re: State Staff Meeting and Dinner

The State Staff Meeting will be held in our Board Room on February 10 and 11. We are anxious that the state staff have the opportunity of knowing our staff better and vice versa. We are, therefore, planning a dinner for Wednesday, February 10, at 7:00 p.m. in Bumstead Hall of Atlanta University.

We do feel that this is important from the standpoing of closer cooperation between state groups and our office, and hope each of you will be able to come. Husbands and wives are invited. SRC foots the bill.

Please indicate below whether you will be able to attend. (and number, if more than one.)

MF
HF
PA
PR
SM
MA
RA
MET
LWD
JC
LC
BC
EW
MM
WF

MEMORANDUM January 28, 1960

TO: Ruth Alexander
FROM: Paul Rilling

Re: Special Allocation for State Groups

Please draw checks for the following amounts out of the special funds for state groups from the individual donor.

✓ 1. Alabama - $1,500

2. Arkansas - $1,000

3. Georgia - $750

4. Kentucky - $500

2/25 ✓ 5. North Carolina - $1,500

✓ 6. South Carolina - $1,500

2/24 ✓ 7. Virginia - $1,500

8. Ala. —

9. Tennessee —

February 9, 1960

HF PR

Staff Meetings

I am somewhat disturbed about the general nature of our staff meetings. The idea of sharing with all involved is a good one, but somehow it often seems to bog down in desultory and random discussions which consume a great deal of time and achieve very little.

I really have no very specific constructive ideas on how to improve our staff meetings. Perhaps it would be well to convene them only when we have some specific ideas of general interest. Perhaps a clearly defined time limit would be useful. Perhaps it would be well for PA to check with various staff members and even pull together an informal agenda.

Probably one of my problems is that I don't myself know how to contribute very constructively to the staff meetings. There seems little point in simply reporting and there are not many aspects of my work which would seem to require general staff discussion.

Feb. 18, 1960

Ruth Alexander Paul Rilling

Money

Bill Williams arrived early for the state staff meeting and as a result incurred a downtown hotel bill and a breakfast. He did not put this on his expense account because he did not feel entitled to it having failed to make advance arrangements at A.U. I believe we should honor it and would therefore suggest that you send him a check for

$3.61 -- $3.09 - hotel
.52 - breakfast

February 18, 1960

RHA PR

I am attaching ticket to New York and return for the recent trip I made in behalf of the national YWCA. I charged the ticket to my credit card, but have submitted an expense account directly to them. I believe that the plane bill will be approximately $100 since I returned on a tourist flight. Let me know exactly when you get the bill.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

MEMORANDUM March 18, 1960

To: State Directors of Georgia, Florida, Tennessee, and Arkansas Councils on Human Relations

From: Paul Rilling

Re: Tax-exemption

As discussed at our recent state staff meeting, Mr. Joseph Haas, counsel for SRC, has requested from the Internal Revenue Service in Washington a clarification of their statement which seemingly warns against our financial assistance to non tax-exempt state groups. Although this was done immediately following the state staff meeting, we have received no response to date. Mr. Haas is sending a follow-up letter today.

We feel for the reasons noted at our recent meeting that SRC cannot release any more funds to non tax-exempt state groups until we receive a clear statement of the legal situation from the Internal Revenue Service. At this point, it seems increasingly possible that this matter may not be cleared up by the first of April when your next quarterly grant-in-aid is due. It is highly probable on the other hand that the matter will be clarified by the end of the next quarter, June 31.

You may, therefore, have to operate for one quarter without any assistance from SRC. I would appreciate knowing what this would mean in terms of your operation, what hardship would be involved, whether basic salary commitments could be met, etc. We need this information as soon as possible.

PMR/sm

Individually noted: Miss Louise Young
Dr. Cowart
Bill Williams
Nat Griswold

MEMORANDUM March 24, 1960

To: Louise Young, Bill Williams, Nat Griswold, Dr. Cowart

From: Paul Rilling

We received yesterday an interpretation from the Internal Revenue Service "clarifying" the legality under IRS regulations of further assistance from SRC to non tax-exempt state groups.

We have not yet had an opportunity to give full study to the interpretation or to obtain the opinion of our legal counsel. I know that the matter is of sufficient importance to you that I wanted to pass on the news as soon as possible.

The interpretation says in part, "Contributions made by you to organizations, which have not established an exempt status for Federal income tax purposes, will not jeopardize your exempt status if the contributions are made and used only for one or more of the exempt purposes specified in section 501 (c)(3) of the Code. In such an event, you should use reasonable care in ascertaining that the contributions will be used only for an exempt purpose and that you will be able to substantiate that fact if called upon to do so by the Internal Revenue Service."

This would seem to mean that SRC will be able to continue regular assistance to state council groups even when such groups have not obtained federal tax exempt status.

It may well also mean that we will have to establish some tighter form of review over marginal program activities of state groups so that we may be adequately protected in the case of any state activity that might be considered in violation of Section 501 (c)(3).

We will communicate with you further after consultation with counsel, etc.

March 28, 1960

H. Fleming P. Rilling

Harry Boyte

Thought I had better bring you up to date on Harry Boyte's project to testify before the Sibley Commission officially representing the Atlanta Council. You won't like it.

As we agreed, I called Cowart and emphasised our view concerning the role of the Executive Committee of the Georgia Council or some other responsible group in the decision making process. You talked to Harry the same day, I believe. Although I told Cowart to keep me informed and to call on me if we could be of further help, I heard nothing further.

On Wednesday morning, March 23, Mrs. Knox informed me that Cowart had decided not to convene the executive dommittee, that there had been telephone conversations involving Hollowell and Haas, Boyte and Cowart, and that Harry Boyte was going to make his official presentation at the hearing that day.

Harry did so and made a fine forthright statement. So far as I know, it was authorised by noone. Cowart may have agreed. The Atlanta Council Board may have agreed, but even this I doubt.

Mar. 28, 1960

John Constable PR

Distribution of Norfolk pamphlet

1. Five copies each to state directors other than va.
2. Ten copies to Mrs. Cahn in New Orleans.
3. Ten copies to Jim Noland in Houston.
4. Five copies to HOPE

It is my thought that this pamphlet will be particularly helpful to communities now anticipating this kind of crisis. I think we should look for channels to place it in such communities. Dallas would be another logical spot.

MEMORANDUM March 28, 1960

To: Art Levin

From: Paul Rilling

Harold is out of town and asked me to respond to your memorandum of the 17th concerning treatment of tax-exempt applications of civil rights organizations.

We are reasonably sure that applications for tax-exemption of our state Councils on Human Relations are being handled in a fairly routine fashion and are not meeting any special barriers. Within the past month, state councils in Virginia, Alabama and North Carolina have been granted exemption. Other applications are pending and have received the kind of routine communications that would lead us to presume they were being processed in a routine fashion.

The Georgia Council did run into a small snag in the way of a number of questions concerning some of their stated purposes, etc. They answered these questions and only today received confirmation of their exemption.

We are not aware of other organizations in the civil rights field which are having tax-exemption troubles in the South.

3/30/60

Ruth Alexander Paul Rilling

State monies

Please release regular quarterly grants for Virginia, Georgia, and North Carolina. — also D.C.

As soon as Harold indicated that the tax matter has been resolved, please release the Tennessee quarterly payment.

Also release $750 from special grant to the Georgia Council.

As soon as the tax status is clarified, release also from the special grant $500 to Kentucky and $1,000 to Arkansas

Paul: We owe the state groups the following sums from the special grant

Now

Kentucky -- $500

Georgia $750

Also due as soon as tax clearance comes through:

Arkansas $1,000

March 30, 66

Due in June, if matching funds are raised:

Alabama $1,500

Arkansas 1,000

Florida (2,500 ?)

Georgia 750 , also $3,000 if full-time director secured

North Carolina 1,500

South Carolina 1,500

Tennessee 2,500

Virginia 1,500

April 11, 1960

Les Dunbar

Paul Rilling

Virginia Money

Dan informs me that the printing costs are $729.13. He would appreciate a check from us for half this amount, made out to the Turnpike Press, but mailed to him in Richmond.

April 27, 1960

Lwd PRilling

Sit-ins

I have picked up some sit-in information here and there which you may or may not already have.

1. In frankfort, and ~~Louisville~~ Lexington, Ky. the sit-ins are being directed by CORE which in Frankfort seems to be an all student organization. CORE is recognized as an official campus association at Kentucky State and is in constant contact with Dr. Rufus Atwood, the president of the college. The Mayor of Frankfort has appointed a biracial committee. There have been a series of meetings under the auspices of this commission with the result that four of the stores concerned have opened their lunch counters while 11, including all the national chains, have so far refused to do so. One store, Fitzgerald's , has closed its lunch counter facilities completely and permanently.

2. The Rev. Wyatt Walker in Petersburg states that one or more drug stores near the Virginia State College campus have opened their facilities. An intensive campaign ~~mf~~ is going forward in Petersburg complete with sit-ins, negotiations with merchants, etc.

3. The AFSC tells me that in High Point, N.C. two stores, the Teen-Age Drug Store and the Guilford Dairy have desegregated their facilities, although the only test in the dairy has been interracial groups from AFSC headquarters in High Point. The rest of this information also comes from AFSC.

4. Two drug stores have desegregated in Concord, N.C.

5. The library has been opened at Lenoir, N.C.

6. In Greensboro, three facilities are open. These are Jay's Delicatessen, the North Elm St. Drug Store and another drug store.

April 27, 1960

LWD PR

7. Two major department stores have desegregated ~~xx~~ lunch counters in Baltimore.

8. There have been a new round of consessions in Oklahoma City opening several additional facilities.

April 27, 1960

Harold Fleming Paul Rilling

Recent NSA Conference on Sit-ins

Nearly 500 students attended the recent Washington Conference held at the All Souls Unitarian Church. Approximately 150 of these were "official" delegates, student body presidents or their representatives. The remaining 350 were "observers," in most cases students but without official student government status. There were only four or five white Southerners among the delegate group but a larger sprinkling of them among the observer group. A number of the Negro participants in the sit-in protest movement were on hand as observers and probably 5 to 10 of these were also serving as official delegates.

Only the delegates could participate in discussion and voting during the plenary sessions. The observers were limited to listening to the speeches and were also encouraged to participate in the discussion group meetings out of which the official resolutions came to the floor.

The Friday evening session consisted of nine speeches, from 8 p.m. until midnight. These included two by Southern white students, two by Southern Negro protest leaders, one by a Negro minister active in the protest movement and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, one by a foreign student, two analyses by supposed human relations experts, and the wrap-up speech by a former president of NSA. There were three more speeches by students Saturday morning, primarily reports on Northern campus activities in support of the sit-ins.

Discussion group sessions were scheduled for morning and afternoon on Saturday. Due to time pressures, however, there was only one two-to-two and a half hour discussion group session. There were a large number of discussion groups with from 10 to 20 students in each.

In addition to the speeches and discussion groups Saturday, the session included reports of discussion groups at a plenary session from approximately four until seven and a formal parliamentary session to pass upon resolutions from 8 p.m. until 11 p.m.

April 27, 1960

HF PR

The Conference undoubtedly served some constructive purposes. It was probably of particular value to the Northern students who were in the majority although I believe the Southern white students were also particularly helped. The Southern Negro participants enjoyed the interaction among the student groups but tended to feel let down by the seeming unwillingness of the Conference to "take a firm stand" or "take real action" in support of the sit-ins. This feeling of disillusionment among some of the Southern Negro students was intensified when the Conference petered out at eleven without completing action on sixteen recommendations for action because of the lack of a quorum.

The interaction of the students and of the white and Negro students North and South seemed to be extremely constructive and helpful during the small group discussion period. A number of these groups established unusual rapport and frankness and dug fairly deeply into some of the problems concerned.

The Conference was undoubtedly handicapped by some confusion concerning the purpose of the meeting. This confusion was quite possibly unavoidable. Some of the students came with the feeling that they were creating a new national organization to "take over" the protest movement. A group of the protest leaders related closely to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference wanted from the meeting specific and detailed endorsement of the Raleigh Conference plans and of their plans. Some of the delegates including the few Southern white delegates from places such as the University of Texas and the University of Florida obviously felt that this was simply a consultation and exchange of viewpoints. They were surprised to find that others wished formal action on such matters as public endorsement of boycotts, etc. As it turned out, the matter was academic since the Conference adjourned before action could be completed on such matters as the boycott. It was perhaps questionable to spend so much time with formal speeches and with formal legislative action inasmuch as these activities took time away from the more informal interaction of students and also were restricted so far as the formal sessions were concerned to the smaller delegate, mostly Northern group.

April 27, 1960

HF PR

page 3 NSA Conference report

Considering the very short time in which the Conference was planned the actual running of it was quite smooth and efficient on the part of the NSA staff. Facilities for mimeographing and reporting and for tape recording proceedings were first-rate and functioned rapidly. The facilities of the All Saints Church were adequate and the Park-Sheraton Hotel was able to house virtually all of the large group.

Publicity coming out of the Conference was not very widespread. I do not know exactly how this was handled and whether it could have been improved. There was fair publicity in the Washington Post, very little going out over the news wires.

April 27, 1960

Harold Fleming Paul Rilling

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May 9, 1960

Les Dunbar PRilling

Prince Edward

Dan Bowers reports that he is not able to secure a qualified local person to do a study of the private schools in Prince Edward County. He further reports that the local professor of education counsels against a thorough study because of the surprisingly good educational standards that have been maintained by the local community which has applied the effort from the standpoint of a civic project. The education professor, however, does feel that a study of physical facilities and financing would produce results that would be useful from our point of view.

In other words, if we would like such a survey, we will have to do it or commission it ourselves or encourage Dan to handle it through some of his contacts in Virginia.

May 16, 1960

RHA PRilling

CSP Money

Please make out checks from Consultant Service funds as follows: to Dr. Galen Weaver, ~~[illegible]~~ for $193.29 as itemized in the enclosed letter; one to Miss Dorothy Hampton for $12.80.

These services were provided in connection with a series of interracial workshops for ministers across the state of Virginia.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

MEMORANDUM May 30, 1960

TO: State Directors

FROM: Sarah Miller

In the words of the European traveller, "quarterly reports are now acceptable in this office."

In addition, the Council is prepared to make payments from the special grant on the basis of matching funds from state Councils. As you remember, these grants were to be payable in June, and to match funds raised by state Councils during the period December 1, 1959 and June 1, 1960, exclusive of SRC or foundation support.

With your quarterly reports, or on the side if they have already been mailed, would you send us a statement in accordance with the terms of your special grant.

If there is a question or need for an extension of time, please let us know.

****

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL D. WILLIAMS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
FREDERICK B. ROUTH, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER, SECRETARY-TREASURER
PAUL ANTHONY, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT
JOHN HOPE II, CHIEF CONSULTANT
C. H. PARRISH, PROGRAM ASSOCIATE
MRS. M. E. TILLY, DIRECTOR OF WOMEN'S WORK
JOHN CONSTABLE, DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
MARGE R. MANDERSON, RESEARCH ASSISTANT
EMORY F. VIA, LABOR CONSULTANT

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N.E. ATLANTA, GEORGIA
Telephone: 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date June 28, 1960

To: PR From: HCF

Subject: T. W. Merriam, retiring dean of Springfield College

Carlton Parker brought him by today to discuss the work of SRC and the Southern situation generally. It looks as though Merriam will be the YMCA Southern project staffer, although they haven't quite tied the knot yet. A pleasant chap, completely without Southern exposure or experience. Carlton expressed regret that you weren't here, and intention to get Merriam together with you later, if he takes the job.

7/7/60

Harold Fleming PRilling

Tobias Simon

I would suggest we check with Ed Graham, Nate Perlmutter, Jane Leeds and Don Sprague. Let me know if you want me to handle this.

Your cautious mention of the "recent Tallahassee hearing" leaves me to wonder what other dramatic events occurred during my absence.

July 18, 1960

THE STAFF

PAUL RILLING

I would very much appreciate it if all communications relating to the New Orleans situation could be processed through this office, or at least routed across my desk for information purposes.

As many of you know, I have made several trips to New Orleans and am in direct contact with some of those involved in the present crisis. It helps me to be as informed as possible even on such matters as who in New Orleans is requesting materials, etc.

Thank you.

Hcf. ✓
fyi
SM for filing

July 20, 1960

JC PR

It seems to me that it would be useful for an early issue of New South to include an analysis of current conditions in Atlanta, Houston, and New Orleans -- the cities under most current fire concerning the school situation. Perhaps Dallas should be in the same category.

It might also be useful to have an article analysing the Prince Edward County situation, the second year. The local Negro group could use publicity, and I think recent developments concerning the decision to use public tuition grants in the private schools there this fall needs as much publicity as possible.

Is it time to begin to tell the story of the Biracial committee movement under LeRoy Collins in Fla.?

July 21, 1960

HCF PR

The Allred MS

I have the following comments and suggested corrections:

(1) P. 56, last paragraph. Is it correct to ~~[illegible]~~ refer to SRC as "the region's only human relations agency working in the field of racial relations"?

(2) P. 62, I don't believe that the two last sentences here make much of a contribution to the analysis. I would not, of course, agree that "the role of advisor, director, coordinator, and breadwinner for the states was lost effort" or that it is necessarily true that "as a result other important aspects of the Central Office's functions were not receiving sufficient attention." I do not believe that SRC assistance to the state divisions was, even in those days, "lost effort." At least the statement is not substantiated herein.

(3) P. 63, last paragraph. The last complete sentence reading: "Since there was no foreseeable aid as great as that from the FFR, no money would be available to aid the state organizations." Is this accurate? At any rate, state aid was not cut off, was it in 1957 or subsequently?

(4) P. 99-100. There is a break in the continuity between these two pages. Some material is evidently missing.

(5) P. 155, last paragraph. I would strongly question the statement that in 1955 "it was evident that the various state directors were engaged in activities primarily concerned with fund-raising." Or the statement at the top of page 156 which says, "By and large the state programs lacked vigor." The statemmmt is too vague to have meaning. I question whether such sweeping subjective evaluations are necessary in a work of this scope particularly when they are not based on any personal study of state programs. Such comments are

surprisingly missing in the section dealing with the Consultant Service Program or the Interagency Conference where they could be, it seems to me, even more easily justified.

(6) P. 158. The statement is made, "even at the present, the grant-in-aid system from the Central Office is the major source of income for most of the state organizations." While not technically inaccurate, I believe this statement perhaps is a false impression. If this point needs to be made, I would rather that the figures were reproduced for a recent year. Several of the groups raised more money than they received from SRC last year - for the other groups, the SRC figure would be only slightly over half of their total revenue and this, because of the special grant. The statement gives the impression that they are almost completely supported financially by SRC, which is inaccurate.

(7) P. 159, last paragraph. The statement is made, "They had poured through the Commission on Interracial Cooperation two million dollars down the Southern interracial drain without visiable signs of improvement." A questionable statement, I would think. I realize there were many shortcomings in the old Commission system, but I'm sure it could be proven that some "signs of improvement" were visible in many places during those years. As far as that goes, it would be hard to justify any effort in this field by "visible signs of improvement" deriving specifically from the effort.

Gratuitous (8) P. 198, first paragraph. Here are some more ~~gratituteus~~ statements about state groups which I think are not accurate. It is said that, "The tendency is simply to exist rather than actively pursue program which at times would be embarrassing." I think this is undoubtedly true of some groups, at some times, but I would certainly deny that it is "generally" true. The next statement says, "Within the states it seems that opinions, especially since 1954, has varied widely on a spectrum between an equality ideal back to the 'paternalistic do-godding' of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation." So far as I know today, all of our groups are agreed on equality goals and ideals. The one exception in the past might have been Georgia.

(9) Page 199, first paragraph. Again, the statement, "Much money, a precious commodity with the Council, had been invested without any appreciable return." I would disagree with this statement. If it means anything, it should be explained and supported. The next few sentences go on to

comment specifically on some of the state organizations. I would suggest that the comments are not particularly well informed. To fairly well dismiss the Alabama Council as having gone "underground" and to go on and emphasize Kentucky and Tennessee as groups which have "made the most impact on racial affairs" is, at the least, highly misleading.

I realize that any story of the Council must include an examination of the differing approaches used in relation to field activities and their relative effectiveness. I realize, too, that one man cannot personally study in the field all of the different state groups. What has happened here, however, is that some evaluation has been made based purely on SRC files and interviews with central office staff. The philosophy of the central staff has been effectively absorbed by the author, who has not been exposed to officers or directors in the field or to program activities in the field. The evaluations are superficial; they intend to be based on financial or organizational achievements of state groups rather than on their month-to-month programming.

There is, too, a tendency here as throughout our files to evaluate the state groups against the yardstick that was established back in the early fifties. In other words, there is a tendency to hold the state councils responsible for their inability to meet the past and unrealistic standards of complete self-support. It might be noted that when SRC itself attempted to depend purely on indigenous Southern financial support they had exactly the same sort of trouble and much the same degree as do the state groups. In fact, the amount of money raised by SRC in 1952, when it was primarily dependent on Southern support, was almost exactly the size of the funds raised indigenously by the state councils last year.

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **HAROLD FLEMING**

July 29, 1960

PR--

In a telephone conversation today, Will Campbell asked me to pass on the following to you:

1. Wendell Hines is now pastor of the First Congregational Church in Texarkana (Ark. or Tex., he doesn't know.)

2. The social work lady sent word from Paris that she will accept the Tennessee Council job.

HCF

Aug. 3, 1960

jc sm

mailing list

Please add to mailing list for SRC publications:

Mr. Francis A. Henson
International Association of Machinists
1300 Connecticut Avenue
Washington 6, D. C.

Aug. 30, 1960

JC sm

Please put on Muse-type list (L-Reports, Sit-ins stuff, etc.)

the following:

Commissioner Joseph Langan
City Hall
Mobile, Alabama

MEMORANDUM

August 31, 1960

To: Paul Rilling
L. W. Dunbar
John Constable
Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Paul Anthony

From: Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

Re: REPORTS.

In advance of the forthcoming Executive Committee meeting on September 27, we plan to send out a succinct report of staff activities since the last meeting on May 3. In order to keep this report reasonably brief, we will have to detail our activities in little more than outline form. However, I should like to include as many specific activities as possible, even if they must be presented in the briefest, itemized form. Discussion by the Executive Committee will afford opportunity to discuss them in more detail.

This is to ask you to give me in summary form an account of the activities for which you are primarily responsible by Thursday, September 8.

Following is some indication of the program areas I should like each of you to cover; feel free to include anything else you like:

LWD -- Fact-finding projects completed or underway, research reports and publications issued, noteworthy research and reference services provided by mail or in person, speaches, conferences, etc.

JC -- Noteworthy publications released, any special services to the press by you, distribution of SRC and other publications, highlights of New South content and special uses, New South circulation and subscription, speeches, conferences, etc.

PR -- Noteworthy state council developments, major status of interagency cooperation, the New Orleans effort, and other assistance to community groups, the Consultant Service Program, speeches, conferences, etc.

Mrs. Tilly -- Planning and preparation of Fellowship of the Concerned annual meeting, local and state activities of local church women, liaison with United Church Women, and other organizations, noteworthy speeches, conferences, etc.

PA & HCF -- The Southern Leadership Project, visitors, cooperation with federal agencies, speeches, conferences, etc.

-:-

MEMORANDUM

August 31, 1960

To: Paul Rilling
L. W. Dunbar
Paul Anthony
Benjamin Muse
J. J. Brewbaker

From: Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

As some of you know, we have had useful cooperation from Edwin Randall in the Louisiana crisis.

Ed would like very much to have our advice and suggestions about ways in which his radio service can be geared in to program needs in the South as we see them. For example, he would like to have known further in advance about the mounting crisis in New Orleans and ways in which radio material could have been used over a period of months in helping the educational job.

I am enclosing a memo that describes briefly the way in which Ed's program works. You will note that many of his listings have nothing to do with race relations, but deal with international problems and the like. This diversity is essential to his getting good race relations material used by Souther n stations.

I hope that all of you can bear Ed's program in mind as we carry on our work in the region. This is an easy way, without expense to us, to have some influence on public opinion.

put schls -
Houston
Dallas
sit-ins, etc. -

- : -

THE NEWS ABOUT THE

FRIENDLY WORLD BROADCASTERS

WE BELIEVE THAT PEOPLE WHO HAVE SOMETHING TO SAY on the radio are under an even greater obligation to make their vehicle attractive, entertaining, and audience-building than are the people who use radio to sell something. It is our objective, therefore, to provide material equal in quality and broadcast value to the best commercial program material. We don't always hit the bull's eye, but we don't often completely miss the target, either.

SHORT (5 - 7 minute) SPOTS OF CONVERSATION make up most of our material. We also provide a fifteen minute program weekly called "This is a Friendly World."

WHAT WE ARE TRYING TO SAY is that people are people wherever you find them and that if we understood each other better we could find ways of getting along. If we don't find ways of living together we'll all of us just have to quit living.

WE HAVE BEEN EXPANDING. It is our purpose rather to provide a service for organizations working for world understanding than to become a kind of voice on our own, so we have made recordings recently for the Committee for World Development and World Disarmament, The American Association for the United Nations, The U.S. Committee for UNICEF, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, the American Friends Service Committee, The Southern Regional Council, World Federalists, and several similar groups. We hope to continue to widen this kind of coverage so as to provide for radio stations the very most interesting people.

OUR SHORT SPOTS usually come five to the tape with one significant person. Sometimes for some special reason there is an odd number and occasionally when circumstances seem to justify it we make two tapes with the same person. There is no charge whatever for the use of this, or any of our material, and no cost except for return postage. We have a list of three hundred stations, all of which have used some of our material relatively recently, but limitations of budget are probably going to require us to cut this to around two hundred. We expect to offer these lists of six to eight tapes every two or three months.

WE ALSO PROVIDE a weekly series called "This is a Friendly World," now used on sixty to seventy-five stations (educational and commercial). If a bicycling plan we have in mind works out we may be able to increase this to a hundred, since we have many requests.

WE HAVE GIVEN UP THE EFFORT to distinguish between "educational" and "commercial" programs. The short spots were originally intended for commercial stations and the fifteen minute programs for educational stations. But people on both sides of the fence kept disregarding the distinction and I would say that both types are now used indiscriminately. This I like, because I think good education ought to say something and good commercial copy ought to be more than just to hold the customer still until the commercial comes.

(OVER)

WE WELCOME HELP in securing better people to record and in improving our service in every possible way. Because of limitations in budget and personnel, we are unable to provide a wider range of material. We have many requests for shorter spots -- 3 to 5 minutes. But we have tried to do what meets the widest acceptance with the most economical use of our time and energy. You are at liberty to shorten our spots, or take off heads and tails and make your own fifteen minutes out of any of them. We sometimes use the short material as part of the "Friendly World," and have had no complaint on this up to now.

WE ARE ACCEPTED as a project by the Jane Addams Peace Association, which makes contributions made to this work through the Association tax exempt. We are hopeful through this contact of enlarging our field and will be glad for suggestions about wider usefulness.

I AM ON WCAU with three programs daily, Monday thru Friday, which is doubtless a help in understanding what makes good copy for commercial broadcasters. It also helps us to keep the operation "operating" in other ways. I believe also it has helped me to understand the range of material that is acceptable. We occasionally use people who might be considered in fields outside the usual radio programming. Of course we are more concerned than any radio station not to stir up the animals with controversy. But I think there are ways of treating the listener like a mature human being without being offensive. We consider that this is an important part of our audience-building usefulness. We do not attempt to disturb people with argument but to present to them interesting and intriguing personalities. Incidentally, I never offer anybody else an idea I haven't already tried out myself, for reaction.

WE HAVE PLANS for working with people representing the organizations with which we work in various parts of the U.S. These people will, I believe, be useful to encourage listeners to our programs and have notices of them published in letters, bulletins, etc. We hope this would improve our service to stations.

WE HAVE BEEN WORKING this year under a grant-in-aid from the Educational Television and Radio Center which enabled us to collect considerable excellent material from all around the world. We are expanding this type of source very hopefully, finding a growing number of agencies making material available to us, establishing regular sources at important overseas spots. The future looks bright.

OF COURSE WE DO NOT NEED to remark upon the importance we attach to the development of better understanding across all the barriers which now divide the world and threaten its destruction. We appreciate more than it would be possible to say the opportunity to work with radio people in such an enterprise.

Edwin T. Randall
Friendly World Broadcasters
122 North Providence Road
Wallingford, Pennsylvania.

RADIO PROGRAMS AVAILABLE ON TAPE
5 to 7 minute conversations
(Each number 5 spots)

1959 --- List N

N 1 ATLANTA SCHOOL STORY
Overwhelmed by the wide acceptance of our on-the-spot recording of the Norfolk School Story, we have been gratified by testimony that events proved it to be a most accurate picture of the actual situation. Accuracy is difficult to achieve in a situation so fraught with emotion, but certainly to be desired by everyone of whatever persuasion. So we have attempted the same kind of recording of the even more important city of Atlanta. The time is too short to give every point of view, but we have tried to provide a carefully balanced picture, probing below the surface as carefully as possible. It seems to me as important for the north as for the south to understand this very disturbing problem.
This also we have provided not only in five short spots, but
N 1XX Same material in one show 29:30, highly recommended if you have time.

N 2 BROOKS HAYS of Arkansas, President of the Southern Baptist Convention
Author of a just published book, "A Southern Moderate Speaks," he has a deeply felt and very interesting story to tell about his recent experiences and his life-long convictions. It seems to me especially exciting to listen to a man who so strangely combines the characteristics of a political leader and a top-level churchman. His message is not regional but for the whole country.

N 3 SECRETARY ARTHUR S. FLEMING, Dep't. Health, Education, & Welfare
At this time of greatly aroused interest in education, here is a man with broad understanding, great responsibility, and wise words of comment on the present, and counsel for the future. As one-time president of Ohio Wesleyan University, he speaks with knowledge and conviction of the religious and moral essentials of education. (This tape was made in cooperation with the Commission on Christian Education of the National Council of Churches, whose emphasis is on Christian Education Week, April 13th.)

N 4 FRAU IRMGARD SCHUCHARDT, of Berlin
At this time of anxiety and crisis we are happy to offer a discerning and vocal resident of Berlin through two World Wars, who is now devoting herself to work for peace and who brings a message of hopefulness for the future from this center of fear. She isn't just talking about peace, but describes the actual work she has been doing for reconciliation between people on both sides of the Iron Curtain. She seems to be an intensely practical person.

N 5 JUDGE CURTIS BOK, Pennsylvania Supreme Court
He brings to bear on the baffling problems of crime and crime prevention years of experience as practicing attorney and more than twenty years on the bench. He has some exciting suggestions to make about the treatment of offenders and the danger of the attitude of vengeance, not only upon the criminals but upon society at large. He deals also with the baffling problem of capital punishment from the standpoint of a judge who not only has had long and intimate experience, but who has thought deeply and studied the problem carefully. Many of these ideas are also expressed in Judge Bok's recently published book, "Star Wormwood."

(OVER)

RADIO PROGRAMS AVAILABLE ON TAPE
5 to 7 minute conversations
(Each number 5 spots)

1958 --- List M

M 1 HARRY GOLDEN
This amazing American, editor of the Carolina Israelite, author of #1 Best Seller, "Only in America," beloved and highly honored citizen of Charlotte, North Carolina, and of the world is the "once-in-a-lifetime" kind of person absolutely everybody wants to know. I can't imagine any American - in fact anybody who understands the American language - who wouldn't enjoy listening to him. He talks about himself and what he believes in.

M 2 NORFOLK SCHOOLS
This is an on-the-spot recording of people personally involved in the present school situation. Clergymen, school people, children and young people, and parents help the rest of us to see the deplorable situation as they see it themselves. After all, this is a problem that confronts not only the people of Norfolk but of the entire country - in fact, of the world. This is an experiment with us, in response to requests. We'd like to know what you think of it, whether you use it or not.

M 3 DR. GAYLORD P. HARNWELL
President of the University of Pennsylvania, one of the nation's leading educators, sent by the State Department to study higher education in Russia, makes a highly interesting report of what he saw and some of his thoughts in consequence. He had himself some really intriguing experiences.

M 4 CLARENCE PICKETT
We have never recorded anybody else with the steady popularity of this Emeritus Secretary of the American Friends Service Committee. He has his say on foreign problems, work camping in Alaska, integration, with calmness and transparent good will for everybody involved. His spots have actually been repeated on a number of stations.

M 5 JAMES McBRIDE DABBS
Now he's written a book ("The Southern Heritage") which has been widely acclaimed, particularly by Southern literary critics and authorities on the social scene. He speaks again as a three century plantation southerner of things very close to his heart. His interpretations of current situations will be heard with interest both by those who agree with him and those who do not.

M 6 A. J. MUSTE
Clergyman, world traveller, worker for peace, careful student for many years and shrewd analyst of the Communist situation, he has just returned from a trip to Russia and speaks with clear-eyed discernment and in a way which is not only of fascinating interest but helpful in understanding the threat we face and how to meet it. He was one of the founders of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

(OVER)

Sept. 6, 1960

HCF PR

I meant to discuss the Burnsville situation with you before getting away but did not have a chance to do so after the B'ham situation developed. I do hope that you will carry through opening overtures concerning a repetition of last year's grant. Let me know if you need additional information.

Sept. 6, 1960

PA PR

For the purpose of notices to the coming Interagency meeting, please add the names of

Wyatt Walker and James Wood for that of Ella Baker as representatives of the SCLC. Wyatt ~~intimat~~ indicated to me that he was eager to become involved in this meeting. I told him that we would let him know when the date was set.

We still have the problem of the planning session for Atlanta Interagency people. I suggest that this be done next Tuesday, Sept. 13. See what you can do along this line.

Sept. 6, 1960

HCF PR

How are things coming in relation to Gene Cox? I continue to believe that if all else fails, we should give serious consideration to conducting his operation on a limited three-year basis through SRC. Let me know if you think this merits further discussion.

Sept. 6, 1960

HCF & LWD PR

As you have noticed, we have had a large number of requests for information concerning how to set up interracial negotiating committees at the municipal level, how successful they have been, etc. I believe that this might be the time to assign someone to the task of pulling together some manual or publication in this direction. Such a publication could summarize experience, suggest some guidelines, indicate where assistance is available, note existing committees, etc. We have done some of this but would need to pull it together, I think, in a more complete form. I am not simply suggesting more work for research, but would be happy to become involved myself if I can be of service in this direction.

September 6, 1960

HCF PR

Concerning your memo of Aug. 31 about Edwin Randall, I don't have too many ideas in this direction and most of them are fairly obvious. It seems to me he should know now if he doesn't already, that Dallas and Atlanta are due to desegregate in 1961 and that some effort aimed in those directions might be of service.

Would it be possible for him to do several programs concerning the use of private schools to evade desegregation? Perhaps some brief programs on Prince Edward, Little Rock, etc. on these matters.

I don't believe that Mr. Randall has done anything concerning the sit-down situation. Perhaps some interviews with community leaders where theye have been successful negotiations etc. might be of value.

Sept. 6, 1960

JC PR

As you know, Bob Hughes is in jail in Birmingham over a situation concerning the Alabama Council. It occurred to me that the issues involved were such that you might want to have a brief article on the matter in the coming New South, October issue. Sarah can show you a copy of a letter we are sending to state staff on the matter. If you need more information before I return, Harold is fully informed.

PR

****

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Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N.E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
Atlanta 3-4764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date Sept. 6, 1960

To: HCF From: PR

Subject:

How are things coming in relation to Gene Cox? I continue to believe that if all else fails, we should give serious consideration to conducting his operation on a limited three-year basis through SRC. Let me know if you think this merits further discussion.

Will Campbell is trying to get the Church of the Brethren's Service Committee to sponsor Gene. If successful, I'll try again with Currier. We won't till November.

H.

return S.M

MEMORANDUM September 6, 1960

To: State Directors
From: Paul Rilling

You will all want to know that a fairly serious situation has developed in Birmingham in connection with the Alabama Council and that Bob Hughes is currently in the Bessemer, Alabama jail.

You may remember that some time ago Harrison Salisbury of the New York Times wrote a series of articles on Birmingham, detailing some instances of brutality and intimidation and commenting on the racial tension in that community. The articles created a considerable stir in Birmingham and the members of the Birmingham City Commission are currently suing Salisbury and the New York Times for libel.

The Jefferson County Grand Jury, looking into this situation, subpoenaed the records of all telephone calls made by Salisbury during his stay in Birmingham. The records showed that Salisbury had been in touch with Bob Hughes a time or two as well as with a number of other persons, including a number of public officials. A number of those on this telephone list were subpoenaed to testify before the Grand Jury of Jefferson County last week, including Bob. Bob was asked to produce financial and membership records of the Alabama Council. He appeared before the Grand Jury last Thursday, but refused to name names or disclose the records of the Council. He was sent to jail Thursday afternoon for contempt of court.

Counsel has been secured for Bob and every effort is being made to win recognition of his constitutional rights. Bob himself is comfortable and in good spirits. His wife Dottie and the children are staying with Bob's folks in Gadsden. There has been a considerable rallying of support, particularly from religious leaders in Birmingham and elsewhere across the country.

All possible is being done to ease this situation and to provide Bob with proper legal defense. We will keep you informed of developments as they occur. You may also see some references to the case in your newspapers.

Sept. 14, 1960

jc sm

mailing list

Please add to all-purpose mailing list:

Mrs. Sarah Patton Boyle
Box 3183, University Station
Charlottesville, Va.

MEMORANDUM September 26, 1960

To: State Directors
From: Paul Rilling

Re: Bob Hughes

You are familiar through newspaper publicity and memoranda from this office with the details of recent developments involving Bob Hughes. There have been no new developments since my second memo on the matter.

We are facing a rather serious problem concerning the court costs, lawyers fees, etc. It appears that total costs will be somewhere in the neighborhood of $7,000. Quite obviously the Alabama Council is in no position to meet this kind of obligation. They have paid out $2,000 and cleaned out their treasury in the process. We are trying hard to raise some money for the Alabama Council and are prepared to commit some of our own resources. No large gifts are in sight as yet, and the need is rather urgent.

I wonder if each of you might be willing to publicize the need, perhaps through a personal letter to all of your members signed by yourself and/or the state president. I do not think that state Councils should contribute to the Hughes' fund out of their already slender treasuries, but I do think it would be an appropriate gesture of solidarity if all members of state Councils were informed of the situation and given an opportunity to contribute personally through your offices. I doubt that any large funds would be obtained through such an appeal but as much as $1,000 to $2,000 would be a most significant help.

Use your own judgment on this.

Sept. 26, 1960

HCF PR

Montgomery

At the initiative of the president of the Chamber of Commerce, a group of leading business figures and political figures and Negro leaders are meeting informally in Montgomery. The effort started approximately a month ago at the initiative of some of the ministers. The group has agreed to consider how tensions can be eased within present framework. It is understood that some of those present on various sides of the racial lines may be actively working for or against desegregation, but that these matters will not be on the agenda. Some top level Negro leadership, generally of the more conservative sort, is involved, including several members of the Alabama Council.

The group has agreed first to consider aspects of police brutality.

3 4,500

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

MEMORANDUM September 26, 1960

To: State Directors
From: Paul Rilling

Re: Quarterly Reports

If all of you are as prompt in getting in your reports as you are in correcting errors, we can dispense with notices as to when reports are due in the future.

As four of you noted immediately, we got our dates mixed on our earlier notice. Quarterly reports were due as of September 15, not September 1.

Our apologies.

Sept. 26, 1960

HCF PR

Mass Media Meeting

I have only obvious thoughts for agenda items for the September Mass Media Meeting.

Concerning the school situation, they might want to discuss Houston and quiet developments there, New Orleans, the new court decision there and its significance, potential for violence in that area. Also Prince Edward County. This still needs more national attention to illustrate the impossibility of successful private schools, the immorality of schooling for white only, etc.

There still needs to be interpretation of the sit-ins and particularly of the new kneel-in activities. More attention in the national media to constructive solution of lunch counter crises might be helpful to keep the momentum rolling.

****

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Southern R[redacted] Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AV[redacted]GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date September 29, 1960

To: PR From: HCF

Subject: Executive Committee Meeting of 9/27/60

I believe it was in the executive session that John Wheeler offered the suggestion that when SRC or state council personnel get into legal difficulties, the NAACP Legal and Educational Defense Fund might be consulted. ("They have these defenses at their finger-tips." -- "The local NAACP counsel would be able to reach Marshall or one of the others by phone at any time; and a phone conversation might be enough." -- etc., etc.)

I said we would be mindful of the suggestion.

Another matter concerning your operation particularly:

The whole question of services to college groups, students and faculty personnel. Please give some thought to what we should write to the college presidents about SRC services, as moved by Father Sigur. Also it would be well if we made a special report at, or in advance of, the next executive committee meeting on what we are doing for on the college front. I have the past minutes on this subject and would appreciate your reviewing them for general background.

You and I should also discuss the question of legal help to embattled state staffers.

Sept. 30, 1960

rha pr

monies

You will remember that the Exec. Com. has now approved the allocation for state aid of half of the Field state aid grant, or $12,500. The breakdown that was approved is as follows:

Alabama -	$2,000
Arkansas	1,300
Florida	1,300
Georgia	1,300
Kentucky	500
North Carolina	1,400
South Carolina	1,400
Tennessee	1,300
Virginia	1,500
Miss. Field Work *	500

I see no reason why these checks should not go out immediately.

* The check for Miss. should be made out to the Delta Foundation and should be labelled "for field work in Mississippi."

Also, quarterly checks to:
Florida, Georgia, North Carolina, Tenn., Va.

MEMORANDUM October 4, 1960

To: Will Allred
From: Paul Rilling

Re: The Manuscript

I do not feel that the thesis presents an adequately objective picture of the role and contributions of the state Councils on Human Relations, particularly in recent years. It would probably be impossible to make such an evaluation without spending some weeks in the field reviewing some of the program activities and achievements of these state and local groups. As it stands, I believe the thesis contains a number of sweeping general conclusions about the state Councils which are not adequately supported or documented in the thesis.

I believe that the Councils have been measured to a large degree against the yardstick of financial achievements. It is certainly true that the state groups have not fulfilled the original hope that they would be ultimately self-supporting. I would suggest, however, that it was unrealistic to expect interracial groups in the South to raise sufficient funds within these states to maintain professional staffed operations. It might be noted that when SRC itself attempted to depend purely on indigenous Southern support, the Council had the same sort of trouble and to much the same degree as have the state groups. The amount of money raised by SRC in 1952, when it was primarily dependent on Southern support, was almost exactly the amount raised indigenously by the various state Councils last year.

The state Councils are evaluated primarily on the basis of central files. I realize that this was probably a necessary procedure in view of natural time limitations etc., but I think it must be recognized that there is a difference of emphasis between staff members primarily concerned with the headquarters operation and those who are primarily related to the field operation. The central files of SRC would naturally tend to reflect one emphasis more strongly than the other.

I would specifically question the following statements:

1. On page 62, the statement is mde, "...but beyond that point the role of advisor, director, coordinator and bread-winner for the states was lost effort; as a result, other important aspects of the central office's function were not receiving sufficient attention." There may well have been an over-emphasis on state groups at that time, but I believe that use of the term "lost effort" is questionable. I would also question that the emphasis on the state groups necessarily was the cause for insufficient attention to other aspects of the central office's functions. It is not noted here which aspects were not receiving sufficient attention.

2. On p. 155, last paragraph, "It was evident that the various state directors were engaged in activities primarily concerned with fund-raising" in 1955. This may be true, although I would doubt it. At any rate, it is not supported by the quotation from the report of the associate directors for state organizations which follows.

3. In the same general paragraph, but on page 156, the statement is made, "By and large the state programs lacked vigor." There is certainly some truth in this statement but the statement is too sweeping and general to be fair.

4. P. 159, last paragraph, "They had poured through the Commission on Interracial Cooperation two million dollars down the Southern interracial drain without visible signs of improvement." I would not consider this a fair statement. Certainly there were shortcomings in the old Commission set-up, but it did provide needed and valuable channels of communication in a number of Southern communities. There are very few visible signs of improvement from work in the human relations field. Most of the benefits, where they exist, are intangible.

5. P. 198, first paragraph, "Since generally members of the state groups are not subjected to high pressure either to join or to work in the organization, the tendency is simply to exist rather than actively to pursue program which at times would be embarrassing. Within the states, it seems that opinion, especially since 1954, has varied widely on a spectrum between an equality ideal back to the paternalistic 'do-gooding' of the Commission on Racial Cooperation." I believe there has been strong programming in the case of some of the state and local groups which might make this statement an unfair generalization. I believe that during the last two or three years at any rate all of the Councils, with perhaps one exception,are clear on their commitment to the goal of equality and desegregation.

6. P. 199, first paragraph. It is said that "By that time, much money, a precious commodity with the Council, had been invested without any appreciable return." Again, I would say, an unfair sweeping generalization which overlooks a number of contributions by some of these groups

HCF
SM

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT AND CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 201, 5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JA 2-3764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

MEMORANDUM September 19, 1960

Draft

From: Paul Rilling

Re: Allred Manuscript

I do not feel that the thesis presents an adequately objective picture of the role and contributions of the state Councils on Human Relations, particularly in recent years. It would probably be impossible to make such an evaluation without spending some weeks in the field reviewing some of the program activities and achievements of these state and local groups. As it stands, I believe the thesis contains a number of sweeping general conclusions about the state Councils which are not adequately supported or documented in the thesis.

I believe that there have been some substantial changes in the operation of the state Councils and their relationship to the Southern Regional Council since 1958. I don't believe that these changes are adequately reflected in the thesis. I believe, ~~too,~~ that the Councils have been measured to a large degree against the yardstick of financial achievements. It is certainly true that the state groups have not fulfilled the original hope that they would be ultimately self-supporting. I would suggest, however, that it was unrealistic to expect interracial groups in the South to raise sufficient funds within these states to maintain professional staffed operations. It might be noted that when SRC itself attempted to depend purely on indigenous Southern support, the Council had the same sort of trouble and to much the same degree as have the state groups. The amount of money raised by SRC in 1952, when it was primarily dependent on Southern support, was almost exactly the amount raised indigenously by the various state Councils last year.

The state Councils are evaluated primarily on the basis of central files. I realize that this was probably a necessary procedure in view of natural time limitations etc., but I think it must be recognized that there is a difference of emphasis between staff members primarily concerned with the headquarters operation and those who are primarily related to the field operation. The central files of SRC would naturally tend to reflect one emphasis more strongly than the other.

I would specifically question the following statements:

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10/11/60

jc pr

mailing list

Please add to your all-purpose list (for special reports and any other publications of the Council):

Mr. C. A. Rogers
Fitzgerald Advertising Agency
Lee Circle Building
New Orleans, Louisiana

Would you also see if you have correct address for

Mrs. Betty Wisdom
413 Hillary Street
N. O.

(If you don't have her, please add)

10/11/60

jc sm

mailing lists

The following Arkansas Board members have died recently. Please remove them from New South or other mailing lists:

Miss Emma Scott, Little Rock

Mr. J. R. Booker

****

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
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EMORY F. VIA, LABOR CONSULTANT

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE N.E. ATLANTA, GEORGIA
Jackson 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date Oct. 17, 1960

To: lwd From: pr

Subject:

My experience at the Southern Student Conference this weekend and at other meetings recently, impresses me with the surprising amount of double-talk and vague generalities which surround all discussions concerning registration, voting and political activities of Negroes in the South. I wonder if it might not be a real service to consider some case studies of successful efforts to increase Negro voting and institute responsible and coordinated political activity. Or are such studies already available? Perhaps some pamphlet noting some of the techniques that have been particularly effective in several different communities.

Let discuss some day at lunch

Oct. 17, 1960

hcf pr

Conference of Southern Student Coordinating Committee
(Oct. 14 - 16)

You can get a first-hand impression of the Conference from John Hope or John Constable. I found it somewhat disappointing. The management and direction of the meeting were abysmally poor. The pre-planning was inadequate, all events ran hours behind schedule, over-all policy discussion was not reached until about one hour prior to end of the meeting, a parliamentary tangle caused a complete break-down of the sessions for some time Saturday morning, etc. The speeches and the discussion group went quite well. There was no real discussion of the future and direction of the protest movement, nor was any over-all strategy planned. The Coordinating Committee was established as a permanent body.

PR -

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INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date October 17, 1960

To: hcf From: pr

Subject: Loyola Invitation

If you have not already answered the letter inviting you to speak at the Loyola Forum, I would suggest that you reconsider a negative answer. I talked to two Loyola students during the recent Conference of the Southern student movement, including one whom I have known for some time. It would seem that Loyola is a fairly conservative situation and that the student body generally is exposed to very few modern viewpoints on much of anything. If you could speak there next spring, it might represent a real contribution to that situation. I would hope that if possible you indicate that you find you can attend after all, or if not, recommend others who could be of service.

I wrote Clancy it would suit me better to set the date after the turn of the year — and it would. Indicated I'd be happy to come next Spring if nothing happens.

#

October 28, 1960

hcf pr

activities of field office, November 1959 - May 1960, filling out for the purposes of an annual report the material already given for May 1960 - September 1960.

For purposes of simplicity, I will indicate the additional material under the same general headings as were used in the September report.

1. Under noteworthy state Council developments, the fund-raising section should be corrected to note that during the first 3 quarters of 1960 the nine state Councils raised a total of $40, 376, compared to $33,324 during all of 1959. This is the largest total that state Councils have ever raised within their respective state areas. It indicated a response to the matching fund plan that has been used this year by SRC. It also reflects some thaw in the climate of opinion in several of these states.

2. I think the section on reaction to sit-ins is fairly complete. It might be noted that seven of the state groups were specifically involved in reactions to the sit-in developments. These were Councils in Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia. In a shorter summary of these responses by state Councils it might be pointed out that state Councils and their local affiliates have been generally involved in one or more of three ways: 1) support of the student sit-ins or of the goals of the demonstrating students 2) analysis or interpretation of the demonstrations for the benefit of the white community 3) efforts to initiate negotiations among the parties involved, looking toward a solution of the issues. I believe it would be fair to say that some direct contribution was made toward negotiation and solution by state and local groups in North Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia.

3. Last year two of the state Councils, those in Florida and Tennessee were on shaky ground financially and in doubt concerning their future. The Florida Council has paid off all of its debts and is now operating in the black. The Tennessee Council has greatly increased its membership and financial support, is now operating on a sound basis financially, and has employed a competent new director, Miss Katherine Jones, former director of Davidson County Welfare Department.

4. Local Councils on Human Relations established since last November include groups in the Hampton - Newport News area of Virginia; Norfolk, Virginia; Memphis Tennessee, and Raleigh, North Carolina.

5. A Council on Human Relations has been organized in Houston, Texas. This group has employed staff as of the fall of 1960 and is currently engaged in a fund-raising effort. The Houston Council is cooperating directly with the field office of SRC.

6. Under the Consultant Service Program, it should be noted that three consultants conducted an interracial workshop in Houston during the late fall of 1959. The workshop brought together a broad cross-section of community leadership and focused on planning for desegregation. Those attending were John Hope, Herman Long, Lee Coleman, and Paul Rilling.

7. Also under CSP, SRC made it possible for the Arkansas Council to use the services of several nationally known consultants in a workshop for the ministers of the Pine Bluff - Little Rock area. Participating were Kyle Haselden, author of The Racial Problem in Christian Perspective and Dr. Thomas Pettigrew of Harvard University.

8. Under 'Other Activities', participated in a workshop for leaders of the YWCA in New York during February. Spoke to the southwide meeting of Unitarian young people in Atlanta, in April; served as chairman of the Consultation on Human Relations Programming in South Carolina, involving meetings in May, July and August. Served as Southern chairman of NAIRO during this year.

9. The CSP also made it possible for the Arkansas Council to bring Mr. John Wheeler of Durham to Little Rock for two days of consultation with Negro leadership. Mr. Wheeler, a board member of SRC and a key figure in the effective organization of the Negro community of Durham, explained the procedures and methods used in Durham to attain greater unity and effectiveness.

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **HAROLD FLEMING**

11/22/60

PR--

At the NAIRO conference, I held conversation with Manny Muravchik ~~and~~ of the Jewish Labor Committee and Don Slaiman of the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department.

(1) Muravchik -- JLC is looking for a man to work with labor in the South, under their auspices. Civil rights, of course. Routh has made several suggestions, but they would like any further ones we can offer. Routh's suggestions are not people I know -- e.g., "Slim" Boggs formerly of Virginia AFL-CIO. Obviously it would be preferable to get a man with both Southern and labor experience, though neither is absolutely indispensable. Have you anyone to suggest?

(2) Don Slaiman would like to do something to help move AFL-CIO off dead center. He's particularly anxious to get "intelligence" from Southern places that would help him exert useful leverage. I told him I would explore with you the possibility of our sending him periodic information on the role of unions and their leadership in the situations we relate to. Let's discuss this at an early date.

Incidentally, I talked with Lewis Deer and Will Campbell about the Gene Cox project. The Disciples are willing to sponsor but can't or won't put up their own money. Muravchik promised to try to find a few thousand that might lure out the Taconic grant.

HF

November 29, 1960

LWD PR

Montgomery

The Montgomery Council on Human Relations has constituted a disproportionate drain on our staff time and resources. They generally have approximately 15 - 25 in attendance for their monthly meetings. I would not think it worth your while to attend nor do I recommend sending George unless the Durrs were able to arrange other appointments for him with police officials.

MEMORANDUM November 30, 1960

to: Les Dunbar
from: Paul Rilling
re: Goodman manuscript

Since you may not agree with most of my suggestions, I am not marking up the manuscript but making them in this form.

on page 2, I would suggest the deletion of that portion of paragraph 3 beginning, "but even more important, says one foundation officer..." and extending to the end of that parag.

on page 3, I would delete the last sentence beginning "a number" and ending "public schools."

on page 4, I would delete the partial parag. at the top of the page and also the next parag. beginning "the people who" and ending "of their race."

on page 6, I would expand the discussion of accreditation as we talked about it yesterday.

on page 7, I would like to request more detail on buildings and equipment substantiating the statement of makeshift, minimal, etc.

on page 9, and 10, I would omit the parag. beginn. bottom of page 9,"salary scale"and ending at the top of page 10 with the words"foundation school practice." I would also eliminate the next parag. beginning "guidance counseling"and ending "guidance and counseling on page 10.

I would eliminate the last parag. on page 10, beginning with "the facilities shortages" and ending on page 11 with the words "a good public school curriculum."

On pages 15 and 16, I would completely eliminate the section headed "Academic Standards"on these pages down to the section beginning "Individual attention."

On page 17, I would eliminate the last parag.

On page 19, I would cut the first two parags. beginning "In one community" and ending with "left the foundation schools."

in the section dealing with the community, particularly that on religion, I have some ~~xxxxxx~~ reservations which I discussed with you yesterday. These do not seem to agree with the common critical consensus of Harold and Dan, so I will make no reference here except to caution that the Norfolk ministerial picture not be limited to one man. I think there were two or three. Bill Abbott of the Oakdale Church took at least as strong a position as did Brewer.

On page 40, I would re-insert that portion of parag. 2 which you evidently cut in editing.

Dec. 2,
~~November 11~~, 1960

jc sm
mailing list

Please add to all purpose list:

Dr. Leslie Addison — Organization for Public Education
P.O. Box 14604, DE Station
Baton Rouge, Louisiana Baton Rouge -

Dec. 6, 1960

hcf pr

ltr. from Ky. Com. on HR

I am sorry I held this so long. I hope you will give a strong plug to Galen Martin who would like the job. I have no other ideas I am afraid. If I knew of others, we would be trying to get them ourselves. Would Murray Shapiro be a possibility? He took a degree at the University of Kentucky, I believe. I don't know whether we are free as yet to suggest him. He told me and swore me to secrecy.

838 FIFTH AVENUE • NEW YORK 21, N. Y. • REGENT 7-8200 • CABLE ADDRESS: UNIONUAHC

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December 13, 1960

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

I regret that once again I will not be able to attend the January inter-agency meeting.

Because of the nature of this particular position, I strive to plan my calendar almost a year in advance. I will be in Atlanta at least three more times before the end of June, but it is impossible to reschedule my appointment for this particular date.

I would appreciate knowing just as soon as possible future schedules, as I think the work you are doing is of tritical importance and would like to share it.

Sincerely,

Rabbi William Sajowitz

Director

WS:sf

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF TEMPLE BROTHERHOODS NATIONAL FEDERATION OF TEMPLE SISTERHOODS
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Louis E. Wolfson, *Miami Beach*
James Zukerkorn, *Honolulu, Hawaii*

Jan. 19, 1961

HCF PR

Chambless letter

I suggest that we send him 6 or 8 copies each of a few of our better publications concerning the dangers of tensions and school closing and emphasizing the feasibility of quiet and peaceful compliance. You might also send him a copy of pieces dealing with the open school type movements and suggesting that such might be possible in Dallas. Perhaps it would be wise for him to call together a consultation of concerned organizations to consider jointly what might be done. Needless to say, offer our further help.

Jan. 23, 1961

LWD & HCF pr

Florida

I have learned through Bill Williams that Governor Bryant of Florida has asked the legislature for $17,000 to use in the improvement of race relations in the state and that he has also asked Cody Fowler to continue as chairman of the Fowler Commission.

MEMORANDUM January 30, 1961

To: State Directors
From: Paul Rilling

A Southern lady who is a long time member of one of our state councils has written to me indicating that she would like to do volunteer work in the cause of human relations somewhere in the South. She is a white lady, in late middle age. She has been an attorney and also has clerical skills. I understand that she is willing to help any state or local group in virtually any way she can be of service and that she is not afraid of fairly routine and detailed tasks. She is not looking for a job, but an opportunity to be of service.

This would seem a fine opportunity for some council to gain some help in liaison with women's groups, secretarial or receptionist services, etc. Anyone interested in this possibility should contact me. Dan Bowers has had some experience in working with the lady in question and could give more specific information to anyone interested.

Feb. 1, 1961

LWD pr

North Carolina request on information concerning East Carroll Parish in Louisiana & Walthall County, Miss.

Betty Wisdom reports that her informants in West Louisiana indicate East Carroll to be reasonably good from the personal safety angle. Gene Cox is somewhat ambiguous concerning Walthall County. I append his letter.

Betty reports Roy Harris has not been in New Orleans in recent months.

February 8, 1961

HCF & LWD FR

An interagency committee in South Carolina is looking for a person to direct the research project proposed in the recent S. C. "rural study". They have been notified by a foundation that their chances of securing funds will be greatly increased if they can secure a qualified person. I think we should within the next couple of days try to send them a few solid recommendations concerning people who we believe would be qualified and conceivably available. Remember this would be a two year project. Pay can be fairly good. The person could be of either race or sex. I hope that both of you will write or tell me suggestions so that we can get something off to Courtney this week.

Feb. 8, 1961

HCF PR

The Virginia Voters League is a fairly weak fumbling organization which purports to be working in the field of voter registration and political organization in the Negro community. The strength and cogency of this letter is a pretty fair indication of their operation. I assume they are primarily asking for money but only because I can't see any other point to the letter. If I were you I believe I would simply send them some materials and indicate that we are not in a position to provide funds, etc.

2/8/61

jc sm

Please add to all purpose mailing list:

Mrs. R. C. Lancaster
1464 Madrid Street
New Orleans 22, La.

Feb. 10, 1961

je sm

Please add to all purpose mailing list:

Mr. Gil Roland
Religious Editor
Greenville News
Greenville, S.C.

Dr. G. G. Williamson
Economics Department
University of South Carolina
Columbia, S. C.

2/13/61

SRC Staff pr

State staff meeting

This will remind you that the state staff meeting will be held in our conference room from 10:30 a.m. Thursday until 3:30 p.m. Friday the 24th. The state directors will be eating lunch here together on both days. All SRC staff members are invited to eat with us on these days. There will probably be three new directors on hand and we are anxious that all state directors have the opportunity to meet and talk with SRC staff.

MEMORANDUM February 16, 1961

To: Ben Muse, LWD
From: Paul Rilling

Re: Birmingham contact

Richard Shapiro of the ADL, who has been working intensively in Birmingham, tells me that Mr. B. A. Monagham is a receptive contact and I am suggesting that Ben might want to contact him the next time he is in that area. I am also suggesting that he should be put on the all purpose mailing list instead of the blue ribbon business one/

PMR/sm

2/16/61

je sm

mailing lists

Please make following changes in mailing lists:

Executive Director
Galen Martin/(no longer with Knoxville HRCouncil)
Kentucky Commission on Human Relations
311 Capitol Bldg.
Frankfort, Ky.

Mrs. John Hitch
Knoxville Area Human Relations Council
Box 1011
Knoxville, Tenn.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

TO: JC
CC: PR

February 17, 1961

From: LWB

Are the local Human Relations councils on our state groups' mailing list? If they are not, I think they should be. Apparently, for example, the Montgomery Council on Human Relations is not on our list.

Is the Montgomery Improvement Association on our Inter-Agency list?

Feb. 17, 1961

jc sm

Please add to all purpose mailing list:

Mr. Walter W. Whitson
2336 North Boulevar d
Houston 6, Texas

Feb. 17, 1961

je sm

Please see that the following get all of our publications:

Miss Anna Greene Smith
ASC

Dr. John Tumlin
ASC
Decatur, Ga.

2/24/61

lc

sm

all purpose
Please add to mailing list: (If you don't already have)

Mrs. Fred Wright
7725 Plum St.
New Orleans

Mrs. Louis Abramson
3322 Jefferson Avenue
New Orleans

2/27/61

lwd pr

Bill Williams reports that Ernest Salley who reported to the Florida investigating committee that had spied on SCEF, NAACP, "peace groups" and the Florida Council on Human Relations had apparently attended meetings of the Dade County Council on Human Relations. Bill felt that his comments were not harmful to the Council.

3/2/61

jc sm

Please add to mailing lists: (all purpose)

Mr. Guy Watts
Corpus Christi Committee on Human Relations
505½ Garaneahua
Corpus Christi, Texas

Publications chairman
AustinCommission on Human Relations
Box 4481
Austin 51, Texas

Dr. R. D. Crockett
Alabama State College
Montgomery, Alabama

CONFIDENTIAL 3/3/61

HCF & LWD PR

trip to Richmond and Prince Edward County, Va. Feb. 17 & 18.

This situation seems to be rapidly developing into another Fayette County mess with the liberal forces rent by dissension and mutual mistrust. I talked at some length with Dan Bowers and with Dorothy Michael, his associate, also with Lester Griffin of PECCA and Helen Baker, the local AFSC representative.

Griffin impresses one as a sincere and hard-working person with limited background who is giving all that he can to this cause of the Negro children in Prince Edward County. He operates, however, as a prima donna and a law unto himself. He collects money and dispenses it, keeps no books, makes no real reports to anyone on what happens to the money. The AFSC people feel that they can no longer channel funds through him and are dispensing their program directly through their office in Farmville. In addition to Helen Baker, Jean Fairfax and Will Hartzler have spent some time in Prince Edward County for AFSC as has Dick Ramsey. Griffin feels that AFSC is attempting to go around him and "take over" the situation. He claims that they have misrepresented facts on the national scene and that they are devoting all their money and energy to frills such as taking kids to Williamsburg and Washington, while the hard-pressed centers are in dire need of funds and added facilities. AFSC, on the other hand, contends that they must operate in their own fashion, and that it is not feasible to work through PECCA. They are increasingly critical of PECCA in private. Helen Baker impresses Dan and Dorothy as being quite capable and realistic in her work. She has done some work with Center directors and with the Negro community generally. She has succeeded in pressuring PECCA into setting up an office and employing a secretary who will keep the books and who is on good terms with Helen Baker. It is significant that Griffin, who is very high in his praise of Irene Osborne, does not think highly of Helen Baker. Some weeks ago, Jean Fairfax and Helen Baker convened a meeting of the PECCA board in Griffin's absence and apparently without his knowledge. This has been a source of some strained feelings/

3/3/61

pr

Prince Edward County (p. 2)

Dan is trying to play the role of broker with these two groups and he and Dorothy have both spent considerable time in Prince Edward County. Dan's role has primarily been to soothe ruffled feathers and to encourage the national media to interpret the Prince Edward situation. He and Dorothy have guided a number of press personnel through the county, and worked closely with the Virginia girl for the Washington Post and the reporter from the Long Island paper, both of which publications carried features on Prince Edward. They have recently been cooperating with an assistant editor from the Saturday Evening Post on an article, which will appear shortly. Dan is quite apprehensive that a sharp reporter who is not too sympathetic may choose to expose the confusion, dissidence, and inefficiency inherent in the present situation. Dan himself feels that Griffin is shrewder than appears on the surface and suggests that he" may be less than completely honest." Dan is quite critical of the role that Jean Fairfax has played in Prince Edward, feeling that she has been unrealistic and bureaucratic. He thinks highly of Helen Baker. Dan is obviously one of the persons to whom Griffin goes for encouragement and support and for a sympathetic ear to his complaints. As a result of the Long Island articles, a committee has been formed there which is providing assistance to the PECCA group.

Everyone I spoke to seems to be quite negative concerning the recent Southern Christian Leadership rally in Prince Edward. Both Dan and Griffin feel that more money was raised than was turned over to PECCA and nobody seems to know exactly how much was raised and what happened to it. $1,000 was turned over to PECCA. Griffin claims that they actually raised over $2,000 on that occasion. Griffin is quite unhappy about the proposed march of the children to Washington under the aegis of Milton Reed of the Virginia Christian Leadership Conference. He says that he will "put a stop to it."

The NAACP of Virginia has made some substantial contributions

3/3/61

pr

to PECCA. Dan himself is holding several hundred dollars which has been contributed through the Virginia Council for Prince Edward. He is tentatively planning to deliver the funds directly to the Center directors explaining to Griffin that the tax exempt factor is such that the funds cannot be channeled through PECCA. He hopes thus to put the funds where needed without alienating Griffin.

Some 16 of the Centers for Negro children seem to be in actual operation with widely varying degrees of effectiveness and skill. The Center directors were supposed to get around $100 per month and assistant directors $50. As best Dan can determine, the directors have been paid a total of $100 since last September. Some of them work expremely hard and long hours.

Dan reports that Dean Moss of Hampden-Sydney has been slapped down and quieted by the college. He suffered badly fromhis participation in the ESCRU Williamsburg meeting and has subsequently withdrawn from ESCRU. He has since succumbed to pressure and will say practically nothing about the Prince Edward Situation to anyone.

Dan and the Virginia Council have been repeatedly mentioned and attacked by the local Farmville paper, edited by Barry Wall. Dan was noted as "one of the dangerous persons operating in Virginia." Statements that he made in meetings at Charlottesville and Richmond were picked up, roundly denounced, etc.

A group of from 4 to 9 white moderates continues to keep in touch with each other and with Negro people. Dean Moss is no longer identified with this group.

Another interesting tidbit: Griffin in noting his selfless dedication to the cause mentioned that Martin King and Wyatt Walker have called him "foolish" for not taking a larger personal cut of the contributed funds. He reports King as stating that he kept 15% of all funds donated in the Montgomery situation when he headed the MIA as part of his arrangement. with that organization

3/3/61

HCF PR

James Wood

I have not so far gotten word on Jim's labor background although he has mentionned it to several of us. Presumably it occurred prior to 1951. I will continue to explore it and chat with him a bit askinghis information about several labor contacts, etc. Jim is 43 and married. According to his biographical data on file at Virginia State College, his only education was in the high school department of Hampton Institute and some extension courses from NYU. He attended the vocational and mechanical section of the high school. He was in retail sales somewhere in the North 1951-2. From 1952-58, he worked for the Charles Shardon REalty company in Brooklyn. He was then, briefly, in farm labor in Leesburg, Virginia. From November 1959 until he took his present position, with SCLC, Jim was employed by Virginia State College and was in charge of the IBM machines there, an apparently low rated position. He was, however, extremely active in the protest movement in Petersburg, and became a fairly effective leader of Wyatt Walker's group there. I remember meeting him at the time they were planning the march on Richmond during my tenure in Virginia. He was a member of the Virginia Council but not active. That's all we have on him to date. Will keep checking.

3/3/61

jc sm

Please add to L-Report mailing lists:

Mr. Sam Walsh
Walsh's Slipper Shop
Jackson, Tenn.

Mar. 6, 1961

jc sm

Please add to mailing list: (all purpose)

Mr. Henry Cabirac
6211 South Conti Street
New Orleans, La.

Mr. Mathew H. Ahmann
Executive Director
National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice
21 West Superior Street
Chicago 10, Ill.

Also:

To New South mailing list (for five office copies, or however many you send these days):

Houston Council on Human Relations
3605 Fannin Street
Houston, Texas

Remove the Rev. Sherwood McKee, Houston, Tex. from mailing list. he aint there no mo.

3/16/61

LWD

pr

We have been getting increasing volumes of requests for the methods of operation of open school groups. On the premise that this need will increase, it seems to me we ought to consider the production of a publication of the contribution of these groups. Such a publication would briefly examine and evaluate the WEC, Virginia Committee, HOPE, SOS, CPE, OPEN, etc. in such a way as to sujject certain procedures of organization and operation. I have several thoughts as to how such a publication could be developed.

Would it also be useful to talk in terms of a "New Orleans-the first year, publication?

March 16, 1961

HCF xm PR

Inter-Citizens Committee

I am acquainted with Dr. Beryl McClaskey of Birmingham although I have not seen her for some 10 years. She is a top notch person. I think the Inter-Citizens Committee is probably the most moderate and reliable Negro group in Birmingham. I would consider the group deserving of support. I do not know Ware personally, but his reputation is excellent. Oliver is somewhat naive and impetuous but an able and energetic person. J. C. Wilson is active in the Birmingham and Alabama Councils and is a reliable elderly minister of fairly moderate stripe.

I think their propcsal of exposing incidents of intimidation and brutality has merit if properly handled. Oliver has talked to me about the project and proposes that these incidents should be circulated in printed form and only when carefully verified. I am not sure they have any very clear concept of the most effective way that these could be distributed, although they have been distributing around 10,000 copies of each incident.

I think the larger budget proposal is absurd but I would feel that the smaller figure of $3,300 might be well worth considering. Some assistance would strengthen this group as well as provide a pilot effort in this rather unique kind of educational venture.

Oliver has requested our help in fund-raising. I have been holding off raising the matter with you until I received the promised materials and outlined of further plans from him.

March 20, 1961

jc sm

Please add to all pubpose mailing list:

The Rev. C. E. Hubbard
Rising Star Baptist Church
2617 Globe Avenue
Lubbock, Texas

March 30, 1961

lwd pr

Did Harold ask you your reactions to this? I plan to write and give a favorable response. I would like to indicate some receptivity on point 4 without committing us. Any objections?

March 30, 1961

LWD PR

I am enclosing my schedule commitments for the coming month or so:/

1. Saturday, A pril 15. State College workshop, Greensboro N.C. (expenses paid by YWCA)

2. Monday, Tue. April 17 & 18, state board meeting, Virginia Council, Richmond.

3. Sun & Saturday, April 21 & 22, state board meeting, North Carolina Council in Greensboro.

4. April 24 & 25 - John Lassoe, exec dir. of NAIRO will be in town and will of course expect to see you.

5. May 2 & 3, Southern Inter-agency meeting, probably in New Orleans. (I may be in New Orleans May 1 - 4)

6. May 5 - 8 state board meeting, Florida Council, and consultation with Florida leaders.

March 30, 1961

HCF PR

New Orleans

I talked with Kabacoff Tuesday. He stated that to the best of his information, recent developments have solved the financial crisis. He said he would check further, but advised that we take no action for the present.

****

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INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date April 3, 1961

To: LWD, HCF, PA, JC, MA, MET From: PR

Subject:

As you all know, the Georgia Council now has a full-time director, Frances Pauley. As a result of a special grant from the Unitarian Service Committee, the Atlanta Council also has a full-time staff person, Harry Boyte. We have long hoped for a strong and effective council operation in Georgia and I believe that we will now have it. I am anxious that we do all that we can to support and bolster these operations and encourage them to take increasing initiative and responsibility for concerns in their area.

I would hope that whenever possible, problems and concerns relating to Atlanta and Georgia would be channeled to these offices rather than handled here. When this does not seem feasible, information memos should be sent to Frances and Harry so that they will be aware of any involvement here.

In the past, because of our residence here and the relative weakness of the Georgia Council, we have tended to become directly involved as SRC staff in Atlanta developments. Some of this is probably inevitable, but I think it tends to weaken and confuse the Atlanta and Georgia operations if we are engaged in parallel activities without their knowledge.

April 11, 1961

HCF, LWD PR

Some time ago, Harold asked me to make some arrangements in New Orleans concerning the visit of Vernon Eagle. Since that time, the dates of the visit have been changed several times. If it is still expected for me to make arrangements again, I need to be so apprised and told which dates will find him in the Crescent City.

April 11, 1961

HCF PR

Have you been able to make any representations concerning the Inter-Citizens Committee in Birmingham? I have received repeated queries from Oliver and would like to be in a position to make some sort of report to him.

4/13/61

lwd pr

Gid Fryer letter

We are most interested in your ideas concerning special graduate training for the human relations field at the University of Tennessee. I believe that preparation for human relations work as a career would require some significant changes in the curriculum of the average school of social work, but that is another problem. At present, I believe that Miami is the only Southern university which is making any conscious effort whatsoever to provide training for human relations careers.

Concerning the four specific points you raised; 1) we definitely will be on the alert for programs which might be suitable for field work placement. In the human relations area, I suggest you communicate with Wilton Hartzler of the American Friends Service Committee (P. O. Box 1307) in High Point, N. C. 2) We will be on the lookout for BA graduates who might be likely candidates for the program. 3). I have no immediate ideas concerning sources of funds for training scholarships for human relations field. You probably know that NAIRO is exploring the possibility of reactivating its internship program and is seeking funds for this purpose. 4). I believe we would be willing here to talk further of the possibility of SRC as a field work location. We might be able to manage some pay for a student during the field work period. I think this would be possible, however, only if you would approve one of our professional staff members as the supervisor. I don't believe it would be feasible for such a student to be working with us with an outside social work supervisor involved.

MEMORANDUM April 14, 1961

To: Vernon Eagle
From: Paul Rilling

Re: New Orleans Situation

The current situation is reasonably calm in New Orleans, but it is the deceptive calm of prolonged deadlock and attrition. Nothing has been solved and the conflict cuts deep into the civic and political life of the city. The public schools have remained open, which is more than I expected as of last fall. At one desegfegated school, McDonough 19, with three Negro students, the white boycott is completely effective. This is the school which was briefly attended by the white Thompson children. Thompson later left the city, one of two white families driven out by harassment and intimidation. At the other school, the William Frantz school, with one Negro child attending, the white students have grown from 8 to 14 recently. This has been the main battleground which has seen the white students as low as 2 or 3 and as high as 25 or so at various times.

The actual heckling and gathering of groups around the schools has died down almost completely. The intimidation of white families who continue to send their children to the Frantz school has become much less intense. As you know, the major tactic of the segregationist in New Orleans has been the white boycott reinforced by economic action against those who do not conform. One white parent lost as many as three different jobs. There was no doubt that at least several dozen more white families would return to the school except for fear of this kind of economic retaliation.

As you know, the situation is primarily due to a conflict between the state government and the local school board. The Governor and the legislature have carried through a farce of meaningless legislation through five special sessions during the course of which the New Orleans School Board was fired four times. Prospects are now that a constitutional convention will be convened this summer to remove the commitment of public schoolfunds so that these funds may be made available for grant-in-aid purposes. Under new Louisiana law, a community may hold a referendum on whether or not public schools shall be

closed. Such a referendum is only advisory and not binding on the school board. Two parishes (counties) are under desegregation orders with no set dates. These are East Baton Rouge and St. Helena. St. Helena, which is over near the Mississippi border, is being designated as the first test of the new state law. St. Helena will hold a referendum on school closing April 22. The school board has made it clear that when the referendum is approved, they will take actions to place the parish on a private school tuition grant basis. In East Baton Rouge, the other parish under court order, the legislature authorized the Governor to appoint several additional school board members, thus packing the board and creating a segregationist majority.

The leadership of the city of New Orleans has been moderate. The school board, although fighting desegregation orders all the way up several times, has taken a firm position in favor of compliance with court orders in the form of token desegregation. The Mayor and Police Chief have said the right things but have refused to take firm actions against demonstrators, etc. The mass media have said the right things but very mildly and infrequently, with the exception of television station WDSU.

On the moderate side of the issue have been two citizens groups of the public school committee variety. These are Save Our Schools and the Committee on Public Education. SOS has been the more active and militant group and at one time was ferrying the children through the picket lines to the schools (i.e. the white children). On the segregationist side, there is a very strong citizens council with prestige leadership.

Most of the white children who would normally attend the desegregated schools are attending a special branch of a public school in a nearby parish, although a massive fund drive is underway to create a new public school in the area by next fall. It is estimated that around 100 children are apparently receiving no education at all.

Since the new administration has come into power, the Attorney General has taken a stronger position in the New Orleans situation and this more forceful intervention seems the best hope of any kind of solution. The U. S. Attorney has initiated several actions in federal court, most notably the action to find the state Superintendent of Education, Shelby Jackson guilty of contempt of court.

Your major contact in New Orleans will be Mrs. Betty Wisdom, niece of U.S. District Judge John Minor Wisdom, a member of the board of the SOS group and of the Independent Women's Organization, a nonpartisan women's political group. Betty is in touch with all elements in the city and should be of considerable help to you. She will leave word for you at the hotel, I hope. In case you miss contact with her, her phone number is University 1-2791 and her address, 413 Hillary Street

I am suggesting that you see the following people in New Orleans and Betty will try to make some arrangements before your arrival:

1. Dr. Al Dent, whom you know.

2. James Redmond, New Orleans school superintendent.

3. Sam Rosenberg, attorney for the school board and a member of the board of the Committee on Public Education.

4. Lester Kabacoff who is connected with the Stern Family interests and who has been a significant figure behind the scenes in efforts to arrive at a practical solution. (Phone Ja 5-2357)

5. Mrs. Norbert Sand, chairman of Save Our Schools (282-1986).

6. Dr. Robert Lancaster or Mrs. Lancaster. Bob is the chairman of the Committee on Public Education.

7. Andrew Rogers of the Fitzgerald Advertising Agency. Andy has been involved with many aspects of the citizens effort to create a climate of acceptance. (524-3131).

8. Clarence Laws, southwestern director of the NAACP, if he is in town. (I believe he works out of his home when he is in New Orleans.)

9. Harvey Kerns, director of the New Orleans Urban League.

10. Mrs. Moise Cahn, former national president of the Council of Jewish Women, one of the founders of SOS and a board member, member of the board of the Urban League, a member of the Louisiana Advisory Committee to the Civil Rights Commission, etc. (University 6-6282)

11. Mr. Tureaud, NAACP attorney in the New Orleans situation.

All of the above will know me, with the exception of Tureaud and Redmond. Rosenberg and Kerns may be a little vague as to my contacts, which were some time ago.

I doubt that we have any contacts in Jackson, Mississippi that are not more familiar to Will Campbell. For what it is worth, our major contacts there are as follows:

1. Bishop Joseph B. Brunini. Brunini, a Bishop of the Catholic Church, is a member of our board.

2. Dr. Ernest Borinski of Tougaloo Christian College. Borinski is a native of Poland and a white professor at a Negro college. He has been able to make a singular contribution toward keeping channels of communication open in Jackson.

3. Mr. William L. Higgs of 707 North Congress Street, Fl 3-4155. Higgs is the attorney in the case against the Mississippi

STATE subsidy to the Citizens Council. He advises with Negro leaders and is closely involved in such matters. He has had some contact with Ben Muse.

4. Dr. E. D. Beittel, who is president of Tougaloo Christian College.

Good luck.

PMR

pmr/sm

4/27/61

lwd pr

Les, this sounds to me like an interesting possibility. I suggest we try to check on Cole through NT contacts and if favorable, communicate further with him. Perhaps Fleming could see him in NY sometimes without any extra expenditure.

May 12, 1961

bc

sm

jc says we can give a one year complimentary NEW South sub/scription for one year: to

Mrs. N. H. Sand
1447 Granada
New Orleans, La.

Mrs. Betty Wisdom
413 Hillary
New Orleans, La.

May 18, 1961

jc pr

tapes

1. Bob Johnson is no longer with the NCCJ. We should delete his name or find new address at Antioch College.

2. Add to interagency list Mathew Ahmann
(see memo of Mar 6, 61)
Executive Director, Natl Cath. Conf for Interracial Justice
21West Superior St.
Chicago 10, Ill

3. Dr. Rufus Atwood is no longer president of the Kentucky Council. The new president is A. D. Pinckney (on state list)

4. Add Thornton Merriam (Dr.) Southern Area YMCA, 706 Standard Building, Atlanta 3, Ga.

5. Ruth Hughes is no longer with the regional YW staff.

6. Thelma Babbitt is no longer in Little Rock.

7. You have a David Schull of Annandale Va. I am sure this must be David Scull. A more complete address would be % Turnpike Press, Annandale.

8. Lorey Collins is no longer in Fla.

9. Add John Yungbaut, Friends Center, 1384 Fairview Road, Atl.

10. Add John McConnell, 205 Ridgewood Place, Mobile, Ala.

11. Should not all state presidents be added? See attached lists.

May 23, 1961

LWD pr

my travel schedule for the coming months.

Gess

May 26 & 27 - Greensboro, for meeting with Bill Bagwell

May 28 - June 3 - Blue Ridge, YMCA meeting

June 9 + 12 - New Orleans

June 16 - 17 - NAIRO board meeting in Detroit

June 26 - July 1 - Fisk Institute in Nashville.

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Walnut 2-8764

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INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date June 8, 1961

To: LWD From: ~~xx~~ PR

Subject: Speaking engagement

a guy from the Bethlehem Community Center called yesterday and asked for somebody to speak at their southeastern meeting of cc directors in October in Mammoth Cave, Ky. I told them I would be happy to do so, subject to your approval. They will pay expenses.

Memo
Gen

July 31, 1961

LWD PR

Trip to New York, July, 1961

The trip included contacts with Cohen of ADL, Muravchik of the Jewish Labor Committee, Carey and Robinson of CORE, Allen of the Urban League, Fleishman of the National Labor Service, several national staff members of the American Jewish Congress, Lukas, Danzig and Murray of the American Jewish Committee, Malin and Reitman and another senior staff member of the American Civil Liberties Union. The following points seem worth noting:

(1) CORE plans to open a Southern office in either Atlanta or New Orleans by fall. They would be happy to have our recommendation as to the city if we see a difference. The CORE budget has doubled this year and the staff is expanding rapidly in the wake of the Freedom Rides. I consider Gordon Carey to be a responsible and reliable channel for contact and consultation.

(2) The Jewish Labor Committee wants to open a Southern office when possible, probably in Atlanta. Muravchik would welcome discussions with us concerning possible joint sponsorship or financing of such an operation.

(3) Cohen of the ADL invites our comments or additions on their school closing brochure. These will be forwarded to ADL this week. Cohen also requests our consideration of a joint sponsorship or sharing in the financing of the Little Rock case study which has been some time in preparation. This is about 100 pages long, and will require "major revisions" before it can be released. Cohen desires an early answer from us on this matter.

(4) ADL is beginning to develop the preparation of a question and answers pamphlet on race relations intended for foreign visitors, etc.. They wonder if we would be interested in joint sponsorship or consultation on the preparation of such a brochure. He would like an answer on this fairly soon. I recommend that we take an affirmative posture on this particular

project.

(5) Both Cohen and Muravchik suggest that a study of the practices of public employment services in the southern states would be of particular value at this time, because of the federal emphasis on merit employment, etc.

(6) Lukas of AJC suggests that more should be done with church leadership. He suggests that religious channels are not properly enlisted in the effort, and that national church leaders, such as Eugene Carson Blake, would be happy to be of service in the Southern situation if they were but asked.

(7) The American Jewish Committee (Danzig) is planning an in-service training workshop for next summer for persons already engaged in intergroup relations work who want to sharpen their exposure to some of the literature and their skill through lectures, case studies, etc.. The workshop will last for four weeks and be fairly intensive. Would we be interested in sending persons? I indicated my personal feeling that several of our stafe staff would benefit from such a workshop and that I would explore whether or not SRC could handle the financing thereof. I would urge a favorgble consideration of this idea.

August 7, 1961

LWD PR

Possible Involvement of State Councils on Human Relations in Voter Registration Effort

I think we can depend on the cooperation and support of the state offices to the extent of their ability. I think we must recognize, however, that certain problems are involved in attempting to utilize the state councils as major channels in this effort. The state councils are fairly small groups, averaging about five or six hundred in most states. As liaison or communications groups they generally include Negro representation from the professional and leadership groups. They do not, however, have vast Negro membership nor have they won the emotional loyalty or attachment of Negro communities below the leadership level. The interracial nature of the councils may be a strength in some places but a handicap in others. In some of the strongly resisting areas, an all-Negro effort at increasing the vote might meet with more success than would a door-bell ringing effort by white persons or mixed groups.

Of course, the strength of the councils varies considerably from state to state and from community to community. I would doubt that the councils would be able to launch drives of their own in any community. I think there might be a number of places where councils might be effective coordinators or catalysts to involve a number of groups. Unfortunately, but inevitably, council membership and support is lightest in the rural areas where the need for a voting effort is greatest. I think the following might be noted as probable places where council strength would enable our groups to play a significant role: Richmond, Lynchburg, Norfolk, Alexandria, Arlington, and Fairfax County, Virginia; Savannah, Georgia; Gainesville, Jacksonville, and Daytona Beach, Florida; Charlotte and Raleigh, North Carolina; Nashville, Memphis, and Oak Ridge, Tennessee; Houston and Austin, Texas; and Little Rock, Arkansas.

August 7, 1961

LWD PR

Comment on Beckwith letter

Naturally I think this is a fine letter. Beckwith was President of the Virginia Council during my tenure as Director and he devoted considerable time and effort to the cause. He was the first Chairman of the Fairfax County Council, which is certainly one of the most effective of the local groups in the South. Coming out of this background and experience he is naturally a strong partisan of the state and local program. He also is the kind who takes board membership seriously and would like to be really involved and useful in our activities.

Memo Gen

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
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GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
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ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
JOHN HOPE II, PROGRAM
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
C. H. PARRISH, STATE ORGANIZATIONS
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
F. B. ROUTH, STATE ORGANIZATIONS
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MRS. M. E. TILLY
IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK
RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Re[redacted]
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVE[redacted]A

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

PR ✓

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date August 8, 1961

To: LWD From: PR

Subject: Florida situation

Recommendations:

So far as we are concerned, I would urge that we back them up on the Pensacola situation if they so request. My recommendations to FCHR: I emphasized their failure to meet financial quotas this year might create some doubt concerning our future support; urged on the state president the need for firmer and more direct supervision. I supported the suggestion that the state office might be moved from Miami. Any other ideas?

next?

August 8, 1961

LWD PR

Have we, or should we press for support to the Birmingham case studies from Taconic or New World? If I remember correctly, Taconic has it but not Vernon.

August 8, 1961

LWD PR

Mississippi Situation

You will remember that we indicated to John Yungblut that we would make some decision several weeks ago concerning his proposition for joint financing of some work in Mississippi, or possibly helping with some funds to enable him to continue his contacts over that way. It seems to me we have approximately four alternatives in this matter:

(1) We could continue as now, which means working primarily through Gene Cox, with occasional trips by field personnel such as Ben Muse and me.

(2) We could make certain funds available for travel purposes to enable John Yungblut to cultivate contacts in Mississippi, convene occasional meetings, try to organize local groups in three or four places which he believes to be possible. He would probably use these funds in addition to some he is expecting through his Boston friend, whose name I forget. If this were done, I think it should be rather clear to whom John is responsible. Would he be responsible to us, to Dr. So-and-So, or would we be simply contributing money to an autonomous operation?

(3) The possible joint financing through John of a half-time man who could work in Mississippi. The suggestion here was Ed Rider, currently YMCA General Secretary at the University of Mississippi. Rider is elderly, retiring, dedicated, Southern, well-intentioned. He might or might not be the right man for this type of operation. I have known him for some years. I think this kind of possibility should be considered only if there were a clear line of responsibility of supervision through the Southern Regional Council.

(4) Your thought that we might be able to arrange for a full-time man. I would be somewhat wary of a jointly financed full-time operation in the state. If this is the best answer,

I would prefer to see us do it ourselves. At the very least, we should have administrative control. Personally, I would oppose a full-time operation in Mississippi, unless it were the regional man I have occasionally suggested, ~~that/would~~ who would operate in Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas, helping to fill the gap there.

I am checking with Will Campbell this week-end on his evaluation of Gene Cox's operation, what are the supplemental needs there, could Gene fit into any of the above suggestions, etc.. I think we need to develop some sort of answer to John fairly quickly.

PR

MEMORANDUM: AUGUST 16, 1961

TO: PROFESSIONAL STAFF

FROM: LWD

There are a number of matters which are with us always, and though they don't all concern each of you directly, I would like this omnibus memo to call them to your attention for action. This is a very random assemblage of things and I am sure doesn't include all of the present problems; just all that I can think of at the moment.

In Jim Moss' absence, I would like for Montez to call together the permanent Research staff to discuss the items which relate to Research so that some attention can be paid to those things before Jim returns; I would like also that this memorandum be shown to Jim for his follow-up when he gets back.

Mailing List and New South Subscriptions

This is a matter of real urgency. We have for a long time been doing an inadequate and slipshod job. The problem is three-fold: 1) to correct inaccuracies and to provide against their reoccurrence; 2) to delete deadwood and to add people who ought to be getting our things; 3) to prepare ourselves for tailoring the distribution plan for each item of material we put out. I have asked PA to work closely with ML and WF in solving these problems. Please do not ask me to help think them through. If you need my concurrence in any proposed methods, bring me recommendations. You may also at some point want to consult with Ben Muse.

Book Reviews

We are doing a slipshod job here too and ML and Research need to put their minds to it. I believe we ought to carry on New South some review notices of most of the non-technical new books in our field. We need a procedure whereby every book which is bought immediately comes up for consideration and discussion as to whether there should be a review and, if so, whether it should be a brief one or a lengthy one. (This is merely a personal opinion and you don't have to accept it, but I think a sensible book review is either just a 1 or 2 paragraph notice or else is a 2 or 3 page critique; lengths in between seem to me usually rather useless) We have any number of more or less new books now in here, and no provision for reviews has been made. We need to consider each of them individually and we need to set up a procedure whereby new acquisitions will be considered. Please do not ask me to help think through the problems. If you need my concurrence, bring me recommendations, though I don't see why, in this case, I need to be consulted at all. Ordinarily, I think reviewers should be chosen from SRC staff or Board. There are a number of people on the staff who could write good reviews, and we need always to be looking for opportunities to get our Board members active.

Stocks of Materials

We should advise ML whenever our stock of any printed or mimeographed item has fallen low. ML will then decide what, if anything, should be done about it. Especially during her first months, I am sure she will want to get advice from me, Research, EM, perhaps others.

Distribution of newspapers and magazines

I have asked PA to see that this runs without any more snarls. He will need the advice of Research and ML.

Circulation of news items

All of us need to be mindful, when something interesting crosses our desk, that others might want to read it also. In particular, Research and ML, who read the newspapers and magazines, should keep in mind that the rest of us also need to be informed and need to stay up to date. When you see something that looks particularly interesting to you in the way of an article, item, etc, circulate it to the other people whom you think would want to see it.

Clipping

This nightmare I am convinced we shall have with us always. Whensoere we can, we should do it well. As the Research staff gains experience, I hope it will talk about setting for itself a target and gearing its operations accordingly. PErhaps it is unrealistic, but with the assistance which other members of the staff are now giving in the reading and marking of newspapers, could we not work toward the goal of having clippings filed away 48 hours after a newspaper is received in the office?

New South and the State Councils.

I think the question which we discussed some months ago has been settled: we do not want to convert New South into a "house organ." Nevertheless, New South should manifest a continuing interest in state and local councils. We made a beginning in this direction with the recent article on Alexandria. ML and PR should frequently consult together on the desirability of other similar articles.

The State Councils

PR is our field director, but it does not mean he is the only one on this staff interested in the fortunes of the state councils.

There are perhaps ways in which Research, Information, and the Executive Assistant can support the efforts of the state and local councils. In particular, Mrs. Tilly and her program should have a contribution to make. I suggest that PR occasionally convene you, with or without my participation, at lunch or in the office, to discuss suggestions you may have for putting more of the resources of SRC behind the states.

Office Management

I would like for PA, RHA, and WF to constitute themselves a continuing committee to review office procedure and to consider ways of improvement. EM in a recent letter to me, which is in the files, made certain suggestions that ought to be considered. Please do not ask me to help think through the problems. If my concurrence is needed on anything, bring me recommendations.

Collect Telephone Calls

We could save a few dollars if no one would accept calls for another person. Let the person being called get on the line and accept the charges himself. Will PA please see that the receptionist follows this practice and will all of you tell this to your secretaries.

Travel Accommodations

Whenever tourist class accommodations are available, on a convenient flight, we should use them. In traveling by rail, we should use a Pullman berth, not roomette, if a berth is available. Travel by private or rented car should be only when circumstances dictate.

Printing Contracts

Most of our arrangements for printing are concluded orally. ML should remember that a letter of confirmation should follow; Montez will be able to show her samples of letters written in the past. In addition, we must always remind the printer to use the union bug.

Research Office Neatness

Some months ago I wrote a memorandum regarding this subject which ought to be still in the files. The Research staff might well review it and consider anew the objectives

August 24, 1961

LWD FR

Trip to Tennessee, August 18 and 19

The program workshop in Jackson Friday and Saturday was quite successful, I felt. About 35 persons attended the sessions. They had been planned for a leadership group. In his first assignment as consultant in this type of role, Eric Lincoln did a first-rate job. He showed a good understanding of the potentials and the limitations of a local interracial Council program. I think he will be a valuable addition to our consultants panel.

The new Council on Human Relations in Jackson is worth noting. The achievements to date and the potential of the group are both somewhat unusual. As of last fall, there was virtually no communication between the races in Jackson, and demonstrations by Lane College students triggered several ~~[illegible]~~ incidents of violence and heightened tension throughout the community. Shocked by these events, a few people of good will, assisted by Kay Jones, moved to reestablish communications and in a short while some 200 persons were involved in five discussion groups meeting in various parts of the community on an interracial basis. A number of leading citizens were involved in this effort. The moving local spirits were a shoe store owner named Sam Wahl, and a prominent civic leader, Mrs. George Allen, both white.

In large part because of the work of these groups, a younger group in the Chamber of Commerce was able to win the agreement of the Chamber to some initiative in facing the problems of the community. The Chamber of Commerce appointed a committee with complete authority to act for the Chamber in negotiating with Negro leadership. The spirit and the give-and-take between the groups has been excellent, and the merchants have committed themselves to lunch counter desegregation, probably by the time college reconvenes this fall. They have also committed themselves to employment of Negro clerks at some time after the lunch counters have been successfully desegregated, and the issues of school desegregation and the opening of recreational facilities are under discussion. Few ~~[illegible]~~ tangible things have been achieved, but the spirit and climate is one of mutual respect and trust.

The five groups were merged recently into a Council on Community Relations, which will not be officially affiliated with the Tennessee Council at this time. Serving as the president of the Council is Mr. Henry Forgy, Jr., executive of a local business and highly respected in the Chamber of Commerce and in the Community at large. Although liberal on the race issue, Forgy comes from a conservative background and is a Right Wing Republican on issues of taxation and economic matters. The vice-chairman is a Negro school principal named Merriweather, who reports no adverse pressures on him because of his active role in the Council. Mrs. Merry, wife of a Negro professional man, is secretary and treasurer. Mr. Wahl continues to play a prominent role, and a Mr. Porter seems to be the leading Negro figure in the community and in the Council membership. I am preparing a list of the names and addresses of some of these persons. Wahl is also a member of the Chamber of Commerce negotiating committee.

The Council would seem to have an auspicious future with excellent contacts in the highest places and with power structure involvement.

In other respects the Tennessee Council is having financial troubles. Kay Jones does not consider herself strong in the fund-raising area, and had not exerted too much effort in that direction during her first year. She felt that she first had to establish rapport and trust with her constituency. James Glasse has been an excellent president in most respects, but as he himself puts it, "I have a mental block about money." The Tennessee Council is some $900.00 short of meeting their matching goal by the September 1 deadline. There is about $35.00 in the treasury and Kay has not been paid for the month of August. I suggested a possible SRC loan, but she indicated that she thought it was good strategy to face the membership with this kind of a crisis rather than to claim the matching funds already met or to accept a salary loan.

August 24, 1961

LWD PR

Emory Via, during my recent visit to Wisconsin, suggested that George Barrett, from Nashville, might well be interested in some revived version of the old labor job, if the salary were reasonably good.

August 24, 1961

LWD PR

Trip to Virginia, August 15, 16

I was extremely pleased with the way that Lee is taking hold of his responsibilities in Virginia. He is putting the office on a more organized and professional basis than has been true in the past. He shows an excellent understanding of what is needed and of the possibilities. He is already working actively in the Richmond scene and has established excellent working relationships with the very strong NAACP organization in Virginia.

Stanton

The Virginia Council now reports 16 locals, one of the latest in Stanford (? - MM), Virginia, and 3,000 members. The large increase since the last membership report was through the merger with the Women's Interracial Council in Norfolk. Dan Bowers is keeping in close touch with the state office, but is very self-consciously avoiding any effort at directing or dominating the new director.

Lee finds that he is well accepted by the Baptist ministry in the area, at least so far, and has already spoken as a guest minister at one of the major churches. He indicated that the Baptists seem to take some sense of pride that one of their number should be carrying on this kind of work and find their own guilt somewhat assuaged. Lee expects this atmosphere of sweetness and light to evaporate as soon as the Council is required to take a strong stand on a controversial matter in the future, but he is making the most of it in the meantime. He seems well-situated as far as his home situation is concerned and he is enthusiastic about the work. In going over the records, Lee and I have found some rather disturbing indications of sloppiness and short-cuts in Bowers' administration of the records, but these are the not surprising shortcomings of a good man who is very busy concentrating on important program concerns.

August 29, 1961

LWD FR

Trip to New Orleans, August 24 - 26

The situation in New Orleans looks much rosier this year than a year ago. Among the encouraging differing factors are these:

1. Three of the four new schools selected are in "good" neighborhoods where trouble is expected to be minimal.

2. Only 6 white students requested transfer from these schools to avoid desegregation; the time for transfers is past.

3. The businessmen seem much more willing to become involved this year. Kabby reports that a state-wide organization is in the process of formation. Over a hundred names of local businessmen are already ready, and more are expected for an ad to be published shortly. Businessmen are also producing a half-hour film, which will be shown on TV and which will be available to club and civic groups.

4. The new citizens' group that Lloyd Rittner mentioned on our last visit seems to finally be organized. It is called Citizens for Public Schools, and is under the presidency of Dr. Lancaster, who last year headed CPE. CPE, as such, has virtually ceased to function. CPS has made a considerable effort to involve persons from the various groups interested in the cause. Three SOS board members are on the new committee. The businessmen, however, have refused to become involved in this group, prefering to act on their own. CPS has excellent liaison with the school board and with the businessmen's group.

5. Although there seems to be a considerable danger that boycotts will continue at the two schools affected last year, there are a few signs of organized efforts in the four new schools. One of these schools, however, McDonogh 11, remains somewhat of a question-mark.

6. There seems only slight possibility at the present time of a special session, which would provide the kind of sounding board for extremist sentiment that was available a year ago. The governor, too, seems to be taking a much quieter role.

7. The legislative committee set up to investigate the New Orleans school situation has now indicated that it recognizes the elected school board as the official school board of the city.

8. The majority members of the school board are much firmer in their posture this year and are much more willing to lend direct assistance to efforts to avoid trouble.

The White Citizens Council in New Orleans is ominously quiet. This is variously interpreted as discouragement, defeat, sinister new strategy, etc..

The new mayor and superintendent are not considered to be factors of strength. Mayor Schiro is considered by most of my contacts to be little more than a political hack, unlikely to exert any particular statesmanship or initiative. Superintendent Walker, likewise, is expected to attempt to exercise no initiative or to take no particular leading role.

The much heralded private school in the Frantz and McDonogh 19 area is nowhere near completion and the prestige of this group has suffered badly as a result.

All the reliable indications I could find point to no Catholic school desegregation this year. A persistent rumor continues to circulate in New Orleans, however, that three schools will be desegregated and that the information is simply being kept quiet by Monsignor Bezou, Catholic School Superintendent. Our Catholic contacts report that a new Bishop Coadjutor is being assigned from Kansas City. The man, a native of St. Louis, is reported as strong on the school question.

Although Dan Thompson had talked big about arranging contacts and meetings for me last week, he did not do so, pleading the pressure of the due date on his study. He evaded talk about the Negro community, preferring to talk about the general conditions. I gather that some feeble efforts are going forward in training and preparation of the total community and particularly the transfer applicants (the larger group). From what Dan reports, I would doubt that anything has changed very much since Foster was there.

No one in New Orleans, including Kabby, who claims to have discussed it with Wright, anticipates a decision which would admit more students this year.

August 30, 1961

LWD

PR

I wonder if we should examine our security precautions here in view of some of the things that have occurred in some of the state offices and the influx of extremists here this week. Our state files, for instance, are unlockable, as is my desk. I may be the major problem here, but I wonder if others are not also leaving open desks, files, etc., and whether the danger of exposure justifies some discussion of the problem.

August
~~September~~ 30, 1961

LWD PR

Prince Edward County, Virginia

After several days in Prince Edward County, Happy Lee reports that in all probability local response to the recent court order will be to open one Negro school, call it a public school open to all, and use social pressure to keep white students from attending. There is a biracial group meeting again in the county on a weekly basis, with 12 white persons, mostly college-based, involved.

Lee has learned that some shop equipment has been moved in the dead of night from the public school building to the Foundation school. It is not known whether this was done with approval and knowledge of the school board.

The theory of the strategy noted above, of course, is that the judge voided tuition grants only where public schools are closed.

Both white and Negro groups are split on strategy. A die-hard group in Prince Edward is against even this much of a compromise. They favor continuing private schools with completely private funds raised throughout the South.

The Negroes are likewise split. Robertson, state NAACP president, feels that Negroes should refuse to attend such a public school. Others believe that if this plan is upheld by the courts Negroes should attend it and attempt to make it work. Indications are that from 2 to 10 white children would attend such a school.

Memo
Gen

August 30, 1961

LWD PR

Proposal from Greater Atlanta Council

As you know, I feel generally that conferences and workshops are one of the least effective program tools for use in this field; however, they do have some use. I presume that the only advantage of this kind of conference over the consultations that now take place in the Southern Interagency Conference would be the publicity value and the involvement of lay membership in the Atlanta area.

I think it would probably not be feasible to hold such a conference this fall because of the time that would be involved in setting it up. It could, of course, be planned for a late spring period.

I think that a local organization would not be the most effective host or convener for a regional conference but this would be a mechanical matter that could be resolved through an interagency invitation of some sort.

NAIRO is considering holding a southeastern conference next spring somewhat along the lines of the Little Rock conference which you attended. It might be that these two ideas could be merged into one since they are quite similar in purpose. Perhaps it would be wise for Liza to talk with the regional chairman of NAIRO on this before the two projects get much further.

9/5/61

LWD PR

The enclosed ads are scheduled to run in both newspapers September 5th, 6th, and 7th, respectively. The LIFE signature was changed to "SOS" at the last minute and against my advice.

Other plans of SOS include wide-spread distribution of their headline flyer, a heavy mailing to the business community of the ADL piece, handling of arrangements and production costs for a TV panel involving school board members on WYES, the educational TV station. This will be a school board show on public service time and not an identified SOS program.

September 12, 1961

LWD & PA

PR

Matching funds

All states have now reported that they have raised sufficient funds locally to qualify for SRC matching funds except for Alabama, Florida, and Kentucky. Alabama was given an extension until October 1, to make up for their several months without staff. Florida will fall short. Kentucky didn't try.

September 18, 1961

LWD, PA, MET, ML PR

HOPE, INC.

The Atlanta Chapter of HOPE, INC., meeting Thursday night, September 14, voted to go out of existence as of October 15. There was divided opinion as to whether the state organization should continue. The state board will meet this week to consider the matter.

September 25, 1961

LWD PR (Dictated September 22)

Contacts in Knoxville

Kay Jones suggests:

(1) Clifford Seeker
509 Forest Hills Blvd.
Businessman. Close associate of former Mayor Dempster. Knowledgeable. Tennessee Council member.

(2) William A. Shafer
1704 Bonita Drive
Employee of TVA and active in civic affairs. Tennessee Council member.

(3) M. H. Kurko
Ridge Rock Lane
Labor leader. Tennessee Council member.

There are a number of good people connected with the University, but University faculty is a fairly isolated group in Knoxville and might not be able to provide the needed information.

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
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JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
FREDERICK B. ROUTH, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER, SECRETARY-TREASURER
PAUL ANTHONY, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT
JOHN HOPE II, CHIEF CONSULTANT
C. H. PARRISH, PROGRAM ASSOCIATE
MRS. M. E. TILLY, DIRECTOR OF WOMEN'S WORK
JOHN CONSTABLE, DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
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Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N.E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date September 25, 1961

To: LWD

From: PR (Dictated September 22)

Subject: Contacts in Knoxville

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September 25, 1961
(Dictated September 20)
LWD PR

Potential board members from Mississippi and Louisiana.

From Mississippi some appropriate possibilities for the board would be;

1- The Rev. Murray Cox
2316 - 22nd Avenue
Gulfport, Miss.
(Retired clergyman, Chairman of State Advisory Committee.)

2- Dr. A. D. Beittel
President
Tougaloo College
Jackson, Miss.
(A former chairman of the old Alabama Division of SRC).

These would be good men. It strikes me, however, that we have no Negro board member from Mississippi. Both of these are white. I will continue to look around.

From Louisiana, all of the following are from New Orleans, but are good possibilities;

Mrs. N. H. Sand
1447 Granada
New Orleans
(Housewife, president of SOS, is or has been an officer in PTA and AAUW.)

Mrs. Betty Wisdom
413 Hillary St.
New Orleans
(Member SOS board, niece of Federal Judge John Minor Wisdom, active in the Independent

Womens organization and other civic groups.
Moves in political and social elite circles.)

Mrs. Rosa Keller (White)
1701 Arabella Street
New Orleans 15, La.
(Member SOS board and one of founders of the organization. Former Chiarman Urban League Board. Wealthy; well connected; old family. Brother is board chairman of Delta Air Lines, etc.)

Jack Nelson. (White)
Address:

(Courageous, out-spoken young attorney. Catholic member SOS board. Vice-Chairman Catholic Human Relations Council and National Vice Chairman National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice. Has defended Goldfinch and others in sit-in case and is attorney for Negro litigants attempting to enter Tulane.)

Dan Thompson (Negro)
Professor of Social Science, Dillard Univ.
(Chairman of Coordinating Council of Negro Organizations.)

Dr. Leonard Burns (Negro)
Address:

(Chiropodist. Catholic officer of United Clubs. Vice Chairman Catholic Human Relations Council.)

October 6, 1961 (Dictated October 2)

LWD PR

Gleanings from Southern Interagency Conference

1. Henry Cabirac reports that local Catholic Councils are active in San Antonio, Washington, St. Louis, New Orleans, and, he thinks, Raleigh.

2. Jean Fairfax reports that the summer teaching project sponsored by the Virginia Teachers' Association was a great help and a success, that 37 teaching machines are now in experimental use in the county, that 37 Negroes have already been sent out of the county for education this year. This includes new placements in Berea, Kentucky, and Washington, D. C. The Negro community in Prince Edward County generally expected some sort of resolution of the crisis by this fall. Morale is consequently somewhat low and there seems little incentive to organize new recreational centers this year. The ruling of the federal court has not been appealed to the circuit court. The Negro strategy pins its hope on a case currently before the state supreme court, claiming that the state must operate public schools in Prince Edward County on the basis of the state constitution and laws, particularly the tax laws. There is still some danger that the segregationist leaders may open one or two "public schools" to which no white student would be expected to go, but which would presumably free tuition grant funds for the private schools. These schools are operating at present without tuition grant funds.

3. There was an interesting discussion of the whole Freedom Ride movement and its future, with reports by Wyatt Walker and Jim McCain. Both agreed that it was unlikely that the Freedom Rides would be continued in the near future on the same basis. It was agreed that financial resources have been just about exhausted, and the organizations are quite concerned about getting some rebates on the $500.00 per person cash bond which has been posted. Both indicated that their problem has somewhat been how

to gracefully close out the effort. McCain feels that there should be, at some time in the future, an intensified effort if the ICC regulations do not prove too successful in effecting a change. He feels that there needs to be a group of persons recruited who are willing to serve out the entire jail terms. Walker, on the other hand, felt that this would not be practical and that it would not be possible to recruit that kind of group in the foreseeable future. Walker further suggested that it might be possible to work out some sort of compromise with the Mississippi people which would involve some return on the $500.00 bail funds. One possible approach to this would be the nolo contendere plea, which was tried on a pilot basis in the case of several of the riders. This resulted in a court ruling that $200.00 would be returned to those so pleading, but the money has not been yet forthcoming. Walker suggested that Mississippi had given some indications of willingness to bargain on the entire matter, etc.

4. As I believe I mentioned to you earlier, SNCC has the Bellafonte money and is proceeding with a voting project and is proceeding with the employment of 14 field personnel who will be placed in Mississippi. Miss Diane Nash has been designated Director of the Direct Action Activities of SNCC and will be based in Atlanta. Her salary will apparently be paid out of regular SNCC funds. Charles Jones has been designated Chairman of the voter registration effort, and will be based in Atlanta, his salary coming, presumably, out of the Bellafonte funds. Charles McDew will apparently also be based in Atlanta, but it is not yet clear to me what he will be doing. There has been no appointment of an over-all staff director.

October 6, 1961 (Dictated Oct. 2)

LWD PR

Arkansas Council

I had a long conference with Nat and with Ozell Sutton, his new Associate, while in Memphis. Mrs. Arnold, their office secretary and a power in her own right, was present, as were several of the lay officers.

The Arkansas Council has added 88 new members during the past few months and has made their matching fund level, no mean achievement for this small group. I get a definite impression from Nat and also from some of the laymen in the Little Rock area that Ozell Sutton's contribution has been significant and competent. He has been working closely with the parents of the Negroes moving into the new desegregated situations. White sponsors have been provided for each Negro family as was done in Atlanta. His group of Negro parents and students and white sponsors have formed into sort of an informal organization and have already worked to prevent dropouts at the technical high school. The percentage of dropouts has been fairly high in the past.

Ozell is also working on a voter registration campaign which will involve using students from all three of the Negro colleges in the area, with the official permission of college authorities for canvassing and other aspects of registration efforts. Two of the colleges have already approved the idea.

As part of their recent finance and membership drive, the Council has held a series of meetings in Little Rock and in Pine Bluff with, they feel, good effect and educational value. Granger Williams, former chairman of the Chamber of Commerce, has joined the Council on Human Relations.

October 18, 1961

LWD PR

Durr letter

Certainly it is true that some sort of dialogue in Alabama such as that sparked by the Sibley Committee hearings here in Georgia would be most desirable. Unfortunately, such a dialogue rarely develops except under pressure of events -- as has been true in Arkansas, Virginia, Georgia, Louisiana. I doubt very much if it will be practical to reach this goal through the Alabama state Advisory Committee. As you know, a considerable effort was made originally to get persons of diverse views on these committees. The Deep South committees, such as Louisiana, Alabama, South Carolina, and Mississippi, turned out liberal because of the refusals of moderates or conservatives to serve on them. I don't believe that any committee connected with the federal Civil Rights Committee would be accepted in Alabama as such a meeting. I think it is probably more effective as an indigenous liberal voice with semi-official status. I believe that the reports of the liberal advisory groups have been of considerably more value than those with built-in disagreement.

Nov. 6, 1961

LWD

~~MC~~ PR

During the recent Mississippi meeting I had the inevitable trying experience of a discussion with Hazel Brannon Smith concerning her desperate financial situation. She made a strong pitch for SRC's printing business, indicating that not only did she need the money but she would be happy to "bid on a competitive basis," "guarantee satisfaction," etc.. I'm afraid I have to give her some kind of an answer. Let me know what kind. Or better still, write her yourself.

Memo Gen

Nov. 10, dictated Nov. 7, 1961

LWD PR

Little Rock Urban League

I talked to Nat Griswold about this. He reports that Herb Tyson, the current and fairly new director of the Little Rock Urban League, is young, personable, energetic, intelligent, and able, although not trained for this sort of work and with no previous experience. He comes from a background of public school teaching in North Little Rock. The Urban League in Little Rock has had rough sledding since its expulsion from the United Fund. Tyson is in the position of having to raise a large budget, carry on a program which is both effective and which will lend itself to a proper new effort by the Urban League to get back into the United Fund, without loss of integrity.

The League has a good strong interracial board which includes some influential people of both races. Tyson has been particularly effective in pulling together the Negro students now in white schools and their parents into a group which has strengthened the resolve and morale. He has been active in an effort to create unified, effective leadership in the Negro community. He did a good job in a recent voter registration competition carried out through the churches. He has been working with some skill on the housing problem.

I have met Tyson on several occasions and have seen him operate in small group meetings. I was well impressed with him.

Memo Gen

November 20, 1961

LWD PR

Ben Muse letter attached.

Information for Ben Muse:

The Mayor of Albany is Asa Kelly, a segregationist, but seasonable and concerned. The Police Chief is Laurie Pritchett, a segregationist who did a good law and order job. The white members of the original biracial negotiating committee that folded were: the Rev. Fred Wilson of the First Methodist Church, who is excellent, liberal, and well-connected; Mr. Joe Rosenburg, who is moderate, concerned, and a leading figure, and a Mr. Caldwell, reputed to be good but not known to me.

Other friendly contacts are: Rev. Marion Bradwell of the Covenant Presbyterian Church; Rev. John W. McQueen of the First Presbyterian Church. Both Episcopalian ministers seem to be good. These are Father Harry Shipps and Father Beaune.

MO
Gen

Nov. 28, 1961

RHA PR

Eric Lincoln, travel expenses to Little Rock

Please issue a check payable to Dr. C. Eric Lincoln in the amount of $84.19, for his travel expenses to and from Little Rock, Arkansas to serve as consultant to the Arkansas Council on Human Relations. Breakdown of his expenses:

Round trip air passage:	$80.19
Limousines	4.00
	$84.19

Memo
Gen

December 7, 1961

LWD PR

Rockefeller Brothers Letter of November 29

I feel that John Youngblut's work in Mississippi and Louisiana one or two years ago was useful in developing sympathetic contacts and probing the possibilities for organizational activity. Unless we are prepared to carry through with some of the alternatives that would involved more significant representation by us or other agencies in the Mississippi-Louisiana area, I believe that it is useful to keep John in touch with these connections. His work has been quite helpful to me, as you know, and I think that John continues to orient groups and individuals in this area to our program and plans.

Memos
Gen

December 13, 1961

LWD and PA PR

Data on state groups for Annual Report

During 1961 the Councils on Human Relations achieved the highest level of self-support in their history and strengthened and expanded their program effectiveness. By the end of the third quarter of 1961 the state Councils had raised on their own a total of $43,106, some $3,000 more than had been raised at this same point during 1960. (If we wait two more weeks we can get the final ~~####~~ figures for 1961.) The Councils now have over 6,000 individual members and some 57 affiliated local groups.

Three of the state Councils are receiving significant foundation assistance. The Arkansas Council received a renewal of its grant from the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, to make possible the continuance of a 2-man, biracial professional staff. The Georgia and Tennessee Councils have recently received grants for 1962 from the Field Foundation.

There were a number of staff ~~######~~ changes in the state Councils during 1961. Mrs. Frances Pauley, a former state president of the League of Women Voters and field organizer for HOPE, became the first full-time director of the Georgia Council on Human Relations. In Virginia, the Rev. Heslip Lee, a Southern Baptist minister, became director of the VCHR, succeeding the Rev. Dan Bowers, who returned to the active ministry. The Rev. Robert Hughes, who had served the Alabama Council courageously and ~~#####~~ effectively since 1954, ~~########~~ resigned his position to follow a life-long ambition to undertake mission work in Africa. Bob is now in London after a term of training in Boston, and will be going to Southern Rhodesia in the fall of 1962. He has been succeeded by the Rev. Norman Jimerson, an American Baptist Convention minister, who has recently been active in the Council in Hopewell, Virginia. Mr. Ozell Sutton, a former farm manager at the Rockefeller Estates near Little Rock, was ~~#####~~ named as Associate Director of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations. The Atlanta Council on Human Realtions during 1961 entered into a cooperative arrangement with the Unitarian Service Committee involving a full-time director for the Atlanta Council, paid by the Unitarian Service Committee. Mrs. Eliza Paschall,

also a former president of the state League of Women Voters and prominent civic leader, is serving in this ~~$~~ capacity.

During the latter months of 1961 organizational efforts were underway in Mississippi and SRC was also cooperating ~~$~~ with several local groups in New Orleans toward the organization of an interracial committee of some sort in that community.

Memos
Gen

MEMORANDUM December 14, 1959

PR

To: Harold Fleming
From: Paul Rilling

Re: Foundation assistance for the Washington Fellowship House

Let me urge you to suggest to some of your foundation contacts the possibility of assistance to the Washington Fellowship House during 1960. The Fellowship is in acute need of financial support at the present time. Their operating budget is $13,000 per year and the staff salaries are now three months in arrears. In addition to this ongoing staff and program effort the Fellowship is currently in the process of buying the building which they presently occupy. They must buy or lose the building altogether. They are seeking $50,000 for house purchase and improvement fund. Dave Scull is chairman of the house purchase committee. Fellowship members have already contributed $5,000 and have pledged an additional $10,000 over the next three years towards the purchase of the house.

The Fellowship carries on a fairly ambitious program under the direction of Miss Joan Ohrenstein, a dedicated and capable inter-group relations worker. The program includes week-end work camps, a Fellowship choir, a children's program, regular dinner meetings, discussion and study groups, and a wide variety of informal contacts and small groups. Much of this effort is devoted to trying to bridge the increasing gulf between the colored population of the central city and the large lily-white suburbs. The Fellowship is virtually the only agency carrying forward a local and neighborhood program in Washington aiming at improving inter-group relations.

The Fellowship is tax exempt. Although the program grew out of a Quaker concern the Fellowship has no relationship with the Friends Service Committee. The local Friends Meeting does participate in sponsoring week-end work camps but is not able to give financial help to any substantial degree. I ~~have~~ met with several of the discussion groups of the Fellowship during the time I was in Virginia and have seen several of the program activities in operation. I am co.. inced that the Fellowship is making a valuable contribution to the local scene and that more good could be accomplished if increased financial aid could be obtained. I am anxious that we make what contribution we can in this direction. Let me know if you need more specific budget or program information, testimonials from persons in Washington, or what.

Memo Gen

December 20, 1961
(Dictated 12/15)
PR

LWD

I would suggest that Harry Boyte contact John Lassoe of NAIRO, also Harold Fleming. As to agencies, he might talk with CORE, with AFSC, with the Unitarian Service Committee.

Memo - Gen

12/20/61

LWD PR

Ed Randall

A few ideas for Friendly Broadcasting tapes:

1. Tapes on the planning and philosophy behind successful desegregation in Dallas, Memphis, and Atlanta. He may already have done enough on Atlanta.

2. A tape on New Orleans, 1960 and 1961. What were the changes and why.

3. Washington, D. C.. Did he ever do one on this? Something showing the current operation of schools, how they are working, morale of students, etc., would be most useful.

4. A feature on Negro children in desegregated schools. This might be taken only in the North but would still be useful. It has a lot of human interest value. Bob Coles could help concerning New Orleans and Atlanta.

5. There could be one on the Southern Negro. What he wants? What he believes, etc.. This could reflect some diversity and consist of an interview with two or more Negro leaders. Doubtful for Southern stations, but possible.

6. I think more of the confrontation type discussions such as the one he did with Maddox would be helpful, but I think we would be hard-put to find conservative personnel for such efforts.

Memos. Gen

December 21, 1961

LWD PR

Attached letter

I suggest we act as follows;

1. Send her copies of your public addresses.

2. Send her the names and addresses of South Carolinians who participate in the Fellowship of the Concerned meeting. I would like to do this for all states.

3. Send her a kit of the materials.

4. Tell her we will take up the matter of attendance of state staff in these meetings when Mrs. Tilly returns.

MO
Gen

January 21, 1962

Wiley Branton

Paul Rilling

While in Virginia last week I talked with Dr. Waldo Scott of Newport News, Virginia, Chairman of the Peninsula Coordinating Committee, and with Lester Banks, the Executive Secretary of the Virginia NAACP.

Dr. Scott is known to me as an effective and able man. I thought you would be interested in the enclosed flyer from the Peninsula Committee. Like everyone else, he asked about possible assistance from your project. He stated that the NAACP was one of the sponsors of the Committee. I suggested he write you and also call the Committee to the attention of the NAACP. Lester Banks claims that the NAACP is all geared up for a major effort in the 4th Congressional District of Virginia, a strong South Side Byrd district, and that they wait only the launching of the Voter Education Project. I don't know whether this effort is covered in the NAACP memo on the project. I think that Banks heads the most effective NAACP organization in the South and one that will probably produce. The major problem here may be that the Virginia Christian Leadership Conference may also lay claim to leadership in Virginia.

I would suggest that at some point you confer with Johnny Brooks, Director of Voter Registration and based in Richmond. Perhaps you have already done so. I believe that the NAACP plans for the project were developed primarily by Brooks.

Enc - brochure

Memo
C

January 22, 1962

LWD FR

— C on O

The State Councils last year raised a total of $56,626 of self-support funds, not counting foundation help. This compares to $50,335 in 1960 and $33,324 in 1959. The bulk of the increase from 1960 to 1961 is accounted for by $3,500 raised by the Houston Council, and increase of $2,500 in the Virginia total, and an increase of $4,000 raised by the Georgia Council.

The state by state totals are as follows;

	1959	1960	1961
ALA.	$4,593	$12,577	$7,712
ARK.	1,897	2,826	3,481
FLA.	7,015	6,178	5,585
GA.	3,295	4,599	9,116
KY.	1,000	550	450
NC.	4,145	6,725	6,468
SC.	2,537	4,419	5,128
TENN.	1,138	4,714	4,687
VA.	7,704	7,747	10,499
HOUSTON			3,500
	$33,324	$50,335	$56,626

It should be noted that I have used the Carrot-and-Stick technique to encourage more fund raising on the part of the State Councils. The matching formula provided the stick. I have suggested the possibility of some increased assistance to the Councils with good fund raising records as the carrot. The stick has worked. What do I do for carrots?

The funds raised by State Councils for their own support has almost doubled since 1959. SRC's contribution to State Councils remains at the same level.

Memo - Gen -

January 30, 1962

LWD PR

Notes on Florida Council on Human Relations, gleaned from visit to Florida January '61.

(1) Florida Council is broke and slightly in debt.

(2) The Council plans a series of fund raising dinners somewhat after the pattern of the Rowan dinner here. These will occur February, March, and April, it is hoped.

(3) FCHR's consultant program, launched with fanfare a year ago, has not gotten off the ground and probably will not.

(4) FCHR is still completely inactive in Miami, despite plans to rejuvenate that area as of a year ago.

(5) Considerable interest was displayed in organization in the Tampa area following a joint workshop with ADL there last year. This interest has not yet been effectively channeled into a local council.

(6) FCHR has organized activity in varying degrees in 12 communities. These are Miami, Ft. Lauderdale, West Palm Beach, Cocoa, Melbourn, Daytona Beach, Jacksonville, Gainesville, Orlando, Tallahassee, Pensacola, Tampa. Of this group, the following are paper organizations only, or are in serious trouble: Miami, Ft. Lauderdale, West Palm Beach, Orlando, Tallahassee, and Tampa.

Memo Gen

January 31, 1962

LWD PR

Attached

I am not sure that we can or could react specifically to the Putnam efforts. Only two reactions occur to me. One would be that suggested by Jim. The other would be a specific critical analysis, in some depth but writen in a fairly popular style, of the book itself. I would incline toward the latter alternative as being quicker and easier.

February 5, 1962

LWD PR

Trip to New Orleans, January 31, February 1

Talked with the following people: Mary Sand, Betty Wisdom, Gladys Cahn, Helen Murvis, Catherine Wright, Andy Rogers, Henry Cabirac, A. P. Tureaud, Dan Thompson, Milton Upton (Chairman of Voter Drive), Father Twomey, Father McManus, Father Clancey.

(1) Attended meeting of Coordinating Council, clearing house of 90 Negro organizations, chaired by Dan Thompson. The group conducted the recent voter registration drive and has other projects in mind. The group includes all of the major Negro organizations and is conducted in a business-like, efficient fashion. The Coordinating Council deserves our help and cooperation whenever possible.

(2) There is agreement among Gladys Cahn, Mary Sand, and Betty Wisdom that SOS should officially go out of business, probably at the scheduled time of their annual meeting in April. SOS holds something over $1,000 in its treasury and an equivalent amount in the separate Back to School fund.

(3) LIFE is in paper existence with a young doctor as chairman. Mrs. Sand is vice-chairman. The projected LIFE program features tutorial and other educational assistance to Negroes moving into desegregated situations. Mrs. Sand and others felt very strongly that this program should be carried out, and are making plans in that direction. LIFE holds some $1,500..

(4) Mrs. Cahn, Dr. Dent, Mr. Kerns, and others are working hard on the projected human relations council. If such a group gets off the ground and shows real strength, Mrs. Sand is willing that the LIFE assets and program be channelled through this organization, assuming that LIFE AND SOS oriented people

will be represented in its leadership. It is possible that the assets of all of the organizations may end up in this projected council. The group is moving too slowly, but does plan an organizational meeting of some 50-plus persons in the near future.

(5) The PTA at Lusher School was thrown out of the state PTA Council when it admitted Negro parents. The group appealed to the national PTA and was informed that it was still in affiliation with the national Council and with the state organization. The state PTA has not recognized the national ruling, with the result that a number of comic opera moves took place at a recent city-side PTA meeting with the lesser group attending and participating but not permitted to register, etc.

(6) Henry Cabirac reports that in all probability parochial schools will be desegregated next fall with an effort made to include a number of schools in the process. The announcement will be made this spring. He indicates, however, that the decision is not yet final or certain. The archbishop will not delegate authority for this or much else to the new coadjutor.

(7) The situation inside the desegregated schools is reported as good. In fact, it sounds much healthier than that inside the Atlanta schools. Bob Coles agrees with this comparison.

(8) Mayor Victor Schiro and Senator Adrien Duplantier head into a run-off campaign which is rated extremely close and will probably feature racist charges. Duplantier is smeared as the candidate of the Sterns and of the Negroes. Both of these men come from the CCDA organization and the election has split New Orleans' traditional two-party set up wide open. Negroes plan to play a very silent role in the campaign to get out their vote.

Memo Gen

February 8, 1962

LWD

PR

Did you note that the American Jewish Committee is planning to file Amicus curiae briefs in the legal test of the tuition grant law on First Amendment grounds? They are optimistic about securing endorsement of their brief by the Council of Churches and several Protestant church bodies. The brief is being prepared in New York by Ted Leskes.

L

Memo Gen

February 21, 1962

LWD PR

Concerning the Birmingham radio tape, I suggest that we send the transcript over to Joe Haas and request that he write the owner of the station calling attention to the statement that there are known Communists on our board, suggesting that this is an error, requesting any information the station may have in support, and requesting a retraction in the absence of such evidence.

I agree that this is not a particularly strong broadcast, but I think we should never let a public Red smear go by without a response. I think, too, that even this kind of broadcast does considerable harm to the Birmingham Council in the present climate there. Jimerson advises that a copy of the letter might well go to the President of Birmingham Southern for his information. Birmingham Southern apparently has some relationship with the station.

MO
Gen

February 21, 1962

LWD FR

Visit to Virginia, February 10-13

I attended the meeting of the board of the Virginia Council, had extensive conferences with Heslip Lee, delivered an address to the Norfolk Adult Forum, met with the interracial group in Prince Edward County, and consulted at length with Dean Gordon Moss of Longwood College in Farmville. I also spoke to an interracial business and professional men's group in Richmond. The following observations may be worth noting:

(1) Lee has given firm leadership and renewed vigor to the Virginia Council. He has considerably tightened up on administrative procedures, office records, etc. He has shown considerable organizational skill. It is a little more difficult to judge whether he is also maintaining or improving the program achievements of the Council, but the indications are encouraging. He now claims 18 local councils, but 3 of these are youth groups. Happy claims to have a thriving operation going across the border in Bluefield, West Virginia.

(2) The interracial group in Prince Edward County has been meeting on an informal basis since the summer of 1959. Dean Moss seems to be the guiding spirit. The size of the group varies between 10-20. All of the whites come from the two colleges except for one Farmville housewife. Five of the recreational centers for the Negro children have been reopened during the past few weeks. There seems to be no other activity in Prince Edward. Everyone is waiting for the State Supreme Court decree. There is general expectation in Richmond and in Prince Edward that the decision will require public education.

Dr. Moss strongly feels that when and if such a decision occurs and after a few time killing maneuvers the school board will open one or more Negro schools and declare them to be public schools open to all. If this were done the white parents would then apply for tuition grants to sustain the private schools for white students.

It is known that the Foundation schools have warned white parents who have not paid their tuition this year that their children will not be permitted to continue unless the bills are met. It is not known whether any children have actually ceased attending these schools for this reason. The morale of the Negro community is not high and county-wide mass meetings are held with decreasing frequency. The Rev. L. Francis Griffin, Chairman of PECCA, is currently hospitalized with ulcers in Richmond.

Memo - Gen

February 28, 1962

Travel Memo Paul M. Rilling

Visit to South Carolina, February 20-22, 1962

I attended a joint meeting of three rural county councils on human relations in Jasper County, S. C. There were some 60 Negroes present. The only white persons came from the Penn Center. The South Carolina Council is the only council that is willing to maintain local units that are not inter-racial. I normally advise against this procedure, but the appreciation and warmth of the group toward the council and toward Alice was heart-warming and I think that there is little doubt that she gives something to these groups, at least psychologically.

I spent just a few hours in Charleston talking with Mr. Esaw Jenkins, Chairman of the Negro Citizens Committee, Mrs. Toms, civic leader and former League of Women Voters president, Mr. Osborn, the local Unitarian minister, and several others. The Charleston school situation is in litigation. There have been no legal developments for some time but there are indications that the NAACP plans to push this case in the near future. It is probable that there will be some order by the fall of 1964, if not earlier. There seems to be little concern or awareness of any problem in the white community generally. There is a residue of moderate sentiment in the business and civic leadership of the city. Indications are that when a school crisis comes there will be considerable open schools type law and order sentiment. It is doubtful that this can be brought to bear on the situation much before an actual crisis.

The Negro community in Charleston seems to be rather fragmented and disunited. There is considerable competition and not too much cooperation between the Citizens Committee and the local branch of the NAACP. Both groups have focused some attention on the problem

of merit employment in business enterprises serving primarily Negro clientele. There has been little progress to date, but negotiations are going forward. One store did employ Negroes as clerks temporarily during the Easter season a year ago. Voting efforts have not been auspicious. There is some resentment toward Esaw Jenkins as a "Johns Island man without much background."

Alice Spearman as an individual has excellent contacts in the Negro community and in the liberal and moderate white circles. The Council operation is vague and diffuse in its focus. Its program consists primarily of a series of rather repetitive and overlapping workshops. Despite this fact, however, it is somewhat of a unifying channel of contact between these groups throughout the state. It seems to have excellent liaison with Negro leadership, and Alice is regularly involved in consultations among Negro organizations. Organizationally and in terms of concrete program the South Carolina Council is very weak. In terms of influence, communications, the Council is a useful force. The major part of the contribution of the Council is through the contacts, the spirit, the tireless energy, etc., of Alice Spearman.

PMR/mr

Ala
Dope

cc to B Muse

February 28, 1962

Travel Memo Paul Rilling

Visit to Birmingham, February 23, 1962

Talked with Jim Jimmerson, Chuck Morgan, Lucius Pitts, Herbert Oliver, the Rev. J. W. Wilson (Negro minister).

One of the most depressing factors of the Birmingham situation is the apathy and divisiveness of the Negro community. The Ware group, the Shuttlesworth group, the Gaston circle, are working at cross-purposes and constantly at loggerheads. Emery Jackson of the local World serves the role of a spoiler and tends to cut down potential leaders and movements with satire and other attack. Lucius Pitts seems to be in a position to play an extremely strategic role. As President of Miles College he has an automatic status position. As a newcomer to the city he is free from involvement with any of the cliques or factions in the community.

Inter-racial discussion between Negro leaders and white business leadership are continuing. If they produce concrete results explosive demonstrations can be averted. If there are no specific results, and this is the more likely conclusion, major demonstrations of one kind or another seem inevitable. There have been some changes in downtown stores in the direction of removing signs from water fountains, and desegregating elevators.

Pitts feels that if something doesn't give within the next few weeks the Miles College students will try to trigger some sort of a united Negro effort in Birmingham. This could take the form of a select buying campaign, or of a march on the city and lunch counter demonstrations. Pitts himself is not in good health and is obviously feeling the tension of the present situation.

Shuttlesworth, currently in jail, remains the undisputed head of the Alabama Christian Movement, still unaffiliated with SCLC. He is not the leader of the Negro community in Birmingham, however. He is widely criticized as well as widely respected by other Negro leaders. It is widely felt that he will not be able to retain

effective leadership of the community now that his family and church are in Cincinnati. Chuck Morgan, working with Arthur Shores and others, is currently involved in a liberal assault on the Democratic County Committee. There have never been Negroes on the Committee. The liberal group is running Negroes from every box where they have a majority of registered voters. They are also running white candidates in other parts of the city. Morgan's wife, for instance, is running in Mountain Brook.

Jimmerson is now in his third church, a small Presbyterian congregation, and has apparently found a church home. He met with the Sessions and was quizzed on his activities. The church is anxious to get in young adults to help with organizational work, and apparently will welcome the Jimmersons. I met briefly with the minister, the Reverend Mr. Gregg.

The Reverend Lew Mitchell, assistant Episcopal rector at a Birmingham church, has been under fire from within the church for his activity with the Council. The smear sheet has circulated in that church and the question was officially raised at Board meetings. Mitchell's response was to answer the charges and to announce that he had accepted the vice-presidency of the Birmingham council for the coming year. He has suggested that I speak before a meeting of the church leaders about SRC, etc. I indicated agreement if such a meeting could be set up.

Morgan expects that Connor will make a major issue of the Alabama Council in the latter stages of his campaign, attempting to use it as a whipping boy.

It seems to me that Jimmerson is moving with great skill and responsibility in this situation. He has spoken personally to most of the leading persons involved, including the white businessmen, and has established excellent rapport with several. He already has better contacts with the white leadership than did Bob Hughes. This may be a sign of the changing times.

PMR/mr

Memo
Gen

2/28/1962

Mrs. Tilly Paul Rilling

Attached letter from Alfred Baker Lewis

Les suggested I pass on to you any ideas I might have concerning your response to the NAACP letter of February 14. I have only a couple of ideas, as follows:

(1) I think it worth emphasizing that the kind of appeal to white Southerners they envision is one we constantly attempt as part of our on-going program.

(2) The most effective types of appeal according to our experience are: 1. appeals to economic interest; 2. the appeal to religion; 3. the argument of inevitability.

(3) I think the suggestion in the second to last paragraph in the letter is excellent and that it would be wise to publicly high light more achievements of Negroes.

Memo - Gen

February 28, 1962

Wiley Branton

Paul Rilling

Incidental information

I talked briefly last week with Dr. Lucius Pitts, President of Miles College in Birmingham and SRC Board member, about voting possibilities in Birmingham. Pitts was of the strong belief that the Alabama Christian Movement did not have suffidient backing in Birmingham to handle an across the board voting project. He doubts that any group in this very divided Negro community could do so. He feels that a coordinating council of some sort will have to emerge, and that any funds for voting should be channeled to such a group. Implicit in his comments was a feeling that perhaps the availability of Voter Education money could be used as pressure to bring such a coordinating council into being.

PMR/MR

Memos - Gen

March 5, 1962

LWD (cc: Ben Muse) PR

Travel Memo: Alabama, March 2 & 3

In Birmingham, March 2, talked with Dr. Henry King Stanford, President, Birmingham Southern College; Arthur Shores, Negro attorney; A.G. Gaston; David Vann, member ACHR board, white attorney, unofficial chairman of Democratic loyalists in Jefferson County; James Head, President of the Head Office Supply Company, and liberal white businessman; George Gambel, Director of the University of Alabama Center in Mobile and Associate Dean of Extension at the University; Joseph Ellwanger, Lutheran minister white and new chairman, B'ham Council; and Emory Jackson, Editor, B'ham World.

A summit meeting of Negro leadership was scheduled for Friday night, March 2, in hopes of working toward greater unity. A complicating factor was the release on bond of Fred Shuttlesworth, who had scheduled a mass meeting for Friday night.

There seemed to be two types of white leadership at work to cool off the present strained situation in Birmingham. One group consists of persons like Monohan, President of Fulton Products, and Stern. These men have consulted with the commission and others and urged more moderate action, but refused to meet with Negro leaders under any circumstances. The second group of businessmen is willing to consult with Negro leaders and in fact has been represented in two or three meetings of this sort. Prominent in this group are James Head, Chairman of the Committee of 100 and a liberal businessman, and Sydney Smyer, President of the Chamber of Commerce. Smyer is a Dixiecrat politically, but seems sincerely desirous of working out a mutually satisfactory arrangement which would involve some changes. Head is currently running for a position on the State Democratic Committee on the Loyalist ticket. Smyer's son is running on the States Rights ticket for the Committee.

Men like Head and Smyer, along with Lou Jeffers of Hays Aircraft; Bishop Murray of the Episcopal Church; Ed Norton, President of Crown Cola; and at least once, Arthur Weibel of Tennessee Coal and Iron, and others (the president of Liberty Mutual, representatives of and Foreman's stores, have met with such Negro leaders as Pitts, Ware, Gaston, Shortridge, (Treasurer of the Alabama

Christian Movement), Taggart (Negro dentist), Shores, Dru (Negro insurance man). As a result of these meetings, segregated signs have been withdrawn from drinking fountains in several downtown stores and elevators have been desegregated in at least one office building. They continue to resist in one other. They also have been able to call incidents on the buses to the attention of the local transit company, which is attempting to enforce the court injunction against segregation in good faith. The chairman of the board of registrars recently died. The moderate white group has been making efforts to get a former U.S. attorney appointed in his place. They have received informal assurance that someone will be appointed who will permit Negroes to register with more ease than previously. Head is himself liberal and is openly critical of other businessmen, lawyers, and ministers who he feels have permitted the situation to badly deteriorate in the city. Word of his activities is becoming increasingly wide-spread and some of his friends fear that he may be vulnerable to reprisal. He receives many critical and crank phone calls.

Vann was chairman of the Parks committee of the Young Men's Business Club, a liberal levening in Birmingham. He is also active in the Junior Bar, and indicates that the Junior Bar recently met with the local U.S. Attorney, who was widely critical of police irregularity, and urged the Junior Bar to appoint a committee to look into the matter. Vann sees this as an extremely hopeful development.

Gaston is quite critical of Shuttlesworth's leadership. There was general agreement among the Negroes I spoke to that Shuttlesworth does not command the loyalty of as many as 50% of the Negro citizens. Gaston feels that "conservative leadership" should and is playing an increasing role. Gaston is apparently a persona non grata with the Shuttlesworth group and the Ware group. Pitts maintains access to all.

Apparently all organizations have tried "every method" to encourage voter registration. All admit to disappointing results. Emory Jackson reported that a survey had recently been done by college students in several blocks to determine degree of registration in these blocks and the reasons therefor. He hopes to publish some of the results soon.

Vann is optimistic about the chances of the Loyalists to take over the Democratic Committee. He feels that the park issue, etc., may help in the Birmingham area. Both sides are pretty well laying off the parks to date. Since members of [Whites? word unclear. Mo] currently striving for a solution are running on tickets of both factions, this may not be raised as an issue during the campaign. One gets widely varying evaluations of the governor's race. Everyone feels that Folsom will lead into the run-off, but that if his lead is small he will lose. No one feels that Connor has a chance, regardless of what trouble may occur in Birmingham. Head said flatly that Connor would withdraw before election date. Varying views were expressed that Boutwell, Wallace, Gallion, or de Graffenreid would be runner-up. People differed most concerning the chances of de Graffenreid, who I heard described as a man who can't win and as a man coming up fast who could win. Nat Welch, who was present at the board meeting, expressed the latter view and is supporting de Graffenreid. All Negroes I met seemed to be supporting Folsom. Stanford reported that the FM radio station which attacked the Alabama Council and SRC is on the campus of Birmingham Southern and uses rent-free studios there. It was Stanford who was able to cause the station owner to cease the attacks. He promised me that if they reoccur, the station will be ejected from the campus. The station was given housing because it is a good music station.

Several persons indicated that they had information to the effect that campus authorities at the University of Alabama were

prepared to accept qualified applications, and that President Rose has informed the governor that he expects the state authorities to keep their hands off the situation when and if it occurs. There is little indication that any considerable efforts are being made to secure applicants, although Gomillion told the board meeting that he had one likely prospect for graduate school next fall.

Saturday I attended a meeting of the executive committee of ACHR at Tuskegee. The new chairman, the Rev. Powers McCloud, is impressive. He's minister of the First Methodist Church in Auburn, and has important connections at Auburn. He is a brother of Dr. Wallace McCloud of Atlanta, and a close friend of Jamie Mackay. McCloud is under attack in his church for his liberal views, but expects to weather the storm. He seems able and effective and willing to give considerable time to the affairs of the Council. I am impressed with the kind of lay leadership the executive committee is giving through such persons as McCloud, Foley, Gomillion, Welch, and Vann. Welch plans to give several days of his time in the near future to personal contacts in Birmingham for fund raising purposes.

I am quite impressed with the vigor and skill with which Jimerson seems to be operating. In Birmingham he seems to have complete access to the Negro leadership and is generally trusted. At the same time, he has access to business leadership reaching high into the power structure, and is treated by these men with attitudes varying from appreciation to skepticism to patronizing. Head speaks of him with warm appreciation. He worked closely with Stanford and Murray. The editor of the paper has said that he was well intentioned and useful, although the editor of the editorial page of the Birmingham News has attacked him to his face as left wing, etc.. I was impressed during the conferences Friday at the number of people who pass messages through him, back and forth across the racial lines and across factional lines within the Negro community. I doubt if in any other state, with the possible exception of Virginia and Tennessee, does our

director have as open access to as many elements in both communities.
####

Memo
Gen

March 8, 1962

LWD PR

(1) April 29, 1960. Judge Skelly Wright, in a summary judgment, directed the East Baton Rouge School Board to proceed with desegregation in the case of Davis v. East Baton Rouge Parish School Board. The same order was entered in the case of Hall v. St. Helena Parish School Board, in Allen v. La. State Board of Education, which involved the Shreveport trade school, and in Angel v. the La. State Board of Education, involving trade schools in Crowley, Natchitoches, Greensburg, Lake Charles, & Opelousas. The order directed desegregation with all deliberate speed, but named no dates.

(2) On May 10, 1960, injunctions in these cases were entered.

(3) In February of 1961, the 5th Circuit Court upheld Judge Wright's decision in these cases.

(4) On March 17, 1961, Judge Wright granted a request by U.S. Attorney Hepburn Many asking that the government be permitted to intervene. Many immediately filed petitions asking that Acts 3 and 5 of the 1960 legislative session be declared unconstitutional. These Acts provided fines and jail sentences for persons encouraging or assisting others to attend or work at desegregated schools.

(5) April 22, 1961. In a special election held in St. Helena Parish (under terms of Act 2 of the Second Special Session of the Louisiana Legislature), the residents of St. Helena voted 1,147 to 56 in favor of closing their public schools to prevent desegregation. The NAACP tried to enjoin local officials from holding the election; however, a three judge court sitting at New Orleans decided on April 16 that St. Helena Parish could conduct the election provided that the school board would take no action on the results of the election pending a judicial ruling on the constitutionality of the election. The court consisted of Wisdom, Christenberry, and Wright. The St. Helena School Board agreed to the court's stipulation.

(6) In mid-August, 1961, the St. Helena Parish schools opened segregated.

(7) August 30, 1961. The three-judge federal court ruled that Act 2, the local option referendum law, was unconstitutional.

(8) On October 9, 1961, the United States Supreme Court denied hearings on the East Baton Rouge, the St. Helena, and the trade school cases.

(9) Also in October of '61, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld a decision of a three judge court finding Acts 3 and 5 unconstitutional.

(10) On January 3, 1962, Louisiana Attorney General Gremillion announced that the federal government had requested final desegregation orders in these cases. According to Gremillion, the motions were filed just prior to Many's resignation as U.S. attorney December 31. (A new U.S. attorney has not yet been appointed. The job is being filled on an interim basis by Many's assistant.)

(11) On January 22, Attorney Tureaud of the NAACP filed motions in Federal District Court asking that the East Baton Rouge and St. Helena School Boards be ordered to prepare plans for school desegregation.

(12) The status of the Federal action in St. Bernard Parish, as best I can ascertain, is that it has neither been dropped nor heard and no one expects further developments unless requested by the U.S. Attorney.

Margie
Gen

3/9/62

JM PR

Guide for community self-surveys

You will remember that during the state staff meeting you told the state Council directors you would be willing to work up a sort of guide for community self-surveys. ?????????

(Jim: The old guide, "Your Community Looks at Itself, A Manual for the Home Town Self-Survey," to which Frances Pauley referred during the meeting, is attached. (New South, April, 1951.) This has long been out-of-print; however, during the several years I was in research I had some 10-12 requests for it by name, and many other occasions arose when this type of resource would have helped greatly in answering requests. There was some talk of up-dating and reworking it then, with Dr. Parrish helping out, as I remember, but we never got to do it. Marge.)

Memo
Min

March 9, 1962

LWD PR

Attached Charles Jones letter

My only thoughts here are:

1. I see no reason why SRC should not co-sponsor a conference, if it must be held.

2. I think it would not be appropriate for HOEE or SOS to be involved in the conference publicly, since their public purposes are somewhat at variance with the concern of the conference.

3. I doubt if many new materials are really need for the purpose of the conference, although some summarizing of available materials might be what is intended.

4. I seriously doubt whether a conference on this topic would be able to draw any axcept those already involved in the various groups noted as co-sponsors.

MO -
Gen

3/9/62

JM PR

Lee Co. Bulletin

I strongly urge that we subscribe to the Lee County Bulletin, Auburn, Alabama. (If we do not already.) It is a weekly paper and a real voice for sanity and relative liberalism in Alabama. These editorials are a case in point.

Enc.

~~LWD~~

Memos
Misc

March 12, 1962

LWD PR

The draft of the new Executive Action report

I believe that this will be a first-rate and timely report which will be of considerable help to the field. I believe that it still needs considerable re-working, and reconsideration from the stand-point of organizational structure of the report, conclusions, length, and style.

1. General suggestions.

a. The injection of SRC recommendations from last year's report do not, I think, help the document. They sometimes seem to be injected into the report even where there is no real parallel in subject matter. I think the use of this technique is a bit presumptious,at any rate, and that the report would stand on its own feet without this rather labored effort to relate it to one of our previous efforts. It would be much better, I believe, if there were a general section which summarized our reactions to the last year against the background of last year's recommendations.

b. I think the report needs a more clear-cut conclusion, perhaps in the form of a summary, or something. I think the ending quite abrupt in its present form. The section suggested in a. above might serve this purpose.

c. I think we need to be more specific about our recommendations. Last year's report included a number of specific recommendations. This year's report is more of an analysis. I think that the pulling together of specific recommenda-

tions growing out of this analysis would be a contribution. Perhaps a summary or concluding section could state general conclusions, compare performance with our recommendations of last year, include a new set of specific recommendations of high priority, some of which would be the same as last year and some of which would differ.

d. I think the organizational structure of the report needs to be tightened up. Specifically, I thought the section on the Office of Education did not reasonably come under Persuasion, but might be a sub-section of its own. I thought the section on Areas of Little Action was weak organizationally and perhaps that these topics could be distributed among other topics. The sub-section here on Research Grants could come under the Education section, and Assistance to Segregated Colleges. The comments on Housing could come under the section on Tone and Practice of the Administration, as could the paragraph on the National Guard. The Hospital and Health paragraphs might be a section unto themselves entitled Health and Welfare Practices, or something.

II. Specific suggestions.

a. I question the need to reproduce recommendations of the United States Commission on Civil Rights in the appendix of this report. The report is long enough as it is.

b. Page 1 - second paragraph. I would not say that the developments of the Executive Department during the

last fourteen months represent a development as important as the 1954 decision.

c. I think that perhaps the section on the tone and Practice of the Administration should be up near the beginning, with or following the discussion of national leadership.

d. Page 10. Do we need a little more detail on the role that the Justice Department played in the New Orleans school developments?

e. Page 12.- top paragraph. Are there other similar school situations in the region where the Justice Department might have intervened but for some reason failed to do so?

f. Page 12 - second paragraph. I do not know the factual basis for singling out New Orleans and Memphis in this category and for saying,"especially" in New Orleans and"perhaps"in Memphis.

g. Page 12 - last paragraph. I think we need more development of the contention that the administration has not attempted to move Southern leadership beyond token compliance. This seems to be a major criticism of the administration and one that bears more emphasis. The reference to "the sort of Federal persuasion which the Department of Justice is most well suited to provide," is unclear to me. Particularly so, since it seems to relate to the suggested role of the U.S. Office of Education on page 13. This would not seem to me to be a sort of Federal persuasion which the Department of Justice

is able to provide.

h. Pages 14 through 16. I think we need more development of this area of concern. More of the data used in your testimony before the ~~[illegible]~~ House subcommittee might be useful here.

i. Page 27 - second paragraph. I would question the use of the adjectives "sincere" and "sincerely" in this paragraph, relating to opposition to the Mansfield-Dirkson bill. I think the "sincerity" of these reservations is rather irrelevant. The term represents subjective evaluation of motive.

j. Page 28 - paragraph 2. Wouldn't able or competent direction sound better than to call the direction of the Civil Rights Division "brilliant"? I think so. The word "brilliant" does not sound balanced and analytical and objective.

k. Page 28 - same paragraph. The mention of a "national conviction" as the ~~[illegible]~~ solution to voter problems is a little vague and general.

l. Page 32~~1~~ - second paragraph. I believe it would give a more balanced picture if we could give some examples of existing evasions, etc.

m. Pages 33-37. I think the discussion of Freedom Rides and of ~~[illegible]~~ Albany would probably best be handled under the section on Transportation.

~~n~~n. Page 34--third paragraph. I would not include this paragraph discussing the Attorney General's recommendation for a cooling off period May 24. I do not agree with your evaluation of this recommendation. I think the use of the term

"honorable" is again judgemental and subjective. Would the petition of May 29 to the Interstate Commerce Commission have been filed if the Freedom Riders had accepted the cooling off recommendation? I think it unnecessary for SRC to take a position on this issue and I question more strongly the validity of the position you have taken.

o. Page 35 - last paragraph. I would not use the term "exasperating" concerning the Attorney General's telegram for the same reasons that I objected to honorable and brilliant earlier.

p. Page 36 - first paragraph. Do you really believe that efforts of the Department of Justice to mediate are a negative factor where the Department does not have power to act? This is the impression you give here. I would certainly agree the law enforcement agency is not best equipped to mediate or conciliate. In the absence of any other, it may be better than nothing.

q. Page 37 - first paragraph. Should the comments on McComb be put over along with those on the Freedom Riders and the Albany situation?

r. I question the statement "most can be settled through local pressures and by local common sense." In some situations local pressures have been all from the wrong side and little "common sense" has revealed itself. For instance, Birmingham, Albany, etc.

s. Page 46. Would it not also be helpful to point out some of the harmful Presidential appointments. The Merriweather appointment from Alabama, for one; the new Federal judge in Mississippi, perhaps. Are there others?

t. Page 48. Section D. I don't feel that this section is necessary, that it is somewhat redundant, that it could be eliminated without serious harm to your general position.

u. Page 50. I think that some of the data showing how ~~bad~~ bad things were can be eliminated, depending on several examples as typical.

v. Pages 53-54. I think the quotation from Secretary Rusk is much too lengthy here. I think the Conference itself has been given more space than can be justified on balance with other factors and subjects.

w. The section on employment. Do we not have specific recommendations here? Is the picture given perhaps too rosy?

x. Do we need somewhere some discussion of agricultural ~~assistance~~ assistance programs such as Area Redevelopment, etc? Note the recent report of the National Share-croppers Fund.

y. Would it be useful to ~~note~~ note the use of Federal marshals escorting white and Negro children to school in New ~~Orleans~~ Orleans as an example of something?

If this report is to be a report of SRC, not signed by you as author, I think it would be particularly appropriate if it could represent the collective judgement of staff and officers to a considerable degree, even if this involves a little more time. I will not be in the office until Wednesday morning. I will be available by telephone and in the evenings in case we need to talk further about these suggestions or in case you want me to read subsequent drafts.

Memo - Gen

3/28/62

LWD PR

1. Charleston:

Mrs. C. Smith Toms (address: 1958)
69 Church Street
Charleston, S.C. - Prominent civic leader, fomer President, League of Women Voters, white

Rabbi Burton L. Padoll
Kahal Kadosh Beth Elohim
90 Hasell Street
Charleston - Liberal, active in civic affairs, white

2. Savannah:

Captain Frank Spencer
228 Bay Street
Savannah, Georgia - businessman, former member Savannah school board, liberal, white

3. Alabama:

C. G. Gomillion
Dean of Students
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee, Alabama - Negro

Dr. Henry King Stanford
President
Birmingham Southern College
Birmingham

Ala., continued;

Dr. Lucius H. Pitts
President
Miles College
Birmingham 8, Ala. - Negro

Mr. Nat Welch
Business Development (Box 1192)
Auburn, Alabama - Businessman, influential, liberal, white

Rev. Powers McLeod
129 Burton Street
Auburn, Alabama - President, Alabama Council, Methodist minister, prominent, white

4. Mississippi

Dr. Dan Beittel (A.D. Beittel)
President
Tougaloo Southern Christian College
Tougaloo, Mississippi - white

Hodding Carter II or Hodding Carter III
Delta-Democrat Times
Greenville, Miss.

5. South Carolina:

Andrew M. Secrest
Cheraw Chronicle
Cheraw, South Carolina

J. M. Dabbs

The Rev. Fred Reese
First Methodist Church
Centsal, South Carolina - President, S.C. Council
white

Memo
Glen

April 17, 1962

LWD PR

Request from Jane Bond to attend Fisk Institute

It has been our past practice to send a representative or two to the Fisk Institute each summer and I think this is a good practice. As to who or which persons should attend, this, I think, depends on who wishes to go and who can be spared. I think it would be quite appropriate for Jane to attend, particularly if she plans to be with the Council for some time and could presumably benefit from the contacts and information. We might want to consider also, or instead, sending Maggie Long or Janet Smith.

Memo Gen

April 24, 1962

Wiley Branton

Paul Rilling

Heslip Lee, in the course of a letter, noted that he would particularly like you to address the Board of the Virginia Council in Charlottesville on June 15. This would tie in with your speech to the Interagency Group the evening of June 14 or 15. ???

MO-gen

May 7, 1962

LWD PR

Attached Memo

Murray Cox is doing effective and useful work in Mississippi and we could easily justify some funds allocated to him from Ben's project. My only question would be the matter of priorities. It would be better to add the sort of minister we have discussed, who could work the total South. Gene Cox is already doing much the same sort of work in Mississippi, whereas little or none is being done in other Deep South states. The infant Mississippi Council may need some funds, et cetera.

Memos
Gen

5/11/62

PA PR

I think it would be wise to place the state councils on the list to receive all press releases from SRC. Several of the state directors indicated that they were not aware of the press release on the Voter Education Project and I learned recently that at least two of them were not aware of the death of George Mitchell.

Memos - Gen

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JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
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Southern R[illegible] Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AV[illegible] ORGIA
[illegible]-8764

[illegible] through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity [illegible]

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date May 17, 1962

To: LWD From: PR

Subject: Report of Field Department Since January 1, 1962.

The state Councils on Human Relations continue to show growth and increased vitality and effectiveness. These factors are due both to improving climates in many of the states and to sound and dedicated leadership. As of May 15 the total membership of the state Councils stood at 6,338. This compares with a total of 6,171 in July of 1961. During the last twelve months six of the state Councils have shown substantial improvement.

The largest state Council continues to be Virginia, with a membership of 2,100. The second largest Council is now Tennessee, which has grown from 581 to 781 during the last year, followed by the Florida Council with a membership of 700.

During the first quarter of the current fiscal year, the state Councils have raised in self support at total of $19,541.00. This compares with $14,224.00 raised during the comparable period a year ago.

Three of the state Councils have received special foundation grants this year. Last fall the Georgia Council received a grant from the Field Foundation to make possible the employment of a second staff member. The Rev. Oliver Wendall Holmes, Jr., formerly president of the Savannah Council, is currently serving ably in this capacity and giving the Georgia Council benefit of biracial professional staff. The Tennessee Council also received a small grant from the Field Foundation to strengthen their work for the next two years. In May, the Virginia Council was notified that the Whitney Foundation had determined to grant them $3,500 for each of the next three years beginning with 1962. The VCHR plans to employ a Negro professional staff member as associate director for the coming year and hopes that sufficient funds will be found to continue the position into the future.

On May 3 some 55 persons from throughout the state of

Mississippi gathered on the Tougaloo College campus in Jackson to organize a new Mississippi Council on Human Relations. Although the group was harrassed by adverse press and TV publicity and by agents of the State Sovereignty Commission and White Citizens Council, they determined to move ahead and raise a standard of constructive progress in Mississsippi. Selected as chairman of the group was Dr. Dan Beittel, President of Tougaloo College and SRC board member. Elected as vice-chairmen were Rabbi Mantinband of Hattiesburg, SRC board member, and Dr. D. I. Horn, Jr., President of Mary Holmes Junior College at West Point, Mississippi. The group authorized the appointment of a constitutional committee and plans to move ahead with local activity in all parts of the state, looking toward another and larger meeting in the fall.

New local interracial groups have been organized in recent months, particularly in Georgia and Virginia. Since last fall the Virginia Council has organized local affiliated groups in Fredericksburg, Williamsburg, and in Bluefield, West Virginia, right across the border from Virginia. The Georgia Council has recently organized in Rome, Brunswick, and Albany.

Other notable activities of the state Councils include:

1. The involvement of both Georgia staff members in the critical Albany situation. At two points during the crisis the director of the Georgia Council was able to arrange new negotiations.

2. The involvement of increasingly able and prominent speakers in the programs of the Councils. Carl Rowan, Assistant to the Secretary of State for Public Affairs, has spoken to the Georgia and Arkansas Councils. Berl Bernhard, Staff Director of the Commission on Civil Rights, has spoken to the Tennessee and Virginia Councils. Secretary of Labor Goldberg has agreed to speak to the Tennessee Council in the near future. Ralph McGill spoke recently to the North Carolina Council. Dr. Ralph Bunche is scheduled to address the Richmond, Virginia, Council and Dean Rusk has tentatively agreed to speak to the Richmond group in the near future.

3. The North Carolina Council has met several times recently with the Governor to press for progress beyond tokenism and for the employment of more Negroes in state departments. The NCCHR also made a public statement in behalf of broader school desegregation which received wide publicity.

4. The Virginia Council has organized a state interagency meeting involving some 75 organizations and agencies with some human relations concern. The group will meet periodically. John Feild, Director of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, will address the meeting in late May.

5. The Houston Council sponsored a seminar for 50 selected high school students representing various ethnic, racial, and religious groups.

6. The Florida Council was able to play a helpful role in advising and negotiating in Cocoa, Fla., where a tense situation concerning recreational facilities was solved with the appointment of a Mayor's biracial committee, which recommended the complete desegregation of the facilities.

7. The Atlanta Council published a survey of the first year of school desegregation in Atlanta. The document

received widespread notice and was recently quoted in the New York Times.

8. The director of the Alabama Council has been extremely active in the current crisis situation in Birmingham and is one of the few persons in the city with access to Negro leadership and white persons in the business and civic leadership of the city.

Activities of SRC Field Staff Since January have included:

1. Several trips to Albany, Georgia at the request of the Georgia Council to assist and supplement activities of the Georgia Council there.

2. A trip to Pensacola, Florida to advise a citizens group there concerning preparation for peaceful desegregation. This trip involved also meetings with the school superintendent and school principals, white and Negro.

3. Several trips to New Orleans to offer suggestions to groups there preparing for desegregation next fall and to explore the flickerings of interest in the organization of an interracial council in the city.

4. A trip to Charleston to consult with white and Negro leaders concerning the boycott situation and to explore ways of strengthening interracial cooperation there. This trip was at the request of the SCCHR, which does not have a local organization in Charleston.

5. The planning and direction and direction of the annual State Staff Meeting, which was held at SRC February 15 and 16.

6. Several trips to Birmingham to advise with the director of the Alabama Council concerning constructive steps that might be made in that situation.

7. Supervision of a pilot project to attempt to reach Black Belt areas through radio in conjunction with the Friendly World Broadcasting Company and Mr. Edwin Randall.

8. Participation for SRC in the regional meeting of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee in Atlanta April 27 and 28.

9. Assistance to the organizing committee of the Mississippi Council on Human Relations and participation in the organizing meeting May 3.

10. A series of speeches to 6 political science and sociology classes at Millsaps College, Jackson, Miss., May 2.

MO
gen

June 5, 1962

LWD PR

Attached correspondence

Lee did not tell me that he planned to write this letter and I shall remind him of his obligation to consult with us in advance of such proposals. I see nothing particularly wrong, however, with his taking this action or in the form of the request.

I would suggest that you reply with a ringing endorsement of the Virginia Council, of Lee's leadership, and of our agreement with the validity of staff expansion in Virginia.

MO-Gen

June 11, 1962

LWD PR

This is Mary Sand's latest project which she plans to carry out through a new organization. She would like some of the money we hold for a New Orleans program. I am inclined to go along. I think, however, we might want to make some suggestions for limiting the program, at least in the beginning. Let me know your thinking.

Mo-Gen

June 11, 1962

LWD PR

This will remind you to consider the current situation of Bill Williams, who has several job possibilities in the near future, but in the meantime is still on the job in Florida and has not been paid since the middle of April. Can we or should we make any offer of assistance here, such as a personal loan, a salary loan to the Florida Council, etc.?

Memos
Gen

June 14, 1962

WBranton PAnthony

Telephone conversation with Bob Thompson, Atl. Urban League

Bob Thompson called this morning to discuss a program Jim Forman had brought to him. Why Forman had gone to Bob is not clear.

Forman wanted to go to Little Rock with a group of students to work on the problem arising from the Citizen's Council sending Negroes North. It also was not clear to me what unique service these students could offer that could not be offered by those already in Little Rock.

SRC came into the picture Because Forman and Thompson had decided that the ideal way to finance this program would be for the VEP to grant money to the students to do registration work. They would work "50 - 75% of their time on voter registration and the rest on the problem."

Forman will talk with Branton about this tomorrow (Friday).

For the record, I think we should note this rather disturbing interpretation of the Voter Project, the use of its funds, and the method by which SNCC, in this instance, chose an area for registration work.

-:-

cc: LWDunbar

Memo - Gen.

August 23, 1962

PA PR

Attached Memo

I have the following suggestions, after discussing the matter with Frances.

(1) Miss Johnnie Hilburn, of Augusta. I know Johnnie well from my Emory Adult Education days. She is a former President of the State League of Women Voters, a business woman, a person of status in Augusta, and a free-wheeling liberal who doesn't care who knows it. She has thus far held aloof from the Georgia Council because she thinks that organization not sufficiently effective and dynamic. She is in her early sixties. address: Southern Finance Co.

(2) The Right Rev. Albert R. Stewart, Spiscopal Bishop in Savannah, 611 E. Bay Street, Savannah. Bishop Stewart played a statesman-like role in connection with lunch counter desegregation in Savannah, and I think a Bishop would dress up the Advisory Commission considerably.

(3) Lionel Newsome.

(4) Mrs. Emmet Johnson, Etworth Acres, St. Simon's Island. Mrs. Johnson is a stalwart liberal, formerly on the faculty of Wesleyan College. Now retired, partly because of her effective work on behalf of human relations in Macon.

(5) The Rev. C. S. Hamilton, Negro, Tabernacle Baptist Church, Augusta. He is a leader in the protest movement in Augusta. I do not know him well. Frances feels that he is balanced and sound and that the Committee needs someone in touch with current developments.

I suspect that the Mr. Heieson of Cartersville who is mentioned is Mr. Henson. If so, he is a very able man,

but elderly, inform, and practically blind. I don't know John Maddox. Frances reports that he is erratic and unstable and would be no asset.

I hear good things in New Orleans about Rufus Harris, formerly of Tulane, but Frances reports that his role in Macon ~~Albany~~ has been to serve as a break on any effort to move ahead.

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ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE N.E. ATLANTA, GEORGIA
Atlanta 1-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date September 18, 1962

To: LWD (cc: P.A.) From: PR

Subject: Field Report, Birmingham, Alabama, September 15, 1962

1. At the present time, the leadership of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, in consultation with the Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth of the Alabama Christian Movement, ~~planned~~ plans "demonstrations" in Birmingham the week of September 24 in connection with the SCLC annual meeting.

2. A great many responsible persons of both races fear that such demonstrations would quite possibly, even probably, lead to wide-spread violence. The mood in the city is reported as ugly; the reactions of the Police Commissioner uncertain, and some elements in the Negro community no longer wedded to the non-violent approach.

3. Finally, during recent weeks, a group of the "top level businessmen," fearing violence, have met and held at least three discussions on how to forestall such demonstrations. Some members of the group have had at least one meeting with several Negro leaders including Lucius Pitts. Acting as head of this group is ~~are~~ Sydney Smyer, immediate past president of the Chamber of Commerce.

4. Lucius Pitts last week journeyed to Washington where he met with Burke Marshall and Robert Kennedy off-the-record. He received assurances that the Justice Department would have ~~and~~ an observer on hand who would be available to Pitts and that marshals would be available nearby in case of severe ~~trouble~~ trouble during the week of the 24th. More than this, they would not offer.

5. I met with the Executive Committee of the Alabama Council on September 15. ~~Lucis~~ Lucius Pitts had met earlier with selected Negro leadership for breakfast. With Pitts, Welch, Jimerson, and Powers, we developed the following general approach. Pitts, Jimerson, and Welch were to see Smyer and tell him clearly and firmly that the only possibility of avoiding demonstrations the week of the 24th would be for white leadership to make some specific and visible gesture of concession or good will. They were to suggest

that such gestures might well include the removal of all signs from water fountains and rest rooms in down town establishments and a commitment, preferably public, to the formation of a status backed interracial committee. The delegation was to indicate to Smyer that if these things could be achieved the group would recomend to Negro leadership that demonstrations be deferred for sixty days. Pitts was confident that Negro leadership would accept this kind of an arrangement. Pitts believes that Shuttlesworth can call off demonstrations if he desires. Wyatt Walker gave the same impression to Jimerson several weeks ago.

White leadership, including David Vann, had hoped that the Negroes would postpone demonstrations in deference to the liberal effort to change the form of city government, scheduled for referendum in early November. Such a concession would not be possible, but a sixty day deferment for other reasons would put the new possible date for demonstrations safely beyond the referendum.

6. Pitts, Jimerson, and Welch did meet with Smyer at 9:00 A.M. Sunday morning, Smyer coming in from his country home for the session. Smyer indicated to the group that he felt that the suggestions were possible and reasonable and that he would do what he could to carry them through. He expressed confidence that the signs could be down "within forty-eight hours" and that the group would agree to the public announcement of the formation of an interracial committee. He indicated that the group had plans for such a committee, at any rate. At present both Pitts and Smyer are attempting to gain agreement from their respective leadership groups; the Alabama Council will continue to act as go-between and negotiator.

7. Pitts expressed to me the hope that SRC would communicate with Burke Marshall, interpreting to him the possible seriousness of the situation and requesting any involvement of the Justice Department that might be feasible. He stressed that this should be an independent request and should not hint that we are apprised of his off-the-record session with Marshall and Kennedy.

8. Hope was expressed that SRC would have a staff member on hand the week of the 24th, unless demonstrations are clearly not planned.

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INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date September 24, 1962

To: LWD From: PR

Subject: Field Trip to Nashville September 18

The Tennessee Council is in trouble. Although I feel that Kay Jones has done an unusually good job as Director, the fund raising has gone slow. They do expect to barely meet their matching fund requirements. More seriously, the Nashville Council has lapsed into inactivity under Gideon Fryer's leadership, and the Memphis Council has never gotten underway. This means that TCHR has no good city councils, although the group in Chattanooga has improved during the last year. There is a vital and growing group in Jackson.

The main problem with TCHR seems to be in its lay leadership. Kay feels that George's activities and inaccessibility has hurt the Council by leaving it without leadership. There is general belief that the Nashville Council could again be an effective group if the leadership could be changed.

The TCHR played an effective role in opening the State Parks system and has held several meetings at the State Park facilities. In Nashville, TCHR during the summer held a crafts group for children, interracially, which they felt to be an interesting and effective pilot effort.

Kay Jones is discouraged and considering leaving the work, which would be a disaster for the Tennessee Council. I will be attending their annual meeting in Chattanooga October 11 and 12.

September 24, 1962

Wiley Branton

Paul Rilling

AFSC Voter Registration Workshop in Jackson, Tenn.

Kay Jones met several times with the group in the Jackson Workshop and had some opportunity to observe their operations in the city. She feels very strongly that this was an unfortunate episode which will somewhat set back the work of interracial communication and cooperation in Jackson.

She stated that the members of the workshop were all Northerners and all white, that several members of the group were not very stable and seemed to have chips on their shoulders, that the leadership of the workshop was most unfortunate and provided no real guidance or leadership. She states that the conduct of the students was such that the Jackson Council on Human Relations decided not to meet with the group or have anything to do with them, a decision which was difficult and divisive for the Council. Negro members, generally, although critical of the students, felt that the Council was unwise to turn their back on the group.

On one occasion the entire group en mass attempted to sit-in at one of the local churches, an effort which caused quite a ruckus in the community. As a result, several churches adopted negative policies against seating Negroes.

In an effort to make the workshop interracial, some of the students at nearby Lane College were involved. This did make an interracial effort possible, but also, according to Kay, involved a local Negro student with Black Muslim tendencies who played a strong role in the discussions of the group. She felt that the group generally was typical of the Holier-than-Thou, Save-the-South efforts of zealous, emotional, uninformed, well-meaning Yankee students.

September 24, 1962

PA

PR

Happy Lee called Friday concerning a plan to direct mail into Prince Edward County, to white citizens, copies of an editorial or two which have appeared recently in the Lynchburg News which "excellent material on the Prince Edward crisis." Naturally, he wants help in handling this, similar to the assistance we gave to the Georgia Council with the Albany mailing.

He is having the Lynchburg News send the material to us. I told him that, depending on the caliber of the material, we would consider:

1. Reprinting the material ourselves if it seemed to be sufficiently good to justify wider distribution that might suit our purposes; or:

2. some assistance out of our contingency fund to help the Virginia Council handle the cost of mailing.

I doubt that it will be the sort of material we will want to send out as broader piece or an L Report reprint, but you never know. I would like to see us assist Happy with the cost of mailing, unless the stuff is no good at all. I have no money left in the state contingency fund, but perhaps Les would approve using SRC contingency funds. If you think well of the idea after seeing the material, which I trust Marge will give you when it arrives, clear it with him during one of his telephone calls from New York this week. Let me emphasize that Lee feels that the time is ripe at the moment and would appreciate an answer either way quickly. I hope that we can let him know within two days after receiving the material so that he will have time to have it reproduced unless we plan to do it instead.

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A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date October 3, 1962

To: LWD From: PR

Subject: Field Report on Visit to New Orleans September 25-27, 1962

I attended meetings of the Community Relations Council, SOS, and LIFE. I also met with the Executive Committee of CRC and consulted with Harvey Kerns, Gladys Cahn, Jack Nelson, Irv Schulman, Henry Cabirac, Mary Sand, Betty Wisdom.

The Community Relations Council held its thirdmonthly meeting. Approximately 45 to 50 persons were present including 10 to 15 Negroes. A local legislator addressed the group on the tuition grant plan and a spirited question period followed.

The Community Relations Council has obviously been floundering since last Spring and has suffered from the usual vacillations, divisions, and disagreements within the white liberal community that are endemic in New Orleans. The group has now determined to move ahead, officers have been elected, and a brochure has been published as of the night I was there. ~~These are attached.~~ Copies are attached. There has been no public announcement of the group as yet. The group plans to move ahead with two projects, one an effort to arrange ~~and~~ an institute for teachers of parochial and public schools. It is hoped that this might be sponsored or co-sponsored by Tulane, Dillard, Loyola, Xavier. The second project would be a community audit or self-survey. The group will operate under an executive Committee for the time being. This group, however, is engaged in recruiting a board of some 25 or so members. I am not sure how strong Ted Baptist's leadership will be. Gladys Cahn still seems to be the main figure. I would say that this group has considerable potential, but may or may not realize it. The group seems to have excellent Negro leadership backing.

SOS has some $1,800 in their own treasury. The SOS board, with some division and bitterness, voted to go out of business and turn $1,500 immediately over to CRC. The remainder would be used to pay off any bills that may be found, after which any funds left would also go to CRC. The LIFE board did not have

a quorum so made no decision concerning future activities. There is a possibility that CRC may get some of this money, perhaps earmarked for educational efforts.

Gladys Cahn indicated she would be "delighted" to accept membership on our board if elected.

October 4, 1962

LWD PR

Recommendations for Southern Leadership Program, 1963

According to your and Paul Anthony's figures there was as of June 30 a surplus in the Leadership Project fund of $20,341. An additional annual allocation of $40,000 was received recently. This would seem to me that there is available $60,341, with another annual grant of $40,000 anticipated in June of 1963.

We can assume that the following sums will be expended during the 1963 fiscal year, based on past experience and present plans:

1.	Ben Muse	
	Salary	$11,000
	Travel & Communications	1,500
2.	School consultant	
	Fees	6,000
	Travel	3,200
3.	Grant, National Council of Churches	7,500
4.	SRC overhead	4,000
5.	Printing & distribution	5,000
6.	Project office expenses	1,000
7.	Miscellaneous	500

Total earmarked: $39,700
Not earmarked and available: $20,300.

I suggest that the following allocations be considered under the Leadership program:

1. A grant to the Friendly World Broadcasting Company of $6,500 for the fiscal year 1963. Ed has been spending at the rate of approximately $1,000 per quarter and has been running somewhat in the red on the Alabama project. I would suggest that $6,500 would be a reasonable annual allotment and would enable him to maximize the potential of his program in Alabama.

2. The use of up to $9,000 for a labor consultant who would spend some time consulting with labor leadership across the South and strengthening our liaison and that of the state councils with labor. If George Barrett is available, I would recommend his use on a status similar to that of Brewbaker. If George is not available, the plan may not prove feasible.

If these two allocations were carried through we would still have $4,800 remaining in the Leadership funds and it should be noted that these expenditures are contemplated for the 1963 fiscal year and would be committed out of funds presently available, regardless of the fact that we can anticipate another $40,000 during the 1963 fiscal year.

October 15, 1962

SDB

PR

Would it be useful to do a round-up of a few of the best Southern press editorials on Mississippi?

attached: Lynchburg News editorial, 9/27/62

October 16, 1962

LWD PR

Attached material.

In answer to the questions Courtney raises:

1. I would still favor an effort to cover the state in a belief that state-wide findings would be of value and are probably no harder to get.

2. I do not like the idea of their using a graduate student supervised by "a well-known research person on a part-time basis." I think they sould get a full time research student and perhaps limit the project to one or two years. I don't think it's so important that the person be well known. He should be competent.

Its seens to me that the budget could be reworked somewhat more satisfactorily and we can go into that if you wnat to.

PR

Margie could be helpful in with plans

November 1, 1962

PA (cc: LWD) PR

Putney graduate students

Marge is making arrangements for living accommodations for the two students coming in on November 8. She will keep you informed of this.

We have written them to call you on arrival, although if they notify us of time of arrival I think it would be nice if we could arrange to have them met.

It seems to me that their activities here should obviously include the following:

1. Discussion of the current situation in the South with SRC staff.

2. Discussion with various senior staff members here about program of SRC.

3. Some reading and study of history and publications of SRC.

4. Interviews of with personnel of other civil rights agencies: Mennonite Service Committee, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, Urban League, NAACP, AFSC, ADL, AJC, NSA, YWCA project, Atlanta and Georgia Councils on Human Relations.

5. Spend one to three days with Frances Pauley. This should involve a field trip.

6. If possible, field trip to Birmingham for a day of meetings with Jimerson and Negro leaders.

7. If possible, field trip to Albany with Frances Pauley or Oliver Holmes, or Vernon Jordan.

They will have some funds available for field trips.

MO Gen

November 14, 1962

LWD PR

You should know that the Alabama Council has submitted a request for assistance to Field and New World. The emphasis is on approaches to leadership, etc.. Anthony and I checked over the proposal in your absence and Jimerson is sending us a copy of the final version.

PA ✓
WB ✓
SB ✓
HM-A

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Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE N.E. ATLANTA, GEORGIA
Mulberry 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date November 16, 1962

To: LWD, P.A., etc. From: PR

Subject: Field Report, Visit to Little Rock, November 5 & 6

During the trip I met with the staff and executive committee of the Arkansas Council, with the transfer students and their parents, with Ted Lamb, liberal school board member, with Mrs. Irene Samuels of the Women's Emergency Committee, with Mr. Johnston, prominent businessman; Mr. Youngdall, relative of former federal Judge Luther Youngdall, labor lawyer and chairman of the state advisory committee to the civil rights commission; Hugh B. Patterson, Jr., publisher of the Arkansas Gazette, and others.

I found the general atmosphere in Little Rock somewhat changed and somewhat improved over a year ago. The general evaluation of liberal and Negro leaders runs approximately as follows:

1. There has been a tremendous pulling together of the Negro community. Ozell Sutton has played a key role in this effort. A Council on Community Affairs has been organized under the chairmanship of Doctor G. P. Freeman, a dentist, as an overall coordinating effort. A ~~son~~ sign of this increased unity and militancy is the candidacy of Dr. Townsend for the city board of directors and Dr. Jackson for the school board. Townsend received about a third of the total vote in a three man race November 6.

2. The liberal political strength seems to be gaining because of this and other factors. Ted Lamb points out that several relatively liberal members were elected to the general assembly from Little Rock and that Faubus did not carry the county last time. Whereas two years ago, the Women's Emergency Committee worked hard to keep Dr. Jackson out of the race for school board in favor of a white moderate, the WEC is now split with some backing of Jackson and others backing a relatively moderate white candidate for the position, Dr. Harrell. The incumbent is not standing for re-election in that race. The seat of the chairman of the Little

Rock School Board, Mr. Tucker, is also up for re-election and it is not clear whether or not the incumbent will run. He is expected to, generally. Already announced as candidate for that position is Mrs. Murphey, wife of a local businessman and a liberal not generally branded as such in the community. There is still considerable fear that a segregationist will enter the race with Dr. Jackson and Mr. Harrall, but this is not certain. As of the moment in both races moderates are challenged by liberals, one of them a Negro, with no strong segregationist in the running. Some years ago the liberal groups ~~of Negroes~~ supported the moderate school board candidates against those backed by the WCC. It now seems that least possible that the segregationists will back ~~a moderate~~ the moderates against the liberals. Several Citizens Council leaders have given voice to the sentiment that the incumbent school board chairman is probably "the best we can get."

3. Negroes are still extremely frustrated over the situation involving the schools. They feel that the moderate school board has effectively limited and restricted ~~the~~ desegregation. They are particularly restive of the barriers against the children in a number of the extracurricular activities. Athletics, the band, honor societies are among those activities from which Negro students have been barred so far. In at least one of the Junior High Schools, Negro students have participated in informal school dances.

4. Economic leadership of Little Rock is satisfied with the status quo, anticipates no trouble, is not disposed to negotiate further progress. Lunch counters remain segregated. There have been some negotiation during the winter between Negro leadership and the officers of Downtown Business, Unlimited. These were not fruitful. A hush hush committee of the Chamber of Commerce was appointed to look into racial problems. There has apparently been no action here. Student leaders from the local college are now planning to directly contact downtown businessmen and, with the help of several SNCC leaders now on campus, are laying plans for direct action if necessary.

~~5.~~
Reactions:

Ted Lamb is convinced that liberals can win if they will only wake up and realize it. He feels that Jackson can win election to the school board in December and should get most of the same votes that Lamb got. Hugh Patterson spoke very warmly of Nat Griswold and the Arkansas Council and went out of his way to let me know that he contributed privately the ACHR. He said that Little Rock had been "most fortunate to have ~~t~~ to a man with the skill and maturity of Nat Griswold." Patterson feels that there ~~is/must~~ must be continued movement forward and believes that there should be more direct negotiations. He concedes that economic leadership is unlikely to move without further shock treatment. He was most cordial and spoke well of SRC.

The Arkansas Council is extremely proud of their work during the recent voter education effort and of Ozell Sutton's successful leadership in helping to pull together the disparate elements of the Negro community. Active programs are underway with groups in Hot Springs and Fayetteville but the activity in Pine Bluff/a year ago has discontinued with the moving of the key white church leader there. There is a general belief on the part of liberals that considerably more legal action is needed, in Little Rock, on the matter of extra-curricular activities, on the matter of parks and recreational facilities; on the matter of dormitory facilities at the University of Arkansas, etc.. There is a feeling that more cases need to be filed and that they need to be pressed more vigorously. Nat Griswold feels that the school board has successfully evaded the orders of the court to ~~provide~~ revise assignment procedures, evaded because their consequent actions have gone unchallenged in the courts.

Membership in the ACHR remains constant at about 400. The Council remains solvent, although money is constantly tight and a perennial worry. The Council met its matching funds this year, but fell somewhat short of its own budgetary goals. There is some doubt that the Council can continue to have a two man staff in the years ahead.

MO's

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A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date November 26, 1962

To: PR and PA From: LWD

Subject: ~~EX~~ SRC board members volunteering for speaking engagements

In response to my request at the annual meeting for volunteers for occasional ~~speaking engagement~~ speach-making chores, the following three members gave me their names. Please keep them in mind for engagements in or near their localities:

Florence Sytz, New Orleans, La.

Lee Thomas, Louisville, Ky.

Douglas Jackson, Dallas, Texas

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MM

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INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date December 17, 1962

To: ~~Lwd~~ LWD **From:** PA

Subject: Florida Council

Met on Saturday, December 15, with Executive Committee of the Florida Council. Mable Reese Chesley, President, and Ralph Mason Dreger, Acting Director, both seem to be well qualified and hard working.

Everyone gave sincere respect to Bill Williams and all seemed relieved he is gone. The group has a good awareness of mistakes made and what not to have again as to personnel and programs.

The Council has on hand approximately $2,200, some $2,000 more than when Dreger took over. Expenses are being closely watched and a realistic budget of approximately $17, 000 was approved. The group will likely meet our requirement of havine $3,000 on hand to receive the SRC special grant of $2,000. Great hope is placed in the annual meeting to be held in late January or early February. They especially want a Negro speaker and I have agreed to approach Benjamin Mays.

I have also agreed to seek an early appointment with Louis Mitchell of Birmingham. The Florida Council is especially interested in him though there is a salary conflict. They have budgeted $8,000, Mitchell wants $9,500. The group wants to hire a director no earlier than March, no later than June.

When a director is hired, the permanent office will be in Daytona Beach.

An evening with Mable Chesley and Herbert Davidson gave me an opportunity to explore matters rather thoroughly. About the future of FCHR, Mable is optimistic, Herbert skeptical. Both seem right to me. The "new" Council will enjoy unusually good support from at least some of the board.

I feel SRC should give this group and the Florida effort as

much support as possible during 1963. If the next round is a failure, it will probably remove Florida from the state Council list. If it is a success, the Florida Council could yet become the first completely independent and adequately self-supporting group.

I am cautiously optimistic. The matter now rests almost entirely with the wisdom and luck with which the new director is chosen.

Memo -

Jan. 21, 1963

LWD PA

Alabama visit, Jan. 17-18, 1963

Talked with:
Ted Roth - of management of Parisian Department Store
Dr. John Bryan - NCCJ - formerly superintendent of schools, thereafter Director of Chamber of Commerce
Clancy Lake - News Editor WAPI Radio-TV
Paul Johnston
Louis Mitchell
Lucius Pitts
A. G. Gaston
John Drew - Pres. Alexander Insurance Co.
Also, by phone, with Mrs. Charles FEAZEL, working in a Save Our Schools Effort.

ACHR: For the environment and times, ACHR is in good shape. Jimerson doing a good job, working hard, having some success in his efforts to meet and work with power structure. In addition to regular program, our joint effort for year will try to be to have some improvement and stabilization of finances. Record--for Alabama--is good and needs are relatively modest by comparison with other Councils. Also, to keep after power structure and--hopefully--continue slight trend of having ACHR recognized by these people as responsible, needed outfit. For Birmingham, Jimerson's efforts are encouraging. He has access to some suprising places, often with people who disagree with him but trust him and see his work as valuable. Found this the most surprising part of the trip.

Thursday night drove to Tuscaloosa for monthly meeting of local Council. Fine little group of 12 out on a rainy night, 6 white, 6 Negro. In attendance a white churchwoman, 2 professors from University of Alabama (Anthropology and Law). Very encouraging, very depressing. Good grassroots stuff. Backward, Southern segregated community, but working hard for law and order. Not the community Autherine Lucy went into. Jimerson and family showing signs of the strain. Fine family, nice wife, five attractive children including 5-months old baby. Still lots of pressure, some

threats and harassment, financial strain. Jimerson showing signs of early Bob Hughes: nervousness, always tired, stomach trouble, 70 hour weeks. Urged him to slow up, stay home more. Felt like an ass with my pep talks but think they helped some. He likes his work. His wife supports him completely. He is neither a genius nor a martyr, but ACHR has a good man.

Birmingham: The Governor's inaugural address impressed everyone. Some surprised and discouraged. Chuck Morgan is delighted: "we couldn't convert him, his complete definace helps our chances of putting him in jail." All pleased at statement of religious leaders issued day after Wallace speech. Powers McCloud partly responsible for this. Morgan also has plan to bring first school test and showdown with Governor at Tuskegee under jurisdiction of Judge Johnson, rather than in Birmingham. McCloud and Gomillion were to discuss this Jan. 18. Morgan busy and happy with schemes to make Wallace live up to his pre and post election pledges.

Everyone talking of hoped-for March elections in Birmingham. Most cautiously predict Conner will be defeated. White moderates are inclined to unite behind Boutwell as the best available candidate with a change. The money, Chamber of Commerce, and newspapers will support Boutwell. Negro community will split between Boutwell and King (if latter runs), but most leadership will support Boutwell. White moderates--as always--fearful of Negro demonstrations which will help Conner. Negro leaders agree--this time they're willing to wait--but restless restless Miles College students may or may not go along.

Gravest concern of Negro leadership is proposed SCLC demonstrations in February. Whites don't know of it. Pitts, Gaston, and all will try to dissuade students but see any local event as amangeable. They view with gravest concern an SCLC "outside sponsored" affair. "Conner would gladly foot the bill." LWD, if you have any opportunity, I hope you will mention this to Martin King. Shuttlesworth is being taken into the fold. On Pitts' advice, Gaston insisted that Shuttlesworth be brought into recent meetings with whites. Some unity is being achieved in the Negro community and things look good in this regard. But, this unity may be achieved at the cost of some division between King and Shuttlesworth if Shuttlesworth even gently opposes the SCLC Birmingham plans, as he may do. If not, then the Shuttlesworth-Birmingham progress has been ruined. This is a situation in which local leadership should be allowed full control. If they are not, King will be just above Bull Conner in popularity with them.

King, incidentally, is no longer considered by these people to be "too busy," "naive," "under influence of his staff." He has, to them, the full responsibility. The situation is serious for him as well as for Birmingham.

Conclusions:

Birmingham is a pathetic, sick, police-state kind of city. But there is real hope there--and good people. It is better than I expected. Enjoyed the trip.

ACHR is limping along but this outfit has the promise of being what it should be. Jimerson is better than I expected. I think ACHR will be one of the several Councils to receive a disproportionate amount of my attention. Promise and spirit are great things, and these people have both.

Sometime ago we were told the "ceiling" in Atlanta was 300 feet. Have completed this report because of said ceiling. On the assumption we will try to land, shall conclude this and devote my full attention to helping the pilot.

Dramatically yours!

La - Dope
mm

January 28, 1963

LWD PA

New Orleans trip, January 21 and 22

As a courtesy, attempted to reach each of our Council members. Was successful only with Gladys Cahn, with whom I spent several hours shortly after arrival. All agree Mrs. Cahn was the chief organizer and promoter of the New Orleans Community Relations Council (CRC). She now is deliberately moving away from primary leadership in the group so others will develop. She is pleased they were able to get Ted Baptist, who is a local businessman of some stature, long active in community affairs. Mrs. Cahn very pleased she was asked to serve in SRC.

Beginning with my first interview and with the exception of Helen Mervis, everyone with whom I spoke privately gave me their idea of what was wrong with CRC and the major participants in it. The group is very disorganized, has no program, has done little except the work of Mary Sand last summer with children, and about this there was a considerable squabble. They are strongly divided on the issue of remaining "underground." Some 60 members only, but all agree they can grow rapidly if they can decide what they want to be and get about being it. Some $2,000 in funds available.

The group has three "professionals" who serve as consultants. Harvey Kerns, Director of the Urban League (Five of the active whites have been president of the Urban League. It seems to be the thing to do, socially.); Irv Schulman, ADL; and Henry Cabirac, CAtholic Interracial Council. They have awe and respect for "professionals" and use the term repeatedly. However, most criticized Cabirac. They don't really think he's a professional; seems he use to be in business. From my very brief exposure, it appeared to me the professionals have contributed substantially--in very fertile ground--to the divisions and jealousies of the group, but little to program.

At a meeting with the officers and later a meeting with the board, it was agreed to:

(1) enter into negotiations with the special board of a semi-private park where the city's zoo is located; at present Negro children may come to the zoo but cannot sit on benches, ride the ponies, go to the restrooms, or otherwise use park facilities. The CRC will not take a firm stand on the matter, rather it will bring together a group of Negroes and the park board--if the board will be brought;

(2) prepare a letter to be mailed to some 300 public and private leaders, announcing the existence of CRC and offering its services; thereafter prepare a news release on the existence of CRC;

(3) complete a "community audit" from which it is hoped short-term programs and long-range objectives can be decided upon;

(4) consider the hiring of a part-time low-paid retired professional, of which they feel New Orleans has in great abundance;

(5) step up the work of committees presently concerned with police brutality, education, and community services;

(6) seek ways to use and "integrate" presently open facilities little used by Negroes, such as the lunch counters.

The group has a somewhat distorted image of SRC, formed largely during and because of our involvement in the school movements. They seem to think of us as effective and affluent manipulators, above the din of community affairs, with nearly unlimited time, resources, and patience with groups such as theirs. They don't seem fully aware of the unique circumstances which caused us to give the city so much time and money in the past.

The CRC is not all bad. There seems to be considerable talent there and they earnestly want to do a good job. They seem to have good Negro representation. For instance, Ernest Movial, president of the La. NAACP, is treasurer of the group. But the group is timid, somewhat paternalistic and involved in personal and organizational squabbles to an unfortunate degree. I shall work with them when and where possible, but it does not, in my mind, represent an SRC priority. Unless a good program or project is developed, or unless a director

is hired, I think we should seriously consider limiting our financial assistance to something less than the budgeted $1,000.

Ala
Dope

February 7, 1963

LWD PA

ACHR Annual Meeting, Tuskegee, February 1 & 2, 1963

Powers McLeod informed the board that the injunction on Jimerson and the ACHR was being dropped. McLeod arranged this with his boyhood friend, the new attorney general, Richmond Flowers. He has agreed to drop the suit subject to three conditions:

1. No publicity from the ACHR about the matter.

2. Jimerson to sign a release, agreeing not to sue any of the persons connected with the injunction.

3. Morgan to agree not to represent any of the other persons or organizations now named by the injunction.

The Board agreed to these conditions. Hopefully, the drain of legal costs--now in excess of $7,000--now will be stopped.

A budget of approximately $18,500 was approved, including a salary raise of $1,000 to Jimerson, increasing his salary to $6,200 and $1,800 housing allowance.

Powers McLeod was re-elected president. He's an unusually capable Council president. The Board decided that in 1964 they could have a Negro president. They have agreed to hire a Negro secretary immediately. Suspect both moves will have more complications than they foresee. Vice Presidents are: Lucius Pitts, Nat Welch, and Father Bryce, ~~it~~ a Catholic ~~prei~~ priest from the tri-cities area.

Had an opportunity to chat with our new members Welch and Smith. Both pleased to serve and Smith especially interested. Welch will probably be moving to Maryland later this year.

Percy Williams made an interesting but dull speech, emphasizing the progress made by the President's Committee. As you might expect, the audience was somewhat skeptical. Drove Williams to Columbus and Atlanta (because of fog) and had an ~~opl~~ opportunity for a long chat. He claims the Committee is putting heavy pressure on U.S. Steel because of TCI and they expect some dramatic and significant progress in Birmingham soon at TCI and Hayes Aircraft.

Maggie was present on Saturday and made a brief, rousing speech which pleased everyone.

February 25, 1963

MA PA

Please add to our mailing list under Interagency:

Mr. Hugh A. Brimm
2120 - 7th Avenue North
Birmingham, Alabama.

TO: JS, JT, SB, BP, PA

RE: Rough notes from 4/25/63 conference with LWD on future research activities

Works pending definite publication are:
Vivian Henderson Economic Status of Negroes
Kenneth Morland Tokenism
Bob Coles Desegregation of So. Schools - Psychiatric Study

Reports partly undertaken for possible publication are:
Race and Religion
Vocational Schools

A special report on Direct Action to take top priority over other pending works
to supply a) chronology)
b) definition)
c) interpretation) direct action
d) exploration of the self-interest) factor in

a) 3 to 4 phases - possibility of an appendix of main events over a 3½ year period
1- winter-spring-summer 1960
sit-ins erupting spontaneously
little organization
specific and immediate change resulting in the middle and upper South
2-June 1960 thru early 1961
doldrums of little action
growing discontent
SNCC formed
3- Freedom Ride May 1961
continuing offshoots and implications down to present time
4-last 1½ years i.e., late fall '61 to summer 1962
activities concentrated in localities
some fragmentation among participating groups
now organized rather than spontaneous
voter drive

to ask questions and be conceived of as a "thinking aid"
c) what tangible changes has direct action accomplished?
ex. - sit-ins had direct changes
give a perspective to direct action events
ex. - relationship between it and Negro bitterness
how can the country understand all this
what is meaningful beyond "law and order"

b) define -
direct action relies on demonstration
(therefore, not all voter activity is direct action)
action usually engenders a reaction
action as leverage
(Lomax and Proudfoot should be digested)

d) self-interest
cost - any economic argument?
both state and community involved
consider both Albany & Greenwood - what if events there had not happened
1959-60 events got good press leadership because events and newspapers were both metropolitan

public gets little press guidance on Albany or Greenwood, but both of these situations affect Atlanta, for example, and the whole state and South

get specific examples and quotes
document
underscore utilitarian aspects

where does the increasing southern urban untrained labor population fit into this?

****

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Memos Gen

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A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date June 27, 1963

To: PAnthony & VJordan From: LWDunbar

Subject:

(1) To recapitulate our Sunday talk, we should develop concrete, flexible, and urgent plans along the following lines for this summer:

(a) In at least some states and cities, plan and carry out a large effort to get human relations council members to register effective support for passage of civil rights legislation (I would rather we did well in some places than to spread ourselves everywhere).

N.C. - Tenn. - Ga. - Fla. - Houston

(b) An effort should be made to get human relations members or officers, or the organizations themselves, in some places to adopt and carry out a plan for stimulating employment opportunities.

(c) An intensive, notable, and newsworthy effort in at least one place to combat the problem of school drop-outs.

(2) PA has been asked to plan and lead the above. He should get all the help he requires from VJ, and from any other staff member. I would like for Paul to move immediately toward obtaining new staff help for himself. He may undertake preliminary discussions during my absence, in his own best judgment.

(3) I believe the Fellowship of the Concerned this year, in some clear-cut way, should support the Race and Religion Conference.

(4) One of you, as you choose, is to prepare the memorandum on Prince Edward County.

(5) I had lunch with Josephine Wilkins on Tuesday, at her request. She talked with me again about the idea she has brought up several times before of a large program to form and guide discussion groups around the South. I promised Josephine that we would react to her idea this time in some way. I wish PA and/or VJ would find time soon to go over this with Josephine. Is it possible that Josephine's idea could be given a pilot trial in one state? How does Josephine work with Frances? Could Josephine's notion somehow be tied in with our hopes for a membership drive?

(6) As PA knows, I was disappointed that Tennessee felt that it could not undertake a concerted membership drive before fall. I wish we could get these councils to look on a membership drive as a program effort, as a way of spreading the gospel. It is really impractical, in Tennessee, to start something before October? Could we start in some other state?

(7) Vernon Eagle has asked me, and I have asked Vernon Jordan, to come up with some ideas about the helpful use of foundation money for job training and re-training. As I explained to VJ, these do not have to be ideas for SRC. I would like to responde to Vernon Eagle within the next month or so.

(8) PA is, if possible, to write Morris Abram.

(9) VJ is to continue his investigations into Atlanta contractor employment. Please instruct the front desk that if calls come from Charles Silberman or his assistant at Fortune (they have been calling regularly) they should be referred to VJ.

- END -

M/O Gen

June 28, 1963

LWD (cc: VJ) PA

Several of your recent written comments indicate a disappointment with the progress of state Council membership drives and the attention given to that problem. Perhaps I have been remiss in reporting activity in this area.

Alabama: For the past 3 years membership has remained at approximately 500. There should be a slight increase this year. As an incidental part of work in Mobile I have encouraged reorganization of that Council and there is a possibility of strengthening there.

Arkansas: In 1962, ACHR reached a high of 321 members. A 1963 campaign has raised that figure to approximately 500--an increase of more than 50%.

Florida: Reported a high of 800 members in 1960. Fell to less than 200 paid members during 1962. The FCHR has been reorganized and now has a membership in excess of 600. Hopefully, a planned drive in the fall will raise this to the goal of 1,000.

Georgia: Membership approaches 900--no appreciable increase over 1962. Unless there is an aggressive campaign in Atlanta, little further increase is likely in 1963.

North Carolina: Several new local Councils have been organized but at this time an increase of no more than 5%--to 600--is anticipated.

S.C.: An increase of no more than 15%--to 500--is anticipated.

Tennessee: Present membership is approximately the same as that of 1962, some 700 members. A special drive will be held during September, with a goal of an increase to 1500. Detailed plans will be started during late July. Hopefully, the campaign will succeed, though developments with TCHR

and the press of other matters within and outside the state make me less than optimistic. The time for this experiment was chosen with the best judgment I could make in light of existing factors.

Mississippi: The reorganized MCHR has, of after some hesitation, made the decision to seek members. Any growth will be statistically impressive.

Virginia: Virginia has a goal of raising its membership from 2,00 2,100 to 3,000. Their campaign is thus far ahead of schedule.

Texas: The Houston Council has a goal of doubling its membership from a 1962 high of 243 to 500. A membership "workshop" will be held in the fall and it is possible the results will raise the membership even higher.

There is reason to hope that by the end of 1963 Council membership will reach 8,000--an increase of some 40%. This membership and percentage figure would still be far smaller than that desired, but I would consider it a good by-product of an year of unusual crisis and program demand.

MO Gen

July 9, 1963

Henry Clark (cc: LWD) Paul Anthony

Department of Field Activities

This department consists of the regular field program, the women's work directed by Mrs. Tilly, and the Southern Leadership Project. Each is commented on separately.

1. Regular field programs. In 1953-54 SRC began establishing staffed councils on human relations in each of the southern states. Directors were chosen by SRC and their salaries and operating expenses paid by SRC. A new staff position was created largely to assist and service these state councils toward the goal of becoming independent, self-supporting agencies by the end of 1957. In 1954 Fred Routh was hired to fill this position and was, in effect, the first director of field activities.

By 1957 it was evident that none of the state councils were near the goal of self-support and none could continue without further SRC support. (Indeed, during the period 1953-57 attention was centered on program exclusively and no attention was given by SRC or the state councils on moving toward the goal of significant local support.) In November 1957 the councils became independent agencies as planned but with the assurance that SRC would continue

significant financial support. A grants-in-aid program expending approximately $50,000 a year was established and continues.

In July, 1959, Paul Rilling became the second director of field activities with a more formal departmental structure than had previously existed. Prior to coming to SRC Paul had been the very capable director of the Virginia Council and his skills and interests were especially appropriate for that portion of the job dealing with state councils.

In December, 1962, I became the third "field director" with a further effort made at defining and establishing the formal responsibilities of the field department. Essentially these responsibilities are to continue the servicing and support roles with the state councils and to be generally concerned with the Council's "field" interests. Ideally, each of these broad areas would receive about one-half of the time and attention of the department.

a. Work with state councils. In direct contradiction to the paper planning which preceded the effort, each of the state councils was encouraged to become "foundation support" oriented--with special emphasis given to the necessity of SRC support. In some instances councils were actively discouraged from developing potential grass root strength in membership. The results of this are still evident. After nine years no state council is capable of continuing its program without SRC support. (However, one--Virginia--is nearing a position of self support and, hopefully, several others will reach that position within the next year.) So too, membership in the state councils is disappointingly small; less than 6,000 south-wide at the end of 1962.

It is essential that special emphasis be given these areas. SRC has no assurance of being able to continue the grants-in-aid program beyond 1964 and the possibility of this--or of a greatly curtailed grants-in-aid program--must be considered. Further, the lack of growth

in local support and membership is a particular criticism of the foundations providing funds for the grants-in-aid program. Therefore, our performance in these areas in the immediate future may determine the future of the grants for these purposes.

Informally, I have set a goal of a 40% increase in membership (to approximately 8,000) by the end of the year. This figure would still be disappointingly small but the effect of this increase--and the lessons learned--may possibly allow for a greater percentage increase next year. If, by that time, considerable growth in membership and local support has not been achieved it will be necessary to review the entire structure,potentials, and objectives of the state council operation.

This concentration on specific growth represents, in my opinion, the most important objective of the field department in our work with state council councils. In addition, however, attention must also be given to the programs of these organizations, especially as they relate to the rapidly changing situation in the region. Related to this is the matter of staff for these groups. A state council director must be a particularly talented person in a number of fields. The psychology which many of the councils have promoted--a small band of good people hiring dedicated people at low salaries--has not been a conspicuous success. It will be a slow process, but this too must be changed as rapidly as possible.

The idea that all of this can be accomplished by one person devoting one-half of his time to it is questionable. A slight increase in field contingency funds might help. Certainly, a modest increase in travel funds would. More staff is out of the question at this time.

b. SRC field programs. Much of this section will be discussed under the heading of the Southern Leadership Program since our more creative work is, hopefully, being developed under that project. There are, however, certain specific program responsibilities including:

(1) work formally and informally with other agencies. The Council has served as secretariat of the Southern Interagency Conference since the beginning of that group. (Will discuss SIC with you, it's too complicated to describe in writing.) Field department performs that function, represents SRC at the quarterly meetings, and maintains an active relationship with many of the agencies involved. The formal and informal relationships maintained are largely a "staff to staff" matter. LWD maintains the summit liaison as is appropriate--and inevitable--among bureauracies.

(2) A relatively minor, but significant, part of the field work is a portion of our relationship with the press. We share in discussions and briefings and when traveling, especially in tension situations, try to maintain a close contact with these people, to be helpful to them.

(3) With some good but unique exceptions we do little in creating other meaningful field programs. In the over-all survey of the Council's work and needs you might particularly consider this. I see no way this area can be strangthened at present but this may be a major weakness.

2. <u>Work with Women.</u> This program has become one which provides Mrs. Tilly with a base of operation, and complete freedom of operation. The one formal program annually is a conference, "The Fellowship of the Concerned." Your recommendations will be greatly appreciated.

3. <u>Southern Leadership Project.</u> Several formal programs are

conducted under this project. Benjamin Muse is writing a ~~history~~ history of the decade since the court decision of 1954; $10,000 is provided the National Council of Churches to enable Elbert Jeansto work out of the NCC office in Nashville on ~~a~~ a program concerned primarily with rural ministers; "L" reports and other publications are prepared and sent ~~pri~~ periodically to ~~southern~~ southern leaders; we have helped and probably will give additional modest assistance to ~~Friend~~ Friendly World Broadcasting for a series of ~~radio~~ radio programs. Detailed information is available about each of these programs.

For some years we have maintained, under one name or another, a consultant service program. This is being continued under the S.L.P., with major emphasis on helping (and quietly encouraging the formation of) local community preparation groups. Separately, I am preparing a report for LWD on our recent efforts in Mobile. We will share a copy of this with you since it is indicative of what we are trying to do, and is by far our best effort to date. (In fact, I despair of ever being able to achieve another "Mobile.")

Here again our problem is one of time. (There is no concern for funds other than normal prudence.) It takes a great deal of time in any given community to advise, nudge along, create opportunities for help, especially to get a sense of trust from the people whom you want to help. These is a possibility I will yet strike one of our "consultants" who can do much of this initial development. This is my hope, ~~though~~ though I am not optimistic.

In summary: the field deparmtent will particularly welcome your evaluation and opinions. Like much of the Council, but perhaps more so, we have sort of just grown; reflecting more of the interests of the moment and of the person in charge than a deliberate policy. A good

case could be made for more staff, but I am particularly reluctant to pursue this matter, for both budgetary and program reasons.

Hopefully, we can ~~g~~ fill in this sketchy outline with much conversation.

M/O Gen

July 11, 1963

LWD PA

Meeting immediate program needs

A few thoughts on the little planning and thinking on new priority programs done during your absence.

(1) In supporting the President's civil rights bill, concern with employment and school drop-outs, etc., we instinctively turn to the state Councils. This to me is an indication and reminder of having these groups far stronger as a grass roots movement. This need, therefore, I begin to put into the "high-priority" category along with those mentioned above.

(2) A memo has been prepared for Josephine Wilkins, at her request, to help in her general planning and as a means of exploring the idea of her working with us. The priority list and the specific work with state Councils has been included in that memo. We have made some progress if she adopts any of these as a major concern. Frankly, I am hopeful she will be interested in some high-powered "lobbying" for the civil rights package during the next six weeks and thereafter will transfer her energies to work with several state Councils (in uniquely promising situations). She could do quite a job for us.

(3) I am somewhat confused about the matter of additional staff and have done little about it; not so much from the confusion but rather from lack of potential candidates. Vernon and I have discussed this matter and agree that selective use of consultants for speical assignments may be more promising. At any rate unless someone comes in unannounced, we have little choice in the immediate future but to stretch ourselves in this way.

(4) To a slight degree I find these new priorities are getting in the way of may own first priority of the pre-September work with the Southern Leadership Program. The same situation exists with some of the state Councils (i.e., Georgia) and I am hesitant about placing too much emphasis on these new programs lest others of equal value and need suffer from the changed emphasis. Some of the state people take our advice very seriously!

(5) This indicates the need of not only selecting states for specific work but communities and local councils within states. For instance, an Atlanta Council program on school drop-outs would be particularly good and not interfere with our hoped-for work in Savannah and elsewhere. This possibility I have discussed with Eliza and will explore further, though there seems to be no great enthusiasm for the idea. I am more hopeful about the idea of the Atlanta Council beginning a meaningful program to reach Weltner.

(6) On the school drop-out problem I have done nothing other than discuss it with Eliza. In time more will be done. Desirably, serious and worthwhile programs will be developed in several cities where their efforts will be given as much help as possible from this office. Also, in mid-August I will discuss with H. Lee the idea of VCHR approaching the Virginia State Department of Education with the proposal of a state wide project using the local Councils in that state. Have no idea what response this suggestion will bring. In September and thereafter, this item will receive more attention.

(7) On employment much--compared to the other needs--is already being done. Every state Council is doing some work of this kind. Virginia has the obvious elaborate program with considerable local Council cooperation. North Carolina and Tennessee are doing good jobs on the state level and with the state governments. Other local Councils, such as Huntsville and Charlottesville, have this as a major program. I think we will be giving serious attention to this need if we encourage the interest which already exists and remain alert to offer special help at times of opportunity.

(8) On supporting the President's civil rights package, as you suggested, the states of North Carolina, Tennessee, Georgia, and Florida will receive our main attention though some effort will be made in the other areas as well. Most of our planning is aimed for the month of August, though some things have already begun.

(a) Vernon's memo summarizing the bills has been sent to each state Council where they will be reproduced and sent to each member with the suggestion that Members of Congress be written. In the case of Tennessee, we ran 700 copies of Vernon's memo and he carried them to Nashville last week. They were sent to all members there.

(b) We will talk to each of these state directors about specific follow-up.

(c) The July newsletter will carry a not-so-subtle reminder of the above which all have agreed to.

(d) Have talked to Florence Robin about serving as a consultant to several of these more promising groups. As you probably know, Florence has been a lobbyist and speech writer for several congressmen including Gore and Javits. I think one or two day stints in places like Nashville with Kay Jones would be very helpful. Have told Florence that if we do this we would try to pay expenses and $40 per day consultant fee. (She will continue to perform with community preparation groups without charge but felt to ask more would be overdoing it.) Would like to discuss this with you as soon as possible.

PAr

July 12, 1963

LWD Vernon

Trip to, Race Relations Institute (Nashville) and NAACP Convention (Chicago) July 3 thru 5

Race Relations Institute:

I departed for Nashville around noon-time and was met at the Nashville airport by Kay Jones. We went directly to the Tennessee Council office where I met Council office personnel and was given a quick tour of the office.

After learning that Will Campbell was in the same building, I looked for him but failed to find him because of his absence from the city, (by design it would seem because of the presence of some National Council people at the Race Relations Institute).

I left with the Tennessee Council, several hundred copies of my analysis of the President's Bill. We journeyed then to the Race Relations Institute where afternoon workshops were in session. Unable to find Herman Long and Carl Holman, who was one of the morning speakers, in addition to Hobart Taylor, we sought out Ruth Arnold. Ruth, Kay, and myself spent a couple of hours discussing various council problems.

Kay is interested in my helping her in the East-Tennessee area sometime around the first of August. She wanted me to spend a week in the area working with her. I assured her of my cooperation but not for that long a time. I inquired of Kay if she had ever considered a male associate director to act in the same capacity as do Ozell Sutton and Oliver Holmes. She has thought about it but money poses a big problem.

She did not appear too enthusiastic about membership campaigns. Rather, she was more concerned with what to do about Councils which acted vigorously during racial crises, but are now virtually inactive. She solicited program suggestions for the re-activation of such councils

Ruth Arnold displayed real love for SNCC, contrasted by a kind of contempt for Wiley Branton. I somewhat subtly suggested that she was too vocal about both more especially the latter. Not only because I think she was wrong, but because I feel such talk is not healthy, even in the family.

I was impressed with Ruth's enthusiasm to do more than she apparently is doing with some emphasis on specialization, i. e., Manpower Training Programs.

Later I spent some time with Herman Long. Herman expressed real satisfaction with the success of the Institute. The enthusiasm was unusually high, probably as a result of events since Birmingham. We talked about many other things, too numerous to mention. He was, however, very pleased with the fact that the Council was represented by a staffer. He expressed equal pleasure with my having joined SRC staff.

Marion Wright gave one of the better speeches of the Institute. This fact was relayed not only by Herman, who was very high in his praise, but by numerous other persons in attendance. I am sorry I missed him because Dr. Kitagawa, who spoke on "Race in World Dimension," Wednesday evening, was rather boring to me. Also on Wednesday evening I had about a 10-minute chat with Steven Wright. I conveyed to him your best wishes and regards. He responded likewise.

After the evening meeting at the Institute I had the opportunity for additional conversation with Ruth and Kay, which proved very fruitful.

NAACP CONVENTION:

My train arrived in Chicago too late to witness either the parade or the outdoor meeting where Dailey and Jackson were booed and heckled. I did, however, get first-hand information as to what happened. It did appear that the demonstrations against Dailey were deliberately planned. This was evidenced by the fact that as Dailey and Wilkins led off the parade they were closely followed by a sign reading, " "Dailey, where are you leading us?" (They were heading incidentally to the East, which goes directly to Lake Michigan.) The Dailey hecklers consisted of a small and loud group that seemed to have taken most of the crowd by surprise. The Jackson demonstrators, though led initially by a small group, was joined in by the entire crowd. This is probably attributed to Jackson's standing reputation as a Dr. Tom, especially in view of his appeal for a 60-day moratorium on demonstrations.

This convention was undoubtedly the most enthusiastic and highly spirited convention I have ever seen anywhere. Observers say that it was one of the best NAACP Conventions in many years. The reason for this is apparently obvious. The youth had a somewhat jolting affect on the convention. They did such things as;

1. Petition the Board of Directors for more emphasis on the youth programs, substantiated by more money -- additional youth as full-time and part-time workers, etc.

2. Demonstrate against the Hotel Morrison because situated in the bar near the lobby were two black-faced figurines. The youth demanded the removal of same and blocked entrances to the coffee shop, bars, and other hotel facilities, until such a time that the management complied with their demands. Their demands were met.

2. They called for the formation of "Commando" groups -- similar to that in operation in Durham, N. C., to carry on direct action activities throughout the country.

4. They were most unappreciative of Meredith's statement-- calling them "burr-heads" - charging their leadership ranks with lack of discipline and leadership. They revealed their indignation rather forcefully.

Thanks to Barbara Patterson's excellent statistical summary of school desegregation in the South -- supplemented by my corny glue-coating, I went over kind of big in the workshop on "Stepping Up School Desegregation." But for Barbara's research I very probably would have flunked.

I had an opportunity to talk to many people that you know. Guys from UAW -- John T. Logue, Assistant to the Deputy Vice-President, Eastern Airlines, (he is coming to Atlanta to talk to me about hiring Negroes to be counter girls for Eastern). Connie Motely, Roy Wilkins, June Shagloff, John Morsell, W. C. Patton, Ed Odom, and a host of others, all of them sent their best wishes.

I think we ought to consider putting out several of our publications at conventions such as these, for those persons in attendance. There seem to have been such a tremendous need for the kind of information that SRC dispenses -- oftentimes, this information was not available nor was there anyone present who could come up with the answers. There was also a lack of knowledge as to where you get the answers to some of these questions.

As an aside -- you might be interested to know that a friend took Shirley and me to Chicago's famous Playboy Club, where for a few minutes, I abandoned what little reserve I have, and my wife, to do the Twist with several of the "bunnies" featured at the Playboy Club.

Needless to say, this event made the Chicago Convention more worthwhile.

other copies in Huntsville file

July 24, 1963

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: LWD

FROM: PA

RE: Role of Charles Morgan, Jr., in University of Alabama desegregation

Now that most of the events are past, it might be good to give a brief account--beyond the obvious--of the role Morgan played in the recent Alabama situation.

Morgan agreed to take the case only if he were reasonably certain of having one or both of the Huntsville applicants entered in June. He was not interested in the case unless it could be used as a means of confronting Wallace before September, and on other than the public school level. Further, he was interested only if the case gave him an opportunity to try to influence the thinking of the state as it related to the "inevitability" of desegregation and the necessity for "law and order."

In this regard, the actual legal work was only part of the real effort that went into the two and one-half month period before desegregation. (This is not to make light of the legal work. The brief filed by Morgan in behalf of his clients was the one to which the court responded and which led to the entrance of students at Tuscaloosa and Huntsville.)

As a first step, Morgan approached friends of his at the University. (He is well known, being a graduate of the University and the law school and a former faculty member of the University. Presently he is active in the alumni associations of the University and the law school.) It would be a mistake to go into detail in all that transpired, but a very close rapport was established with persons at the University and was maintained throughout the proceedings. The positive attitudes and actions taken since then by University officials would bear this out.

Thereafter Morgan began to talk with many people of importance in Alabama. Newspaper editors and publishers were a first target. A select group of newspapers throughout the state were apprised of events and--to varying degrees--were made sympathetic well before the first legal steps were taken. (It was no accident, e.g., that many Alabama papers referred to the Huntsville applicants as "young scientists.") A select group of state legislators, businessmen, leaders of professional groups, young lawyers, etc., became parties to events and, to some extent, participants. In my opinion this planning was extremely important in determining

the way in which the state accepted the change and in determining the amount of pressure which was brought on Wallace.

The man is obviously a competent attorney but it was this skill at public relations that I observed during my numerous visits.

Few people know of the job Morgan accomplished in achieving his real objective of "changing the face of Alabama." A select group in Alabama are aware of this, and Governor Wallace probably is. (Certainly the governor's private comments indicate that he is aware of Morgan as one of his prime adversaries.) Further, it might not help Morgan or his practice for this to become general knowledge. But, it would be good for a few persons, particularly those who supported him, to know something of this.

The University has appealed the court's ruling ordering admission of the three students and the appeal will be heard by the 5th Circuit Court of Appeals. Therefore, some legal work continues.

Ala dope

CONFIDENTIAL

October 17, 1963

MEMO TO: LWD

FROM: PA

RE: Mobile and ABLE revisited

Spent all of Monday and Monday evening, October 14, with the ABLE leadership in Mobile. The major questions under discussion were (1) if the group should disband and the leaders go their separate ways, or (2) should they disband and form another ABLE-type organization, or (3) should they continue.

ABLE has been considerably and effectively attacked by the John Birch Society, Women for Constitutional Government, the American Legion, a significant portion of the medical society, and other strong organizations and prominent individuals. More recently they have been hard-hit by the Mobile County White Citizens Council, which likely enjoys Birch Society financial support. (See most recent, passed out at WCC meeting last week and on down-town streets the next day.)

These initial attacks were of a different nature--and were probably more effective--than the traditional attacks experienced in Little Rock, Atlanta, and elsewhere. Now, interestingly, as the WCC comes into the forefront the attacks are reverting more to the anticipated form: telephone harassment, threats, vulgar letters, and the like.

Before any of the attacks began ABLE did some good ground work. The of the city's most prominent men had agreed to serve as "sponsors," a number of organizations had pledged support, and an effective membership drive was begun. After Wallace's attack and subsequent manuevers by the Birch society all of this ceased and most of the initial work was undone.

With new tactics, much done "underground" rather than the anticipated public program, the ABLE program has been effective and justifies the support which we and others have given to it. Therefore, the visit on Monday was really a test of just how much the ABLE leadership had grown and whether or not there was to be any continuing benefit from the effort.

The results were encouraging. It would have been easy for the group to disband; the schools are desegregated and remain open. They did not give up under fire and might consider that they could now disband without dishonor.

After thorough and honest examination, the board of ABLE determined to continue in business. Their reasons were: the Federal Courts may and likely will hand down an order considerably more sweeping than the present injunction which accounts for the attendance of two Negro children; desegregation will reach into county schools in September

where violence and Tuskegee-type boycotts by white pupils are possible and likely; to disband now would still be to give in to those who have attacked them; and, the group needs to challenge and oppose the serious threat of political domination of Mobile by a coalition of segregationists and ultra-rightists. The awareness of this threat and the decision to fight it were particularly encouraging.

A first major effort at "Going Public" again, will be made later this month when the group co-sponsors an appearance in Mobile of Alabama Attorney General Richmond Flowers. The ABLE board recently had a conference with Flowers. His theme in Mobile will be the need for public schools and the futility of Wallace-type opposition to federal courts. The other sponsors of this appearance, all arranged by ABLE, will be the League of Women Voters, the AAUW, and the Mobile Education Association.

The group enjoyed the visit of David and Neva Rockefeller, and it gave them a boost at a time when they were pretty despondent.

Hollis Wiseman, husband of the ABLE president, reports his practice has not suffered, though his relationship with a number of his colleagues has. This situation has encouraged a move by Dr. Wiseman and some of his like-minded colleagues to liberalize the leadership of the Mobile Medical Society. The first Negro doctor was voted into full membership several weeks ago. Dr. Wiseman's support of his wife, and his insistence that she not give in are probably the most important factors in the survival of ABLE.

Without "outside" prompting, members of the ABLE board are now working with a save-the-schools group in Baldwin County and another in Fairhope, Alabama. Mrs. Wiseman has agreed to go to Meredian, Mississippi--at her own expense--to consult with a school teacher there who wishes to start such a group.

At this instance, and regrettably, SRC is perhaps the best known civil rights organization in Mobile. My various hosts and hostesses refused to let me stay at a hotel, take a taxi, or otherwise meet the general public. I did not approve of this before going but do now.

Mobile revisited was generally reassuring.

Memos

November 19, 1963

BC PA

Please send 10 copies of the Vivian Henderson report to Miss Fay Bennett, label attached. Thanks.

La. Dope.

February 25, 1964

Leslie Dunbar

Paul Anthony

Louisiana visit February 16 - 17

A meeting to consider reorganization of the Louisiana Council on Human Relations was held in New Orleans at Xavier University on Sunday, February 16, at 5 P.M. About 15 persons were present: a Lafayette delegation of five persons, led by Msgr. Alexander Sigur, Wade Mackie and John Lewis of Baton Rouge, and a large group from New Orleans, including the officers of the Community Relations Council. Mrs. Gladys Cahn presided. (A complete list of the names and addresses of those present is being sent me and will be attached to this memo when it arrives.)

Following much talk there was unanimous agreement that the group wants a Council, the state needs such a program, and the potential for local support exists. In very general terms, it was agreed organizational effort should proceed toward (1) establishing chapters in Lafayette and Baton Rouge, where unofficial groups now exist; (2) beginning arrangements to have the New Orleans Community Relations Council become the chapter of the state organization from that city; (3) seeking out individuals and groups in other communities as a potential beginning of other chapters; (4) building a mailing list of appropriate persons; (5) seeking funds from individuals and groups to support the organizational effort and, hopefully, the beginnings of a staffed operation.

Msgr. Sigur agreed to serve as temporary chairman for a period of up to six months. Mrs. Cahn and Mr. Lewis agreed to serve as co-chairmen. All present agreed to serve as a temporary steering committee. The officers were authorized to add others to the committee.

These officers accepted responsibility roughly as follows. Msgr. Sigur, with the assistance of others from Lafayette, agreed to arrange for clerical facilities and concentrate on building a mailing list, encouraging establishment of local chapters, fund raising, and visiting one or more Councils in other states, probably beginning with Florida. (I agreed to send Msgr. Sigur $100 for initial postage and other expenses.) Mr. Lewis agreed to reach people throughout the state

and, with the help of Mr. Mackey, to try to formally organize the group in Baton Rouge. Mrs. Cahn agreed to work with the CRC in these regards and to devote time to such questions as by-laws, the relations of local chapters to the state organization, etc.

Generally, planning will begin on the basis of developing a state organization whose strength, support, and program will come from local chapters.

Obviously a tremendous amount of work must be done, the initial decisions will be crucial, and considerable staff help will have to come from SRC. I hope to visit New Orleans and Lafayette again in late March.

The group has good leadership and, at this very early stage, the situation is promising. It is likely a Louisiana Council will be fully organized and possibly staffed by fall.

cc: Msgr. Alexander Sigur
Mr. John Lewis
Mrs. Gladys Cahn

Memo - Gen

March 6, 1964

LWD (cc: VJ) PA

Spring program of the department of field activities

I feel the following, most of it obvious, should be put into writing for your consideration.

A number of specific areas need to receive attention if we are to meet our minimum responsibilities. They are:

(1) Specific and deliberate services to the established state councils. We cannot become so involved in dealing with special problems that we cease, or nearly cease, to notice this area. For instance, the best, Virginia, needs far more attention than I have given it. Special situations, especially Arkansas and Tennessee, also need as much help as we can provide.

(2) The barely functioning Councils provide situations which we cannot ignore. North Carolina still must be staffed, and thereafter must have considerable help from us. Mississippi deserves considerable help from us. Louisiana looks as if it may go regardless of what we do. But, it should be noted that the amount of guidance we give that state Council and the amount of influence we are able to have may determine whether it starts well or repeats some of the mistakes already made there and elsewhere. No matter what problems arise we simply cannot ignore this area.

(3) The leadership project and services to public education seem to me to be naturally meshed together. Funds are available in this project, even need to be spent. Here, it occurs to me, I have done a poor job of interpreting the problem of the need. School districts, involving some thousands of students, threaten to close or drastically alter public schools. This threat is greater and far more wide-spread than at any time in the past. With some variation, there are probably at least twenty potential "Prince Edward" counties in the immediate future. Districts, like Jackson and Biloxi need as much attention as we can give them. These situations call for special, deliberate, specialized, and exclusive help. I retreat on the agreement that this and public accommodations interests mesh. Obviously in a sense they do.

But for our programming they do not. Considering the time we once felt disposed to give Atlanta or New Orleans, I think we would be remiss in our responsibility not to try to at least think in the same terms for the majority of the region which still faces this problem with far less resources than the glamour cities.

We need personnel, consultants, publications, research. In all seriousness, I am concerned that the drama of being concerned with school desegregation has waned almost to the point of disinterest at the time when the need is greatest.

(4) The public accommodations program, for which plans are now being made and which need no elaboration here.

(5) Other SRC program interests also must still have a place. Such areas as working in rural programs, cooperating with several groups such as the Sharecroppers Fund, who will still continue to come to us whether invited or not.

In meeting these needs, we should continue the following as far as administration and personnel are concerned.

For Numbers 1 and 2, we return to the obvious of a second person in the field department. To be of any real help this must be a highly qualified person or one of unusual promise. There are important salary considerations here. Please give me whatever specific qualifications, such as race, which are necessary for this, and the salary limitations. Until this ideal individual is found I see no alternative but to return to the tired old formula of heavy travel, especially on weekends. There are travel budget considerations here.

Here, too, an effort should be made to get state directors to serve as consultants and new directors should be helped to visit other states.

For Number 3, Ben Muse can be a great deal of help to us and, as we have discussed, can actually do a job which no other person of our acquaintance can do. As soon as possible we need to know just what amount of time Ben can given to this. In discussing this we need a sense of priorities. For instance, after the fact it occurs to me that Ben's time in Louisville is a very low priority item compared to the various needs. Also, assuming Ben's health will greatly limit his availability (and assuming there are no financial problems on his part) we need to reconsider the full time salary here. We are dangerously close to making a tradition of full time salaries for part time services.

For the summer we should consider employing a Ken Moreland type--from Leadership Project funds--to spend full time working in communities facing desegregation in the fall. In the meantime I should

get the volunteer women involved again. (Teko Wiseman of Mobile has agreed to go to Jackson or elsewhere in Mississippi "anytime." Currently ABLE is concentrating on getting a candidate elected to the ~~SMC~~ school board and on running a candidate for Congress!)

If necessary, I think SLP funds could also pay for part time research, writing help, and the production or reproduction of more materials. Do you agree?

It occurs to me that we are fortunate in having so much to do. In trying to do all ~~that~~ that is necessary, we may well get more done than if we had fewer problems on which to concentrate!

Miss Pope

May 5, 1964

LWD PA

Present status of Save the School efforts in Mississippi

On April 31, while in Jackson, I met with a small group of women who hope to revive the SOS effort there. They are from the earlier informal effort and think some of the women who once expressed an interest can be attracted again if leadership can be provided.

Two women, Mrs. Paul S. Derian and Mrs. Winifred Falls, are the strength of this effort. Informally, Mrs. Derian is serving as chairman. Her husband, a physician, supports her in this, though he is very concerned about the probable consequences should the group become public.

There is no need to rehash the horrors of Mississippi, but it is impossible to describe the conditions under which these women live or the courage it takes for them to do this. SRC is respected by these people, and at his request, I have pledged to Dr. Darian all help we can possibly give, should they choose to go through with this venture.

On Saturday, May 2, final arrangements were made for Mrs. Hollis Wiseman and Mrs. Chatten Haynes of Mobile to go to Jackson to consult with a small group of women. This will likely be followed by a small group from Jackson going to Mobile to meet with the full Executive Committee of ABLE. On the evening of May 20 I will meet in Jackson with the women and their husbands.

Major questions at this point are: can the group become public? They will if any significant support can be attracted; if they cannot go public can any effective work be done "undergroupd"? Do they have to wait, like Little Rock, until schools are closed, before being able to accomplish significant results?

Some hope exists for a statewide "network" of SOS groups. Ironically the Jackson group last year stimulated a group in Meridian. ~~The Jackson group~~

The Jackson group folded, the Meridian group remains and is prepared to go public. An attorney, Tom Bourdeaux, leads the Meridian group. ABLE leadership has helped in Meridian.

Mrs. Falls is probably moving to the Gulfport-Biloxi area. If so, she will help with an effort in Biloxi, her home originally.

Jean Fairfax has been of considerable help in Jackson. Connie Curry will now begin to spend much time in Mississippi and I think her time can best be spent with these women. We are arranging for Connie to visit Mobile en route to Jackson. The work of Power Hearn will also be meshed with all this.

We really didn't have this Mississippi in mind when it was written, but I am pleased to note that all these people use "Transition Without Tragedy" and seem to find it very helpful. About 30 copies are now in the hands of individuals in the state.

I am also pleased to note that, in fact, SRC is providing good and needed services in Mississippi. Fortunately, it is on several levels: with general "moderate" community work, especially in support of public education; with the Mississippi Council, where there is now some opportunity for interracial work--very little, but more than a lay effort can take advantage of (the state-wide Mississippi Council meeting consisted of only 75 persons, but so much promise and eagerness); and with our publications and information (the need for information cannot be exaggerated).

For all of this our resources are pitifully inadequate in relation to the need. Agencies like ours, to be effective, must work through people and even in the Mississippies there are people. They are prepared to give time and skills--and accept abuses--which are akin to nothing in our experience.

May 8, 1964

LWD PA

Dan Beittel has been dismissed as president of Tougaloo Southern Christian College by the Board of Directors, in meeting in New York in March. No reason was given for this action other than age. (He has just turned 65.) Dan did not contemplate this action, had no inkling such action was to be taken, and had no opportunity to discuss this question before or during the meeting.
(with anyone)

This position was accepted by Beittel with the understanding that, health permitting, he would remain president until age 70. This argument was confirmed in correspondence between Beittel and the board.

Dan is of the opinion the board acted on the basis of criticism from foundations and others of the involvement of Tougaloo in civil rights activities and the feeling this involvement harms the fund-raising and development opportunities of the college.

The faculty and students are very upset over this development, feeling it is action based on Beittel's support of them in their actions. The opinion was expressed, "if the Board did this to our president, what will they do to us."

Beittel's resignation was announced in Jackson newspapers on Sunday and Monday. To date (Thursday), the governor, lieutenant governor, the legislature, and the Citizens Councils have expressed their pleasure with the implication that this represents a victory for them. By acclamation ~~the MCHR acted to request~~ the MCHR acted to request the Board of Tougaloo to urge thatDr. Beittel remain in his present position for at least several years longer.

The Beittels have no plans at this point other than "to do or say nothing which might harm the continued growth of the college."

This is a very unfortunate development, offering much encouragement to the segregationists. Certainly it is a blow to the Mississippi Council and those associated with that effort.

The only bright spot is that this may remove Ruth and Dan Beittel from Mississippi. With dignity, skill and courage they have done more than their share.

May 8, 1964

LWD PA

The Mississippi Council had a statewide meeting at Tougaloo College on May 28. About 75 persons attended. The usual large group of Catholic clergymen were present. They and a small numberof Protestant clergymen are the strength of that Counnil.

Jean Fairfax led a long discussion on the school situation. By telephone Bill Minors of the Times-Picayune spoke to the group. He was at the state capital and couldn't leave the deliberations of the legislature. He is a good and outspoken man, publicly sympathetic to MCHR.

A meeting of the MCHR board has been scheduled for May 21. Purposes are to plan programs for summer and consider possibility of establishing a staffed operation. I will attend. Will also meet with the SOS group while there.

There is a possibility of small local Councils in perhaps half-a-dozen Mississippi cities. There is now some potential for the MCHR making a difference. Even assuming funds were available, the problem of proper staffing is formidable if not insurmountable.

Random notes:

Hazel Smith announced two more $50,000 libel suits against the Lexington Advertiser, brought by two Lexington policemen because of that paper's reporting of a shooting of a Negro man in downtown Lexington. The shooting took place shortly after Medgar Evers murder.

The MCHR voted to have an expression of sympathy sent to Hodding Carter over the loss of his son.

Aaron Henry reported a letter of explanation of COFO summer program has been sent to each member of the state legislature and to the sheriff in each county in which programs are contemplated. The letter also offers to discuss these programs in person. No recipient has as yet acknowledged the letter.

May 25, 1964

LWD PA

Mississippi Council

The Board of Directors of the Mississippi Council on Human Relations met in Jackson on May 21. The meeting was held at the First Unitarian church beginning with lunch. This, and a general membership meeting held that evening in the Catholic High School, are the first MCHR meetings held in Jackson outside the Tougaloo campus.

It was decided to hold the next general state-wide meeting on June 5 in Jackson at Tougaloo College. I was asked to inquire if you would be a speaker for that meeting. The other portion of the program will be a report on the summer program of COFO and how MCHR can relate to it.

Currently MCHR is doing a wide mailing of a description of the COFO program. Several thousand copies of a shortened form of a prospectus published by COFO are being mailed to as many people as possible. (Will Campbell and the Committee of Southern Churchmen are helping with some mimeographing and postage.) The Mississippi Methodist Advocate editor has agreed to send this information to all Methodist ministers in the state. No factual information on COFO's program is being disseminated through the usual channels, though misinformation and distortions get much play.

Copies of James Silver's article are also in heavy demand and we will provide as many additional copies as possible.

Major purpose of this meeting was for the Board to consider future programs for MCHR. Relative to this was a consideration of the possibility of securing a full-time staff director, and the financial implications of this.

It was agreed the present resources of money and lay leadership cannot be expected to provide for an expanded program. Also, there was agreement that present program is worthwhile. This program is essentially of two parts: (1) distribution of information not otherwise available in the state--such as the Silver speech and a report on COFO summer program--to as many people as possible, and (2) expansion of membership, the "friendly" mailing list, and providing opportunities

for members and other interested or curious persons to meet together. Membership is approximately 200, the friendly mailing list contains about 650 names, and each of these categories is growing. On the evening of May 21 the first meeting was held to try to formally establish a Jackson chapter of MCHR. All the work is being done by lay people and--with the exceptions of modest help for publications from SRC--all the funds for the program are being raised from within the state.)

It was agreed now is the time, if at all possible, to seek a staff director. The results of the lay effort effer encouragement, some minute breaks in the "closed society" are evident, Jackson, Greenville, Oxford, and Meridian, and the central area offer the possibility of local programming, given the necessary assistance, and the problems of the summer, September, thereafter are obvious, and to my knowledge, nowhere exaggerated.

A realistic discussion was held about finding a qualified individual and about finding the money for such an operation. We agreed that whatever the problems related to fund-raising, it would probably be more difficult to find the person.

I have been asked to draw up a minimum adequate budget, to begin looking for staff, and to discuss with you the possibilities of outside help, given satisfactory ataffing. A personnel committee (also to concern itself with finances) has been established headed by Rabbi Nussbaum of Jackson.

I am convinced that we are right in being very pessimistic about the immediate future in Mississippi. But, assuming the human relations council approach is valid and given these remarkably fine people, I believe we should now do everything possible to reestablish a staffed council operation in that state.

I hope you will be able to accept the June 5 invitation. It will be an excellent opportunity to meet the MCHR leadership in the Mississippi setting.

The evening meeting in Jackson and work with the save-the-school women are reported on separately.

May 26, 1964

LWD PA

Most recent meetings with Save-the-Schools women in Jackson, Mississippi.

On May 21 I met twice with the "inner circle" of the Jackson SOS leaders.

We met in the morning to discuss my "chores" for the day and again in the evening at 9:00 following the MCHR meeting.

At present, developments are these:

(1) The women have the assistance of an attorney who will help them become incorporated, "if they insist." For purposes of corporate vs. individual liability, for sake of appearances, have suggested they insist. In the opinion of their attorney, it will be necessary for the group to be a school betterment group rather than an SOS group since he feels an SOS group, per se, would not receive a charter. While not wanting to go under false pretenses, the women have no hesitation about being a school betterment group since they would like to be just that. It is, in their opinion, only logical that they first are assured public schools will continue under peaceful circumstances. After that, they would honestly like to concern themselves with the quality of public schools in Mississippi. This is another interesting instance in which the negative posture of state officials may have achieved results other than those they desired.

(2) The women want to establish a Mississippi organization as opposed to an operation limited to Jackson. They reason, along the lines of HOPE in Georgia, there is a local and a state-wide need.

On the local level they need to insure that Jackson schools remain open and that law and order are preserved. Other communities may have the same need. But, on the state level they must be concerned with state government policy, whatever local conditions. This, too, I encourage.

(3) Following incorporation, the group will make itself known, visit all appropriate state and local officials to pledge support for adequate policy, and visit all business leaders to secure cooperation. Simultaneously a general membership drive--and membership involvement--will begin.

This "inner group" really consists of about five women. All are young, bright, intelligent, and very attractive. At least three of them would prefer to be openly identified with the "integrationists of MCHR." They do this--as moderates--only because "real moderates" could not be found. One is the wife of a young physician who is willing to lose his practice and leave the state "if this makes a real difference." (As you know I have promised him, at his request, the full possible support of SRC.) Another is the wife of a college professor (political science) whose husband is "tired of talking among ourselves without doing anything." Another is a young Jewish woman who has the tentative support of her husband but who is under heavy pressures from both sides of her family for fear these activities will increase the anti-semitic sentiment in the community. STill another is a great-grandfather of a famous Confederate general. One has a grandfather who is Ross Barnett's attorney and whose mother last year brought suit to establish the legality of a "white only" policy for the beaches of Biloxi.

With one exception these are "Mississippi girls." By some alchemy they have been produced. We looked for them but we really didn't find them, they found us.

Last year I began working with an SOS group in Jackson. They were fine people and in time they were routed. None of the inner circle of that group is available for this effort. They will "help" but they fought and had the spirit knocked out of them. I don't blame them for not subjecting themselves to the same thing again. Nor could I ever, in good conscience, encourage anyone to take on these interests now. (And, I have said so to these women.) But, if they do so, as they have and will, we must help them to the fullest extent possible.

This is the breaking of the shell. For all the prattle about outsiders, outsiders will break very little on the inside. But, if insiders like these begin to break things to any degree, they will continue and that will make a difference, whatever the odds, for a long time to come.

Miss Dope

May 26, 1964

LWD PA

First public meeting of Jackson members of MCHR

On May 21, at 7:30 P.M., a meeting/ meeting of the Jackson members of the MCHR was held in the gymnasium of the Catholic High School.

MCHR members in the Jackson area were invited to attend and bring their friends. About 50 persons were expected (or, more accurately, hoped for); over 100 attended. The continuing high spot of the evening was the regular interruption created by Father Clancy as he sat up extra folding chairs.

Already, this accounting seems mundane. But, one must understand it in the Mississippi context. While not "public" in the usual sense, this was the first interracial meeting of recent memory held in downtown Jackson, Mississippi. It was held in an acceptable place--the Catholic High School--one block from the governor's mansion. It was thoroughly integrated, about 30% Negro; everybody mixed up with everybody else. It came on the day when the Jackson School Board ended its case in Judge Mize's court on the "basic inferiority" of the Negro. All the doors and windows of the gym were open wide for the world to see and hear. (It was uncomfortably hot, a high of 98° that day.) And, many who came were uncertain and worried, but all were boletered by their "strength in numbers."

Duncan Grey, as President of MCHR, and I, as representative of SRC, spoke. Our themes, and the tenor of the evening, was integration is right and necessary and the time is late for good men to act. Without bearing on our performances, but relating to the audience's interests, we were warmly applauded.

There followed a good question and answer period with Mrs. Wallis Schutt presiding. Later Mrs. Schutt asked those interested in forming a Jackson chapter of MCHR to leave their names and addresses. Almost three-fourths of those present did so.

Many, probably most, of those people present want to "do

something." A few in the audience--such as Dr. and Mrs. Dan Beittel--were there, people who are already doing all they can, simply to lend their support. Most, including a number of clergymen, were present as ordinary citizens who are looking for an opportunity for honest interracial contact and for guidance in what "average people" can do.

From this meeting will probably come the first local chapter of the Mississippi Council.

We have been so accustomed to so little that this seemed like an auspicious occasion. These people and their influence are in such a minority in Jackson and the immediate problems are so awesome. If Mississippi is held together and waddles through to decency, chances are these people will be pushed aside as being too controversial, too right too soon. But they are good, average, inordinately decent people. The Mississippi society hasn't gotten to them.

This, in fact, is why it was an honestly auspicious occasion and I felt privileged to be a part of it.

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ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN A[redacted]ORGIA
[redacted]2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date November 16, 1964

To: Mr. Paul Anthony From: Al Ulmer

Subject: Trip to Greenville, S.C. ---November 4 - 7

Miss Sara Lowrey, the Council on Human Relations President, expressed interest in having me give a series of talks to various interested groups in Greenville. It is hoped that I can serve in the role of "initiator" for several programs involving the Council. In my earlier visit, October 15th and 16th, I had been asked to serve as a sort of coordinator in drawing up application plans for the Economic Opportunity Act. Also, a tutorial program was mentioned if tutors could be found. Miss Lowrey appears to work very well alone, and to prefer working in this manner. The Council at this time is composed of a small group of people that meet monthly and discuss what they will talk about during the next meeting.

Mr. Tiny Smith, Rev. David Francis, and Rev. Rearden, who are the acknowledged leaders in the Negro community, speak of the Council as a group composed of nice folk, but who have never been of help to them as a group, only as individuals. Several opportunities exist at present for the Council to change this image of itself.

(1) The application for the Economic Opportunity Funds requires a considerable amount of research data, something the Council people should be able to gather. This has been suggested.

(2) Fifteen students at Furman have signed up to participate in a tutorial program. I feel Miss Lowrey, with her past experience in this area, can be if great assistance in setting up

a pre-tutorial course for these college students. They are there ready to be used.

(3) Rev. Francis has asked the Council to assist his group in organizing a "job interview readiness" program. As this is similar to something Ed Lewis is doing in Florida I offered written materials. The Council can surely be used in this program and just the effort will help initiate some confidence in it as an acting body.

Everett Altman, though at first, apprehensive about meeting with a Southern Regional Council representative, has said he will assist in making application for the EOC. Altman is director of the Community Relations Council, United Fund, and as is in an ideal position to present the proposal to the County School Board, who will act as the contracting agent.

Mr. Gordon Smith, administrative Assistant to M.T. Anderson, Superintendent of Greenville Schools, expressed interest in the program available, and assured me the Superintendent would consider a proposal offered in behalf of the local community.

I spoke with such various groups as the YWCA, the Unitarians, the Bah'a'is, a Furman student group, and a young adult gathering at the First Baptist Church.

Miss Lowrey has expressed the desire of having me back for a longer stay, perhaps in January. I question the value of this as long as the Council is inactive in the three programs I mentioned previously already available. If the Council just wants me for speaking engagements, I wonder if it is worth the money.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date November 16, 1964

TO: Paul Anthony From Al Ulmer

Subject: Columbia, S.C. Annual Meeting of the S.C. Council on H.R.

November 12th, Thursday, the South Carolina Council on Human Relations held its annual meeting in the Wade Hampton Hotel in Columbia, South Carolina.

A pre-conference meeting of the Board of Directors, presided over by Fred Reese, enabled local council chairman to report on the programs they had been involved in during the past year and to predict the course of their group for the coming year.

Public accomodations compliance was discussed. Many people felt that compliance had in general been very good and then someone mentioned subtlties. Different men and women reported such ingenious methods as the numbering of previously "Colored women" and "White Ladies" restrooms. Now there are four numbers on four locked doors. One asks the attendant where the restroom is and the reply is a key with one of four numbers on it. Spilled food, breaking of dishes after the meal is completed, poor service, dual price systems, refusal to seat the customer were other methods mentioned.

Mr. James reported on the Economic Opportunity bill and how local councils could initiate action in their communities. Mr. Bowdler reported briefly on his efforts in establishing new councils throughout the state. Mrs. Leeden told of the success of the student tutorial in Columbia.

The afternoon session was the show the rehearsal in the early afternoon had been in preparation of. Finance report was dominated by the request of members to pay their dues, and included a note of thanks to Mr. Homm of Field Foundation, and an explanation of the funding of Mr. Bowdler's temporary position.

Program - the idea of small teas was suggested. Each person having six or eight friends for tea or coffee and discussing problems of the day and explaining the Council and its objectives. The need for utilizing the rights enforced by law in the Civil Rights Law was emphasized. Tutorial programs and college recruitment efforts were discussed.

Happy Lee gave an hour talk of "Immediate Challenge at the Community Level" using several personal illustrations.

Supper and even I was introduced. Though I declined the chance to say a few words the influence of my example was for naught. Dr. Proctor gave a good speech. "The Point of No Return," illustrated throughout with references to the Peace Corps and how you-know-who are going to be the future leaders of America, etc. A good, honest, sincere, right smart man, Dr. Proctor. Maybe I can use him for HEW.

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JOHN CONSTABLE, DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
FLORENCE B. IRVING, RESEARCH ASSISTANT
EMORY F. VIA, LABOR CONSULTANT
PAUL ANTHONY, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT
RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER
SECRETARY-TREASURER

VJV
PA - I assume you are not recommending assistance to the Hamilton women?

LWD
MM

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N.E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
Atlanta 30364

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date November 16, 1964

To: Mr. Paul Anthony From: Al Ulmer

Subject: Trip to St. Petersburg and Gainesville, November 14 - 15

I was the speaker at a meeting of a women's honorary teachers association where I was the only male in the company of 130 females. This was their annual meeting and all went well.

Gainesville - I met with Mrs. Marshall Jones and her husband, a professor of English at the University of Florida. She is the President of the Gainesville Women for Equal Rights, Originally dominated by university wives, this group now is fairly representative of Gainesville. They have picketed in body, participated in a voter registration drive, with CORE, and now hope to begin a pre-school nursery project. A professionally trained person is available for three days a week at five dollars per day. Volunteers are no problem, but money is. They need two hundred dollars to begin. Mrs. Marshall asked if we might supply a portion of this or all. And if this was not feasible, was a loan? What she really wants is to be able to say an outside group has enough faith in their organization to back them. Then she says obtaining funds will be no problem. This group is also beginning the ground work for application for the Economic Opportunity Act funds. It appears that it will take all 350 million dollars in the Community Action part of this program to just answer the letters of request for funds, let alone, fund the requests.

I met with the Gainesville Students for Equal Rights at 8 p.m., a gathering of about 50 people. We discussed the Civil Rights Law, methods of recruiting Negro students and the general picture of the "movement" at this time. I was even asked how I relate to the movement.

Jim and Dan Harmelin, President and program chairman, repectively, are both active in the tutorial program off campus and in Core and SSOC. There seems to be a nucleus of 30 or so people at the University who are genuinely interested in doing things, from demonstrating to tutoring.

This group is very interested in forming some loose-knit organization of Florida Students and in taking Ed Lewis up on his promise of supplying such an organization with money for a newsletter. It would be worthwhile.

On my way home from Jacksonville I inspected and checked on the cities of Cincinnati and Chattanooga finding them both to be holding their own at this time.

Memos - Gen

January 4, 1965

LWD (cc: AU) PA

Plans and needs for early 1965

The following are some of the things to which the field department must give considerable attention in the next several months. They may have some bearing on our discussions at the January 8th meeting. I would appreciate your comments and any possible help from the rest of the staff.

A. State Council and Local Councils

1. The Virginia Council needs a new director. They are fortunate in having Caravati as Acting Director, but it would be unfortunate if this existed for too long a time. For the right person they are offering a salary of up to $12,000; putting heavy (and possibly exaggerated) emphasis on experience in "inter-group relations." I will go to Richmond on January 12.

2. We hope to have the new Tennessee Director here for a visit soon. Baxton Bryant seems to be having some difficulty, like Kay earlier, in getting work out of the TCHR leadership. Their Annual Meeting is January 29 and I hope either Al or I can be there. Within a relatively short time, Bryant will probably be working pretty independently of us and with need for minimum assistance. But, initially, he will need as much as we can offer. He will be here January 6-7.

3. Ed Stanfield and Alabama will need all the help we can provide, in program and finance. In program Al will spend the week of January 11 traveling the state with Ed. Thereafter he will give as much time as possible. We are talking with the Urban League about jointly sponsored work with the anti-poverty program in Alabama and Mississippi. Some additional outside financial support must be found to give Stanfield minimum stability.

4. Kenneth Dean goes to Mississippi late in January after spending a few days here. Helping him and MCHR is our top priority, shared only with Alabama. I hope to spend considerable time in Mississippi during the next several months.

5. The Louisiana Council Board meets on January 16 in Lafayette. People in Baton Rouge will meet to form a local Council on January 14. I have been asked to be at both and will try, though it may not be possible. Likely this group is going to be sufficiently along to justify considerable help in the near future. During this organizational period we should give as much guidance as possible.

6. The Houston Council people will benefit from a visit by you and I would like your evaluation of that group, of which I think highly. The degree of acceptance in the community and their successful local fund raising (probably to exceed $50,000 this year) does give some cause for concern. One hopes respectability will not induce "moderation." Several other communities in Houston County are organizing local councils with a loose affiliation with the Houston Council. Desirably, they will organize a County Council headquartered in the present Houston office. Kelly is very interested in seeing the Texas Council re-established and will do whatever he can to encourage this. This group needs little of our attention - except in the inclusion of Houston in our housing study - but to the extent that measures are taken to re-establish a state-wide body, we will have to be involved.

7. Ed Lewis has done a magnificent job with the Florida Council but continues to need our help. Steadily his program is attracting additional local financial and membership support but he needs another year to have a stable operation. I hope Al can be of some help here (though considerably less than in Alabama). Al has several speaking engagements in Florida in January (U. of Florida faculty and Pinellas County PTA), he maintains communication with groups in Tallahassee and Gainesville, all of which should help. Lewis needs temporary outside funds and other help. Soon Florida, like Virginia and North Carolina, should be independent in at least its minimum operation.

8. We must, of course, do what we can to help the Georgia and Atlanta Councils resolve their differences and channel their considerable talents into even more productive programming.

B. The Southern Interagency Conference needs more attention, better programs, and more involvement on the part of members. There is much to be said for this and no one will do it unless it's SRC.

C. We need to offer additional encouragement and guidance to Mississippians for Public Education. On an immediate basis the group needs to plan for new school desegregation in September, '65, and to organize additional local units for this purpose. There also remains much to be said for the ~~grop~~ group continuing and becoming a bona fide indigenous group working on the problems of adequate textbooks, school dropouts, teachers salaries, etc. This will probably require some permanent full-time staffing and,properly directed, the group is capable of this. Our work with Dean and the Mississippi Council will give me an opportunity to visit MPE. (~~There~~ These two groups, which share some of the same leadership, should work closely together, though not publicly as yet.) Also, I hope we can pay the travel expenses to have Winifred Falls go over to Mississippi several times to help in this. She is willing, as is Frances.

D. State Council staff will meet soon, probably mid-February. At that time we hope to begin building the informal but close relationship in which there is considerably more cooperation among state councils.

Memos - Gen

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SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

M E M O R A N D U M

April 21, 1965

TO: Directors, State Councils

FROM: Paul Anthony

The directors interested will meet here at the SRC Conference Room Saturday morning (April 24) at 9:30 A.M. with a representative from Operation Head Start to consider applications with that program.

Please bring with you:

1. Names of communities in which you propose programs.
2. The assurance, if at all possible, that you have talked with individuals in that community and the program is wanted there and will be supported by some local group.
3. An estimate of the number of children to be involved in each community.

Memo - Gen.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

MEMORANDUM

April 26, 1965

TO: Directors, State Councils

FROM: Paul Anthony

Enclosed is a copy of the first draft of a statement prepared by the Georgia Council. The plan is to find educators in the state to sign this and then give it the widest possible distribution.

When the final copy is available we'll send that along. In the meantime you might want to consider whether or not a similar statement would be possible and/or valuable for you.

DRAFT DRAFT DRAFT

AN OPEN LETTER FROM GEORGIA EDUCATORS

Dear Fellow Georgian:

This Fall, hundreds of Negro children will be attending previously all white schools for the first time. Some will be transferring under court orders growing out of private law suits. Others will be attending because their school district has submitted a voluntary desegregation plan or signed a Compliance Certificate under the new Civil Rights Law.

For more than ten years, the question of desegregating Georgia's schools has been handled as a political problem, a legal problem or a racial problem. It has been dealt with, in one way or another, in the legislature, in the courts and in the streets.

But any question affecting the well-being of our schools is fundamentally an educational one. It needs to be resolved not by politicians or lawyers, but by parents and educators working together. The question no longer is whether or not we shall desegregate our schools. That has already been decided. The question now before us is how can we provide the highest quality education for every Georgia child in the most efficient, economical way.

We are not doing this today. We are failing to equip our children for their future careers, for service to their country in the armed forces, for the responsibilities of good citizenship. The latest figures available from the National Education Association show Georgia almost at the bottom of the educational heap. Here is how we are handicapping our children:

Among the 50 states, Georgia is:

47th in the number of adults with more than 5 years of schooling.

47th in the number of adults with more than 8 years of schooling.

(more)

50th in the number of students who complete secondary education.

More than 49.2% of Georgia's children become high school drop outs.

We are placing a burden too, on our teachers by paying them less and crowding their classes more than other states: Among the 50 states, Georgia is:

41st in the rate of pay for teachers - 20% less than the national average.

46th in maintaining a good ratio of the number of pupils per classroom.

It should come as no surprise then, that in today's competitive market, we are failing to attract enough qualified teachers:

We are 46th in the number of high school teachers with a four-year college degree.

We are also 47th in per capita expenditure for education; and

42nd in expenditure per pupil per year. Georgia spends $297 per pupil per year. The national average is $432.

Education is not conducted in a vacuum. Stunted schooling turns out limited adults, and here, too, the figures tell a depressing story:

In their careers: Georgia is 46th in the percentage of employed persons who are trained to be professional or technical workers.

In good citizenship: In the 1964 election, Georgia was 48th in the percentage of persons of voting age who went to the polls - only 43.2% of the adult population voted.

In service to our country: Georgia is 46th in the percentage of men who passed the Selective Service Mental (educa-

(more)

tional achievement) test. 42.9% of our young men tested, failed and were rejected.

It is unfortunate, indeed, that Georgia is not spending enough on education compared to the other states. Nor are we spending the limited funds available wisely or economically. The Report of the Governor's Commission on Education has recommended the elimination of duplication and waste, possibly by consolidation of smaller county school systems.

County consolidation is perhaps one method. But a far greater drain on our limited financial resources is that imposed by our dual system of education. By maintaining two completely separate school systems -- one for white students and another for Negro students, we are duplicating school buildings, school buses, special services, principals, supplies, teaching aids, administrators -- almost every element of education is repeated twice in every school district in the state. And both Negro and white systems suffer by this waste.

Now, within a few months, Georgia must take a giant stride toward eliminating dualism in education. The law, of course, requires it. But more importantly, our own self-interest requires it. School districts which do not take legitimate steps to desegregate face loss of federal aid, which in some counties of Georgia is as much as 20% of the total school budget.

For ten years many influential Georgians have viewed desegregation as a threat -- a threat to already outmoded practices. And they have responded to that threat by evasion, legal trickery and disingenous delays. Much of the energy that might have gone into improving educational facilities for all our children has been diverted into fighting a futile rearguard action.

The time has come for us to view desegregation not as a threat but as an opportunity. The time has come for educators and parents from every segment of the community -- Negro and white to sit down together to make the most of it, not grudgingly make the best of it. To do this, we must be prepared to deal honestly with the fears and questions of white and Negro parents.

(more)

For example, white parents ask: "Won't academic standards be lowered by desegregation?" We might answer in a general way by saying that the segregated systems of the Deep South have have consistently lower standards in both all white and all Negro schools than the integrated systems of the North and West on every level: teacher pay, curricula, college admissions, accreditation -- whichever index one picks the segregated south comes off second best. But white parents have a legitimate fear, because the Negro schools of Georgia have long handicapped their students with out-of-date textbooks, lack of teaching aids, stunted curricula, poorly prepared teachers, second-rate equipment and the like. So working together, we are going to have to come up with a way to close the gap between the white student and the Negro student who has thus far been deprived of his educational birthright.

For example, Negro parents ask: "Must I expose my child to isolation, harassment and even physical danger when he transfers to a previously all white school? I believe in desegregation, but why must my child be martyr to it?" We might answer in a general way by saying that many school systems in the South have desegregated smoothly and without incident. But these parents have a legitimate fear, because other systems in hostile communities have made life miserable for transferring Negro students. So working together, we are going to have to come up with a way to insure that the community and the school are prepared for transition before school opens.

These problems, and others concerned with giving every child a chance to succeed are knotty, but not insuperable - although they cannot be solved by legislative action or executive fiat alone. But we, the men and women who teach your children, and you, the parents who commit them to our care, must face them together and devise answers that fit our local needs and will work to the benefit of every child in the state.

We call upon school boards, school principals, teachers and concerned parents to apply themselves to this task. In the coming months before school begins again in the Fall, all of us concerned with the well-being of our children must work together to improve our schools as we integrate them; to raise our sights to encompass a quality education for every child; and thus to equip each child to become a more useful, more responsible, more productive, adult.

4-28-65

To: Members of the Development Committee

From: Josephine Wilkins

MEMORANDUM RE: DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEE

DIRECTIVES -

The resolution creating the Development Committee, as adopted by the Executive Committee of SRC, states that it shall be a subcommittee "to assist the staff with fund-raising activities."

In the letter appointing us as members of this committee, Dr. Wheeler called particular attention to the need for enlarging SRC's source of southern support. The Committee, he said, "will not be expected to conduct fund drives" but "to advise the staff on opportunities that may exist in southern foundations, businesses, or other sources and to help as it can engage their interest." Beyond this, he continued, the Committee "will in consultation among its members define its own services and supply its own ideas." He further said that in creating this committee, the Executive Committee intended that its "primary concern should be for SRC" but hoped that the Committee would "also be alert to the needs of the state Councils on Human Relations."

Dr. Dunbar, in his memorandum to us prior to our organizational meeting, stated that the Committee "is not called into being for an emergency." Its contribution, he said, will be "to broaden and deepen our support" in the years ahead. He too urged concern for the Council on Human Relations movement as well as SRC. And he said, "You are named the Development Committee: it is everyone's hope that you will exercise a continuing interest in and inquiry into the ways by which a stronger SRC and stronger state Councils could serve the region and our ideals with stronger program."

REPORT & COMMENT -

You will recall that we have had two meetings, the organizational one held on last September 29 and the other held during the Annual Meeting of SRC in November.

MEMORANDUM RE: DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEE (cont.)

was directed toward the goal of getting a broad financial base of small contributors under SRC, and

In these two meetings various ideas have been advanced as to ways for approaching the assignment we have accepted. One proposal developed in some detail was presented by Dr. Dreger at our last meeting, and was reproduced and mailed out to committee members by the office afterwards, asking their comment. The proposal, as you will recall, was built ~~in general~~ around the engaging of a professional fund-raising organization and the holding of southwide annual drives, conducted jointly by SRC and the state Councils, the funds so raised to be prorated. The office received two replies, one from Dave Scull and the other from Mr. Dabbs, both of whom raised some question as to the wisdom of employing a fund-raising concern, and Mr. Scull also questioned so ~~broad~~ widespread an attempt toward coordinated fund-raising. ~~The~~ Dr. Dreger's broad approach ~~of Dr. Dreger~~ to our assignment as indicated in this paper is stimulating and in itself holds values for which surely all of us, certainly I, are grateful to him.

The promotional leaflet for use in fund-raising that we requested at our first meeting was completed and mailed out to committee members early this year, and according to the office a number of you have since requested additional supply.

I would now like to lay before you for your consideration what seems to me should be our present course of action, and to precede it with brief comment, which of course could be enlarged upon when we are together.

As we all know the South is now caught up in one of the great moments of history. In view of the on-rush of opportunities continually confronting SRC to be a guiding factor in the unfolding events, it seems to me vital that the organization continue to be funded for the time being with as little diversion of its energy from program as possible.

To obviate this it becomes ever clearer that the launching of any broad-gaged effort toward widespread support from the South should await a set-up at the office for handling it and professional fund-raising service.

In regard to such professional service, it would seem to me far better for SRC to bring onto its staff a full-time professional, one thoroughly conversant with the South, than to enter into contact

MEMORANDUM RE: DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEE (cont.)

with a fund-raising concern. A full-time professional on the staff would have the opportunity to come to know the organization well, and would be able to cultivate and build as he went along, without campaign pressure. As you may know, such groups as the Friends Service Committee and the YWCA have found this to be more satisfactory.

There has been some discussion at our prior meetings of SRC and the state Councils on Human Relations undertaking to coordinate the raising of funds in the South, and the prorating of them. I know from the experience of other organizations the pitfalls of this, and even the thought of our undertaking it is to me frightening.

Instead I would hope we would continue the policy of raising funds separately, but that in the South ~~that~~ we would do so, in full cooperation, under certain established guide-lines, such as: 1) The solicitation of funds for SRC and its grants to state Councils would be limited to those foundations, businesses, and other sources, that are more likely to be interested in an undertaking with southwide reach than statewide reach alone; and 2) The state Councils would draw support from the dues and donations of members, grants from SRC, and from the solicitation of funds from those foundations, businesses, and other sources, that are likely to be more responsive to an undertaking in their own state than to a southwide one. Should such guide-lines be agreed upon the possibilities for effective cooperation are of course large.

~~And~~ For instance, if a full-time fund-raising professional were brought onto SRC's staff, he could prepare promotional material that could be used by both SRC and the state Councils, other material that could be adapted by each Council for use in its own state, and could alot certain time to assist each Council in making its fund-raising plans.

With the foregoing things in mind let me make the following proposal and ask your consideration of it.

PROPOSAL FOR ACTION NOW -

I. That we jointly recommend to the Executive Committee of ~~the~~ SRC 1) that steps be taken as soon as deemed appropriate to set up a funding division in the office of SRC, headed by a full-time ~~fund-raising~~ professional with sound experience in fund-raising and membership drives, to serve with the assistance of the Development Committee and under the general supervision of the Executive Director; and 2) that the launching of any broadly based fund-raising effort in the South await this staffing.

MEMORANDUM RE: DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEE (cont.)

II. That each of us 1) undertake personally to interest several sources of potential support in the SRC and the Council movement, doing so with the aim of securing one or more substantial donations; 2) send to the office a list of those we plan to see; and 3) file with the office a report on the outcome, so as to begin building now a file on the South for use by a funding division when established.

III. That as time permits we each prepare and send to the office, together with pertinent helpful data, another list culled from our own state and consisting of foundations, businesses, other organizations, and individuals, that SRC could, even now, prior to the establishment of a funding division, begin cultivating for possible future donations and bequests to SRC and the Council movement.

with leads

IV. That we jointly also recommend to the Executive Committee of SRC that the policy be adopted of appointing the members of this sub-committee annually, subject to reappointment, at its meeting just prior to the Annual Meeting; and of having the members of the sub-committee chose their chairman from among their number.

##########

Memos, general
Thrs/3

MEMORANDUM

May 3, 1965

TO: LWD

FROM: PA

RE: Development Committee

(Since beginning this, I have read Josephine's memo and discussed it with her. This now takes into account the contents of that memo, though it is not written for the purpose of circulation as is her's.

1. Several basic ideas in the formation of this committee are vital. They are obvious but bear repeating.

a) This committee, it appears, is formed to work in partnership with the staff, not independently of it. Fund raising is, by the nature of things, primarily a staff function. We, the staff, have not been weak in this but perhaps the board has been remiss in their sharing of the responsibility. With a few exceptions, this historically has been the case. Our object now is to strengthen the partnership, not transfer the function.

b) The future and future resources, state conicals may be closely linked to the work of this committee. Without question, this idea is generally accepted and supported by the committee. No problem here. But every move of the committee ought to keep this in mind to insure that the group's objectives and purposes are not misunderstood. There is just enough misunderstanding around to make this a significant point to remember. Lots of history here.

c) As everyone agrees, this committee was not formed to meet an emergency but to sensibly plan for the future. This is an entirely new and unexplored area for SRC. It would be at least near miraculous if this committee raised appreciable funds in the beginning. One wonders if all of us have not put too much emphasis on the mechanics of raising funds and too little on exploring the broad areas of possibility.

(For instance, the committee, especially the chairman, have put much thought into the idea of securing a professional fund raising firm. After considerable thought the chairman, and likely the committee, have concluded that this proposal is unwise. While this has not raised money, it is a valid and valuable function of the committee.)

To an extent it is to be expected that results are slow, that the committee structure and membership has flaws, and that we will do much stumbling.

We all, and especially Josephine, are in error in expecting too much too soon and in being too frustrated that we still fumble around considerably.

2. Several matters of structure:

a) While it initially seemed wise to have each state represented on the committee, this may not be good. So long as the interests of each state council are remembered and the potential resources of each state council can be reached, there is no need for equal geographical representation.

Perhaps as a matter of routine the President could announce the appointments on the committee at each annual meeting. In addition to any present corrections, this seems a good policy generally.

b) The SRC Executive Director will, of course, maintain a relatively close relationship to this committee. However, there should be a second staff person specifically assigned this role, with the responsibilities of working with the group and its chairman, meeting with the group when requested, assisting the group in finding and exploring ideas and potential resources, serving as coordinator between the group and the several SRC staff members, and seeing that the committee is properly serviced and in office, administrative, and clerical needs. There is a need for staff services here below the level of the policy-information level between the Director and the Committee.

c) When the committee's work becomes sufficiently heavy to justify this, there should be a person employed on the SRC staff with the specific responsibility of working for the committee. (This person would be under the administrative staff supervision of the person designated above.) This person would be and able to provide general office, administrative and secretarial assistance but have and talents and responsibilities well beyond those of an office secretary. I envision a person somewhere in the general category of the present SRC "administrative secretary" designation; one who would make a good appearance, could represent and interpret the SRC in public; would be understand and be knowledgeable in SRC's areas of concern, could act independently and thoughtfully in servicing and informing donors and potential doners, etc. A hard person to find, but possible.

Until such a person is found the staff member designated in 2 (b) above would see to it that the needs of the committee are met adequately.

d) The Development Committee is quite large, probably too large. In adjusting membership, thought should be given to reducing the size of the committee. A smaller committee would probably work better and better together and would make it financially less burdensome for the committee to meet as often as they wished.

e) We trust the idea of securing a professional fund-raising firm has been laid to rest forever more. There could be times and situations in which it would be feasible to hire outside consultants (in writing, public relations, state councils assistance, etc.). But these would be carefully selected specialists for specific and specialized needs. Under no circumstances can I imagine it desirable or -- or workable -- for SRC to have a professional fund raiser -- and/or fund

raising firm. If the staff and members of the Council cannot represent and promote it, we ought to go out of business.

f) Related to (e) above, I also have the most serious reservations about having on the SRC professional staff a person responsible for promotion. With apologies to Josephine, I shall be lengthy here, for we may disagree.

Least important to the point, but vital to the proposal, I doubt such a person could be found.

To promote is to interpret (and not infrequently to create) program. Given the most qualified of individuals who could learn in even a year a fraction of what present policy and staff people know?

(Who but Josephine could remember to tell John Eahle that in 1953 the Ford Foundation started it all with a grant of $5,000, or who could soon learn -- in approaching Milton Cummings -- that last year the Brown Engineering Board Room at Cape Kennedy was volunteered to the Florida Council, of ~~this experiment~~ their experiment in training Negro clerical help, of Cummings recent gift of 100 shares of Brown stock to the Alabama Council -- "please sell in Atlanta," etc.) Any individual could learn any of this. The point, however: there is now represented on the Council and staff a wide variety of skills, interests, knowledge, and personality -- all responsible for program planning and execution. Not only should promotion responsibility be here -- it can best be executed here.

It is not, I think, healthy for a staff to have a professional provider among them. The director is, but is also much more. The Development Committee could be, but this again would violate the "partnership" and be unhealthy.

And, I still feel, to develop is to do more than raise money.

Next, a professional fund-raiser has no choice but to judge success by amounts raised. This means using his influence in such a way as to direct program along lines which will attract the most funds and be the most acceptable to donors. We hope staff and members can properly balance expediency, honor, and judgment. But in doing so they carry several responsibilities to be balanced. No matter how honorable the individual, I would fear having among us one person who had the duty of emphasizing one concern and one result with no responsibility to the total operation and its wisest objectives.

Next, in my most honest opinion, institutalization and bureaucracy -- a share of which we must be cursed with -- is one of the greatest dangers we must be aware of. I see a professional fund-raiser on the staff as an undesirable move in that direction. Finally, it appears that the most valuable members of the SRC staff are those who are versatile. In an operation such as ours we must have "specialists" and we must all accept clearly defined responsibilities. But at our best we can cross over departmental lines and we are able never to promote so vigorously for a part that we lose sight of the whole. In my opinion every staff appointment and every staff assignment should emphasize this idea. I should have responsibility for fund raising as well as the Director and this Committee. The Director and the Committee have a responsibility for

the field department and to it. The Director of Information has to be aware of my needs and I of his. There is no professional staff person who should not be aware of the Council's expenditures and its resources. The field department intern must speak at Mrs. Tilly's meetings, etc., etc.

No matter how big or rich we become, I want no part of further specialization. The genius of the Sourthern Regional Council is its collection of talents who, whatever their inadequacies, are able together to serve with skill a signle purpose.

3) The Committee's service to state Councils.

a) The greatest immediate contribution the committee could make is, obviously, to raise money and share it with them.

b) Beyond this -- and in the next stages of development of the state organizations and field program, - perhaps the more important -- the field department needs a considerably larger contingency fund. It would supplement a lot of bailing wire and scotch tape now being used. We need too some money for temporary help and consultants. The legitimate demands of the people "out there" are growing at a pace which has to be served better, with considerable freedom, some unorthodoxy, and much imagination.

This is, I think, important to the committee and to policy. But self-serving, so enough said.

4) Areas of potential support and some thoughts for the committee.

a) There are four major areas from which we can seek support:
Southern foundations
business and industry
groups and agencies
individuals.

b) The Southern Regional Council is not generally known. It has made little, if any, appeal for funds from the region. To the extent that SRC is known, it is not thought of as an agency needing funds. It simply exists. If the above is correct, no quick, immediate, nor dramatically successful fund raising drive is likely to be put together. What follows is based on this premise.

c) The first duty of the committee might be to educate anyone available to the idea that the SRC does need support. This points to individuals, not to institutions.

An individual might be connected with a masonic lodge, or be an executive with a corporation, or on the staff of a southern-based foundation. Or, he or she might simply be a person who contributs to worthy causes several hundred dollars a year.

There is a difference between launching a mass appeal for small contirubitons and getting across -- selectively and discrinately -- the idea that SRC is not self-supporting and should be considered in one's scale of priorities if one was disposed to do so. (Vernon Eagle sends us a modest personal contribution each year. He knows.)

I suspect we have missed much support because it has never occurred to many potential ~~donor~~ donors that SRC needed it.

d) Given the problems of interpretation ~~i~~ this "educational" process might begin with those who know us.

The Council membership should receive periodic communiques from the Committee, not asking for funds (this should never be done) but interpreting to them the Council's needs, asking them to be aware of those needs, and giving them and their contacts an opportunity to consider the Council should they wish.

~~Selectiv~~ Selectively this process could extend beyond our membership to other friends.

e) It might be in order to review our Southern support -- ~~churches~~ churches, labor, business, and other -- to determine if this support can be increased and expanded. This is a small group and not an involved process.

f) Members of the committee with special relationships -- i.e., Fred Alexander of the Masons -- should be encouraged to develop those sources which they have volunteered.

g) Members of the Committee should not be pressured to do what they cannot do. (I.e., James Dabbs should not be expected to produce and cultivate names of individuals and foundations and business in South Carolina. (Nor should his worth to the committee be determined by his ability to do so.) Mr. Dabbs might consider a selected list of individuals throughout the country who would ~~con~~ consider contributing to SRC. Ralph Dreger's energy might be diverted to having the Sourthern Psychological Association include SRC in its budget. Wild idea, but not so wild as his present plan. And otherwise to the point.

h) It may be considerably more~~pro~~ productive to deal with what we have -- cultivate, think, and plan carefully -- than assault General Motors.

i) Southern industry and national industry in the South may represent a great potential but we face the long and tedious process of cultivation and education. We should not expect dramatic results overnight any more than we should ignore this potential source. Moreover, unlike Southern foundations, we should move with the greatest of caution in this area. We may hit a lucky streak but it is unlikely that industry generally will be overwhelming in its support of SRC. Causes such as the Urban League are ahead of us in being obvious recipiants for those selected donors who are ~~el~~ enlightened enough to contribute or those who have a ~~slef~~ self interest in giving.

Careful, highly ~~e~~ selective, efforts are called for with industry. And, again I wish the individual could be the key to development. Here, while promoting its interests, to some extent the Council must be sought not seeking. Obviously this source of support worries me. Certainly it has pitfalls.

j) We may -- from Ford ~~and~~ or elsewhere -- receive substantial funds in the near future. This increases the work of the committee and its purpose. Three times the SRC -- and its predecessor -- have become rich

and three times it has become nearly non-existent when the sources of its riches have disappeared. If new, large resources appear, the committee's work will be more important, not less.

k) In time, it is not inconceivable that SRC shall have that objective which we now with reason urge in the state councils: general operations costs are raised from within, all else is for extra imaginative programming.

In summary:

The Development Committee is an infant. Good breeding, but very young. We cannot expect too much of it too quickly.

We can never expect anything of it unless there is the closest cooperation between staff and committee. And neither staff nor committee can have any illusions about our collective ignorance of how we achieve what we are about. Time pushes us and everything that should be done should have been done yesterday. Since it was not we have no choice but to do it tomorrow -- or the next day. And, we probably shall.

Philosophically and presumptuously,

Paul Anthony

Memo - gen

June 22, 1965

LWD PA

Vine City Project

The Vine City Project is at the point where it could make good use of $200 (or whatever might be available.) A house for use as a community center has been secured at $60 a month rent. The house is condemned but has been considerably improved by members of the community and other volunteers. Committees have been formed for specific interests and some progress has been made. (For instance one committee will see that furniture of dispossesed families put on the streets will be stored until moved.)

On Saturday, June 19, a very successful neighborhood street carnival was held. The carnival was well attended, an excellent activity for the community, and it raised some money for the committees. (We advanced funds for the food concessions, Al was all over the place, Marge made quite a hit as fortune teller.)

Vine City has more problems than these efforts will serve but it's an admirable program and deserves our support if possible.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

TO: Paul Anthony
FROM: Al Ulmer
RE: Tallahassee Visit - November 7 - 11

Sunday Morning, after meeting with two church groups, Methodist and Presbyterian, I talked with George Lewis and Dr. Jackson Ice. Both men are past presidents of the Tallahassee Council on Human Relations and both are interested in seeing the Council revived. Dr. Ice will call a steering committee and says a meeting of the entire council will be held in December.

Miss Louise Blackwell, President of the Tallahassee Women for Inter-group Relations, (TWIC) invited me to sit in on a meeting of their executive board made up of 9 women. Mrs. Freiden, wife of the head of the Chemistry Department at FSU and Mrs. Edmunds, speech Professor at Florida A&M both appear strong. TWIC has a mailing list of over 400 women in Tallahassee and at this meeting suggested they affiliate with the Council if and when it becomes an active organization. TWIC has tested compliance and kept a list of restaurants commending those who are gracious in their action. They are primarily a news deseminating group. Ten or twelve women actively collecting news and doing things and then printing a short, concise Newsletter for distribution to their fringe members. Two projects they are planning at present are: (1) Investigation into the pool situation in order to insure the opening of the pools to all come spring. (2) Bringing school bus desegregation cases to the proper authorities, as well as school Fair Day policies.

I met with Nathaniel Wesley, Student Body President of FAMU, to discuss the possibility of a joint student government meeting early in the year. He was eager for such a meeting but due to University policy cannot initiate it. After talking with FSU student government people I feel the conference will require a great amount of work if it is to be achieved.

I spoke to a large (100 folk) group at the Student Union Monday night and afterwards attended a meeting of professors and wives who discussed problems such as race relations. Several men said they would begin the primary steps necessary to begin making their professional meetings inclucive of FAMU professors. Perhaps.

Dr. Louis Killian had me speak to his Race Relations class and later attend a SCIENCE and LIFE Values meeting of Professors. I attended

Memo: Paul Anthony
Re: Tallahassee Visit

a breakfast of Tallahassee businessmen, professors, and state legislators Wednesday morning and escaped to return to Atlanta,

The Council in Tallahassee will in all probability begin again. Whether it will succeed or fail depends on two things as I see it. A person as president who has time to push activities and lead people, perhaps a person new to the organization. Secondly, new members who are active and feel the need to do something as well as to discuss something. If an active program can be achieved I am sure many students from both campuses will aid the Council.

Memo -
PR - Thank you Gen

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT AND CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern R[illegible] Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AV[illegible] GEORGIA
[illegible]-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date _____

To: _____ From: _____

Subject: _____

1. Charleston: (others from S.C. on pg. 3)

Mrs. C. Smith Toms (address: 1958)
69 Church Street
Charleston, S.C. - Prominent civic leader, fomer President, Chab. League of Women Voters, white

Rabbi Burton L. Padoll
Kahal Kadosh Beth Elohim
90 Hasell Street
Charleston - Liberal, active in civic affairs, white

2. Savannah:

Captain Frank Spencer
228 Bay Street
Savannah, Georgia - businessman, former member Savannah school board, liberal, white

3. Alabama:

C. G. Gomillion
Dean of Students
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee, Alabama - Negro

Dr. Henry King Stanford
President
Birmingham Southern College - White
Birmingham

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT AND CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

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A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date _____

To: _____ From: _____

Subject: _____

Ala., continued:

Dr. Lucius H. Pitts
President
Miles College
Birmingham 8, Ala. - Negro

Mr. Nat Welch
Business Development (Box 1192)
Auburn, Alabama - Businessman, influential, liberal, white

Rev. Powers McLeod
129 Burton Street
Auburn, Alabama - President, Alabama Council, Methodist minister, prominent, white

~~b~~ 4. Mississippi

Dr. Dan Beittel (A.D. Beittel)
President
Tougaloo Southern Christian College
Tougaloo, Mississippi - white

Hodding Carter II or Hodding Carter III
Delta-Democrat Times
Greenville, Miss. - white

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT AND CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern R[illegible] Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AV[illegible] ORGIA
[illegible]-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date _____

To: _____ From: _____

Subject: _____

5. South Carolina:

Andrew M. Secrest - white
Cheraw Chronicle
Cheraw, South Carolina

J. M. Dabbs

The Rev. Fred Reese
First Methodist Church
Central, South Carolina - President, S.C. Council
white

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

HAROLD C. FLEMING
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

November 26, 1958

MEMORANDUM

TO: State Council Directors

FROM: Fred Routh

RE: Panel of Americans, Inc.

- : -

At the NAIRO Annual Meeting I met Miss Marian Hargrave who is the Associate Director of the Panel of Americans, Inc., 386 4th Avenue, New York 16, New York. They are interested in extending their efforts into the South and we had been recommended to them as a natural channel. I have sent her your name and address. You should be hearing from her before too long.

The Panel of Americans organizes panels of college students who represent minority groups; these panels speak to civic clubs, to college groups, to high school assemblies, and to other respectable organizations. Each panel makes talks about "what it is like to be a Negro, or a Catholic, or a Jew, or a Latino American, or what-not."

This panel has had good results in other sections of the country. We would have to be csreful about its use down here, but new techniques should be welcomed by us all.

- : -

Any ideas? HCP

PR ✓ has been sent to state groups
PA
LWV ✓ NO

should be possibilities in arts and V&

A Decade of

LANE BRYANT ANNUAL AWARDS

.....established
to inspire
and encourage
the volunteer
in efforts that benefit
the American home
and community.....

For these ten years

the Lane Bryant Annual Awards

have received guidance

and direction...

Dr. Robert K. Merton
Bureau of Applied Social Research
Columbia University

Selecting Lane Bryant Awards' finalists from almost three thousand nominations in the past ten years has been a major responsibility for Dr. Merton and his staff at the Bureau of Applied Social Research. The sociologist has judged the effectiveness of volunteer programs which range from coping with delinquency problems to planting flower boxes to beautify a city.

With so many good works to choose from, how does Dr. Merton determine the merits of each? He first applies five tested "criteria of exclusion".

With applications then cut to about one-fourth the number originally submitted, more exacting specific criteria is applied. These include: community need, scope, use of resources, means used, effectiveness, and magnitude of obstacles encountered and overcome.

The few remaining nominations, both organization and individual, are presented by Dr. Merton to the judges for final selection.

Our deep appreciation and warm congratulations to Dr. Robert K. Merton and his staff for their splendid, scholarly work with the Lane Bryant Annual Awards.

Great Americans selected the recipients.

Congresswoman Frances P. Bolton

Clarence B. Randall

Senator Estes Kefauver

Orville Prescott

Joseph C. Grew

Justice William O. Douglas

Dr. Mary Langmuir Essex

Oscar Hammerstein, II

Congressman Emanuel Celler

Dr. Charles Munch

Mrs. Oveta Culp Hobby

Dr. Ralph J. Bunche

Thomas J. Watson, Jr.

George V. Denny, Jr.

The Hon. Marion B. Folsom

Dr. George H. Gallup

Senator Jacob K. Javits

Dr. John A. Lapp

Governor Robert B. Meyner

Cyrus S. Ching

Mrs. Ivy Baker Priest

Fifty-one distinguished Americans, representing leadership in government, volunteer work, education, business, religion, the arts and sciences have graciously given of their time and effort in selecting deserving winners for the Lane Bryant Annual Awards. Respected because of their various talents and abilities, they are especially at home as judges of service awards because each exemplifies community, national or world mindness and an unselfish giving of oneself.

Lee H. Bristol

Mark A. McCloskey

Senator John F. Kennedy

Dr. Carl Binger

Mrs. J. L. Blair Buck

Dr. Daniel A. Poling

Dr. Bryn Hovde

Sarah G. Blanding

Dr. Howard A. Rusk

Dr. Margaret Mead

Dr. Everett R. Clinchy

Dean John E. Drewry

Pearl S. Buck

Senator Stuart Symington

Mrs. Ogden Reid

Professor Irwin Edman

Walter H. Annenberg

Senator Hubert H. Humphrey

Senator Paul H. Douglas

Margaret Clapp

Dr. Karl Menninger

Dr. Harold Taylor

Mrs. Hiram Cole Houghton

Mary Ellen Chase

Mrs. Mildred McAfee Horton

H. J. Heinz, II

J. C. Penney

And these are the honored...

1948

Recipient of the Award

Citizens Schools Committee, *Chicago, Illinois*

Honorable Mentions

Karamu House, *Cleveland, Ohio*

Students of Wilmington College, *Wilmington, Ohio*

American Veterans Committee, *Montclair, New Jersey*

Mrs. Gladys Talbot Edwards, *Denver, Colorado*

1949

Recipient of the Award

The League of Women Voters, *Des Moines, Iowa*

Honorable Mentions

Greater Washington AVC Clubhouse, *Washington, D. C.*

Community Welfare Council of Huntington, Inc., *Huntington, West Virginia*

1950

Recipient of the Award

The Catholic Interracial Council, *Wilmington, Delaware*

Honorable Mentions

The Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference, *Chicago, Illinois*

The Citizens' Committee on Children of N.Y.C., Inc., *New York City*

Reverend R. Norman Hughes, *Bay City, Michigan*

Fountain House Foundation, Inc., *New York City*

1951

Recipient of the Award

The Milwaukee County Association for Retarded Children, *Milwaukee, Wisconsin*

Honorable Mentions

Baker's Dozen, Inc., *Washington, D. C.*

The Coconut Grove Citizens' Committee, *Miami, Florida*

1952

Recipients of the Awards

Harry Clinton Eva, *Home for Homeless Boys, The Bronx, New York*

City Manager Advocates, *Brookfield, Illinois*

Honorable Mentions

Andy Anderson, *Houston Press, Houston, Texas*

Fountain House Foundation, Inc. *New York City*

1953

Recipients of the Awards

Joseph J. Yancey, Jr., *New York Pioneer Club, Inc., New York City*

Los Angeles Tenth District California Congress of Parents and Teachers, Inc., *Los Angeles, California*

Honorable Mentions

Louise Bonney Leicester, *Hunterdon County Medical Center, Pittstown, New Jersey*

The Committee of Seventy, *Philadelphia, Pennsylvania*

1954

Recipients of the Awards

Mrs. Charles Keller, Jr., *Urban League of Greater New Orleans, New Orleans, Louisiana*

Virginia Council on Health and Medical Care, *Richmond, Virginia*

Honorable Mentions

Mrs. Josephine W. Duveneck, *Northern California Friends Service Committee, Inc., Los Altos, California*

Police Athletic League, Inc., *New York City*

1955

Recipients of the Awards

Mrs. William Burns, *International Social Service. New Haven, Connecticut*

United Church Women of Atlanta, *Atlanta, Georgia*

Honorable Mentions

Dr. Jack W. Witten, *North Tazewell, Virginia*

San Francisco Youth Association, *San Francisco, California*

1956

Recipients of the Awards

Danny Kaye, *UNICEF, Beverly Hills, California*

The Allegheny Conference on Community Development, *Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania*

Honorable Mentions

Norman Cousins, *Editor, The Saturday Review of Literature*

Wilbur G. Warner, *Lehighton, Pennsylvania*

The Executive Committee of the Annual Participating Fund for Medical Education, *Buffalo, New York*

Bennett Cerf

The Hon. Ruth Bryan Rhode

Mayor de Lesseps S. Morrison

And for work performed during 1957

The Tenth Lane Bryant Annual Awards Presentation

The Plaza—New York City
Thursday, November 13, 1958

Master of Ceremonies—Dwight Cooke
Author, Lecturer and News Analyst

The 1957 Awards Committee

Jacqueline Cochran
President, Jacqueline Cochran, Inc.

Frank Stanton
President, Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

William E. Stevenson
President, Oberlin College

Mrs. Arthur Hays Sulzberger

Joseph N. Welch
Counsellor at Law, Hale and Dorr

These judges have selected_____

The Individual Honorable Mention

Don Murray

Beverly Hills, California

Don Murray

Becoming a motion picture star would be enough for most people. But to Don Murray it is one segment of a busy life.

As a conscientious objector during the last war, Don became concerned with the plight of displaced people in the refugee camps throughout Europe. With Belden Paulson, a young man with whom he worked in Italy, he created the Homeless European Land Program (HELP).

The HELP project uses American farming and industrial techniques to enable refugees to build self-supporting communities in the countries of asylum where they resettle.

With the assistance of the United Nations, the Italian government, the United States Escapee Program and the Church of the Brethren, plus substantial sums contributed by Don Murray and his actress-wife Hope Lange, HELP was initiated in Oristano, Sardinia. Fifteen families were resettled; houses were built, farms established, and an irrigation system developed. Baby chicks were provided to begin one of the most successful poultry industries on the island. Mr. Murray hopes that Oristano will serve as a model for other communities where 45,000 refugees still confined in camps throughout Europe may settle. Don Murray has dedicated himself to enabling more of these people to find a new life through HELP.

The Group Honorable Mention

Louisiana State Labor Council, AFL-CIO

Shreveport, Louisiana

Victor Bussie, *President*

By the dark dawn of June 27, 1957, Hurricane Audrey had struck several hundred miles along the Gulf Coast, destroying the Louisiana communities of Cameron, Oak Grove, Grand Cheniere, Little Cheniere and Creole.

In the wake of the disaster, substantial numbers from the ranks of the AFL-CIO joined in the task of searching for survivors and burying the 500 who had been killed.

Homeless survivors were quartered in churches, school rooms and public buildings. Aware of the need for immediate action, six union leaders from the AFL-CIO joined together and proposed that union volunteer work crews reconstruct homes for the surviving victims.

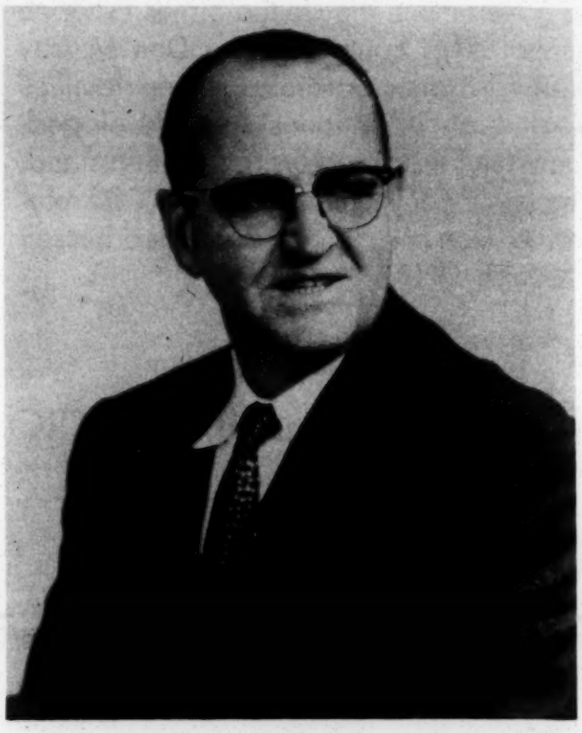
The plan was approved by labor groups throughout the state. Working on the week-ends and often on the job at 4 A.M., the crews of 35 to 50 men completely built a house in two days. Unpaid union volunteers worked for four consecutive week-ends to build new houses for the stricken community. Jurisdictional union lines were wholly disregarded and customary schedules of work ignored.

In all, 27 homes were built by about 200 unionists for the grateful families — a labor of love for one's fellow man.

The One Thousand Dollar Individual Award

The Rev. W. L. Buffington
Paine College, Augusta, Georgia

A young mill-hand in South Carolina 27 years ago, "Willie Lee" Buffington watched the opening of a school for Negro children, only to find there was not a single book in the school. Determined to provide a library, he wrote five people, asking each to donate at least one book. When 1,000 books arrived, he was both amazed and gratified. He did not stop there. To house this beginning of a library, he built a log cabin and thus founded the Faith Cabin Libraries.



Rev. W. L. Buffington

Through the years, the nation-wide response has been overwhelming. At times libraries could scarcely be built fast enough to house the growing accumulation of books. From colleges and universities, Boy Scout groups, grade school children, church groups and other organizations, books of all kinds arrived.

Today, because of the Rev. Buffington, there are 70 Faith Cabin Libraries throughout South Carolina and Georgia. Over a million books are now on the library shelves. They are read by many who have never owned a book. Many of the Faith Cabin Libraries are meeting places for study groups, reading clubs and civic gatherings. They are described as the most unusual interracial project in the country.

The Rev. Buffington, now Professor of Sociology at Paine College in Augusta and Director of the chain of Faith Cabin Libraries, has contributed to the education and advancement of Negroes as few people have.

The One Thousand Dollar Group Award

Clarksburg Non-Partisan Association

Clarksburg, West Virginia

Clarksburg, West Virginia, once called the "City of Sin" later earned an "All American City" citation. A great deal of planning and effort was involved in the one year interim between those two titles.

Clarksburg, with a population of 32,000, had been the victim of municipal corruption for decades. The one newspaper monopoly prevented reports that might reflect the local corrupt government.

In August 1956, the city manager resigned after continual attack by the newspaper and political officials for his efforts. Incensed, 2,500 citizens of Clarksburg formed the Clarksburg Non-Partisan Association, a non-profit corporation. The three basic goals were to adopt a model charter, elect a capable council and establish a free press.

Candidates were recruited for the Charter Board and Council. The NPA campaigned for Charter Board members and saw them elected seven to one. To obtain a free press, NPA bought the NEWS, the state's second largest weekly, located in Clarksburg. The NPA's charter was accepted and NPA endorsed candidates were elected to the Council.

During the first weeks in office, the Council provided improved municipal services, obtained a competent city manager and tightened law enforcement.

The Clarksburg Non-Partisan Association is a fresh, new example to the world of democracy in action.

Marc Selman
President

Words and Pictures of a Decade of Awards

In 1949, The Citizens Schools Committee, Chicago, Illinois, was presented with the first Lane Bryant Annual Award of $1000 in recognition of outstanding volunteer service. Dr. John A. Lapp, left, president of the Committee accepts the winner's plaque for the group from Lane Bryant president Raphael Malsin during the luncheon at The Plaza. Looking on is Senator Paul H. Douglas of Illinois, luncheon speaker.

In the spotlight on a ceremonious occasion were Mrs. Ruth B. Spencer, Washington, D. C., who accepted a 1951 Honorable Mention award from Raphael Malsin for Baker's Dozen, Inc., Washington, D. C. The Lane Bryant Annual Awards luncheon was held at the Plaza Hotel on November 17, 1952.

A lighter moment in the lives of Mrs. Josephine W. Duveneck, American Friends Service Committee of Northern California, Inc., Raphael Malsin and Helen Gahagan Douglas, actress, lecturer and congresswoman during the 1954 Lane Bryant Annual Awards luncheon. Mrs. Duveneck received an individual Honorable Mention award during the ceremonies at The Plaza on November 17, 1955. Mrs. Douglas was guest speaker for the event.

Distinguished American, Senator Margaret Chase Smith of Maine was the guest speaker at the 1955 Lane Bryant Annual Awards luncheon held at the Hotel Pierre, November 15, 1956. In speaking of the work of volunteers, she told the audience that, "There has been that area of responsibility that we have wanted to reserve from the government—from the state—but which has been beyond the means of individual actions exclusively and so this responsibility has been met and accepted through voluntary private groups in addition to the individual action . . . It is this which we today salute."

Governor G. Mennen Williams of Michigan was the principal speaker at the 1956 Lane Bryant Annual Awards luncheon held at the Hotel Pierre on November 14, 1957. Governor Williams, stressing the importance of volunteer work said, "Each of us, if we claim maturity as an individual, and all of us, if we seek maturity as a society, must go constantly beyond our individual vocations into those broader areas of needs which only volunteer service can resolve."

Featured speaker at the first Lane Bryant Annual Awards in November 1949 was Senator Paul H. Douglas of Illinois. During his speech, Senator Douglas stated, "The vast army of volunteer citizenry who get things done in America is quite unique. In no other country in the world is the volunteer citizen found accepting the responsibilities of safeguarding and improving his own community. Perhaps this is the key to the greatness of our nation."

If these awards
awaken an interest
in the skill of
the volunteer,
our decade of
Lane Bryant Annual Awards
for service
will have been justified

It is appropriate that in a nation founded on great hope and great faith in the individual, the volunteer should be the hero.

We have seen ten Lane Bryant Annual Awards, and in viewing them overall, we cannot single out the greatest individual volunteer or the greatest group. Rather, we have the very definite impression that much of the unique greatness of America stems from the fearless stubborness of multitudes of volunteers — volunteers who refuse to accept degradation of human liberties, environment and principles.

In these ten years, 56 distinguished Americans have helped us to select 16 winners and 25 honorable mentions for the Lane Bryant Annual Awards.

Nominations have been received from 46 states and both Alaska and Hawaii. Eight members of the Presidents' Cabinets have made nominations, as well as twenty-six Senators, eighty-one Congressmen, fourteen Governors, one hundred and four Mayors of our cities, and sixty-two presidents of universities and colleges.

When we embarked upon this project ten years ago, our motive was not to honor the much-honored; rather to help seek out those who served, seeking not honor — but only the correction of a wrong or the improvement of the surroundings. The volunteer never has sought the recognition we have desired for him.

Our reward has been the knowledge of what the faith and power of the volunteer has achieved; our new-found purpose is to sing his praises so that all Americans might be inspired to give a bit of their own greatness to their neighbors and their nation.

Nomination Procedures

Nominations for its Annual Awards are invited by Lane Bryant. March 15, 1959 is the deadline for entries for work performed during the year 1958. All nominations go to the Bureau of Applied Social Research at Columbia University. Dr. Robert K. Merton, the Associate Director, supervises an extensive investigation and screening of all entries. Dr. Merton, acting as committee advisor, sends each of the judges a detailed resume of the outstanding candidates which he and his staff have selected for the Awards.

The judges select two award winners who are each presented with one thousand dollars and a plaque commemorating their efforts. One award is presented to an individual and one to a group, for the greatest voluntary contributions to their community during the past year. Two honorable mentions, one to an individual and one to a group, are also selected by the judges. Each is presented with a plaque for outstanding service. The final choice of the winners and selection of honorable mentions rests entirely with the Committee, which is composed of prominent citizens whose interests are focused on furthering community progress.

Official nomination forms must be used for all nominations. The summary of the candidate's activities should not exceed two hundred words. Clippings, pamphlets and brochures or other supporting materials are permitted.

For information and nomination blanks, write to the Lane Bryant Annual Awards, 465 Fifth Avenue, New York 17, New York.

Among the judges for 1958

William F. Knowland
U. S. Senator from California

Mrs. Albert D. Lasker

Helen Menken
President, American Theatre Wing

Richard Rodgers
Composer

August 4, 1959

Mr. Ray Farabee
1330 Oak Crest Court
Appleton, Wis.

Dear Ray:

Thank you for your recent letter. It's good to hear from you and I'll be looking forward to seeing you again.

I'll be happy to help out as best I can with the seminar. Frankly, the work load assigned is somewhat frightening. I will be happy to sit in as consultant for the two Wednesday meetings. This looks like a fairly light load.

If I read your letter correctly you are suggesting five thirty-minute speeches plus discussion during the single day of Thursday. I question whether this many speeches by one consultant will not very quickly wearout and bore the seminar to say nothing of the poor speaker. As I read your letter you are suggesting the following:

1. A talk on "Desegregation in the Democratic Process" 8:30 A.M.
2. A talk on possibilities for political action 10:30 A.M.
3. A talk on community programing for desegregation 1:30 P.M.
4. A talk on the schools desegregation 2:30 P.M.
5. A talk on discrimination (employment, housing, transportation, churches, etc.).

It seems to me that topics 1 and 5 overlap and could be combined. It also seems that topics 3 and 4 could be treated as one. I will

handle it as you wish but it would seem to me that three speeches during a day by one person would probably be sufficient burden on the poor audience.

Be sure and let me know the number of persons participating so that I may see what materials we can supply along these lines.

I have a note from Max Heirrich suggesting that we might want to trade the topics around a bit. I have done no work in the college field in the last year and would have absolutely nothing to add that I did not say last year. I think that Max is probably much more up to date on these things. However, I would not be adverse to some shifting about if Max would prefer another topic or so.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sl

October 27, 1959

Mr. Hugh MacColl
American Federation of Teachers
28 East Jackson Blvd.
Chicago 4, Illinois

Dear Mr. MacColl:

In the absence of our director, Harold Fleming, your letter has been referred to me for action and reaction. We have no field representative in the Houston area. In fact, we have only one field representative in the entire South, me.

We are familiar with the forthright policy of the AFT on the matter of school desegregation. It is good to know that you plan to spend some time in the South. The emphasis of the AFT should be of considerable benefit in Houston and other areas currently involved in school decisions.

There is a Houston Council on Human Relations which has some ties with this organization. You might want to talk with the chairman of this group, the Rev. Kemper Sherwood McKee, 3929 Colgate.

We do not have organized state groups in Louisiana or Texas at the present time although we do have them in most other Southern states.

I wish we could be of more help to you. I do hope you will keep us informed as to your progress and will let us know if we should establish closer liaison. I get into Texas and Louisiana periodically and will get in touch with you on my next visit.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Field Director

PMR/sm

October 30, 1959

Editor, Sunday Magazine ~~Section~~
New York Times
Times Square
New York 36, New York

Dear Sir:

We feel that Ralph McGill's article on "The Southern Churchmen", which recently appeared in the Sunday Magazine was extremely significant and could be of considerable use if widely circulated throughout the South.

Does the New York Times have any plan to reprint this article? If not, is any other agency planning to reprint? If the answer to all these questions is negative, may we have permission to reprint in considerable numbers.

Sincerely,

Paul Rilling
Field Director

PMR/sm

NCF
FYI

October 30, 1959

Mr. Alfred O. Hero
Executive Secretary
World Peace Foundation
40 Mt. Vernon Street
Boston 8, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. Hero:

Mr. Fleming has referred your letter to me for action. We discussed your request at some length here and are not sure we can be of any significant help to you.

The best that we can do at this point is to enclose the names of some persons with particular knowledge of the involvement of Negro Southerners and Jewish Southerners in the concerns that you raise. I am therefore including such a list of knowledgeable Southerners who I think would be happy to talk with you along the lines of your research.

We will, of course, be very happy to meet and talk with you further on your fact-finding trip through the South.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Field Director

PMR/sm
Encl.

List for Mr. Hero from Paul Rilling

Negro Leaders

Dr. Benjamin Mays, President
Morehouse College
Atlanta

Mr. Don Hollowell, Attorney
859½ Hunter, N.W.
Atlanta

Mrs. Grace Hamilton
Executive Director
Atlanta Urban League
239 Auburn Avenue,
Atlanta

Dr. Whitney Young, Dean
School of Social Work
Atlanta University
Atlanta

Dr. Stephen Wright, President
Mr. Herman Long)_Race Relations
Mr. John Hope)_ Department
Fisk University
Nashville, Tenn.

Dr. Philip (?) Wyatt, Dentist
(former state president, NAACP)
Fredericksburg, Virginia

Dr. James Colston, President
Knoxville College
Knoxville, Tennessee

Mr. I. H. Burney, Secretary
Afro American Life Ins. Company
P. O. Box 660
Jacksonville, Florida

Dr. Albert Dent, President
Dillard University
New Orleans, Louisiana

Mr. John Wheeler, President
Mechanics & Farmers Bank
Durham, North Carolina

Dr. Samuel Proctor, President
Virginia Union University
Richmond, Virginia

The Rev. Ed. Graham
Miami, Florida

The Rev. Martin L. King, Jr.
Montgomery, Alabama

The Rev. Joseph Lowry
Mobile, Alabama

Mr. Thomas W. Young, President
Norfolk Journal and Guide
Norfolk, Virginia

Dr. Thomas Henderson, Dean
Virginia Union University
Richmond, Virginia

Dr. C. G. Gomillion
Dean of Students
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee, Alabama

Jewish Leaders

Rabbi Charles Mantinband
808 Mamie Street
Hattiesburg, Mississippi

Mr. Charles Wittenstein
Director, Atlanta Area
American Jewish Committee
41 Exchange Pl., SE, Rm. 703
Atlanta

Mr. Seymour Samet, Area Dir.
American Jewish Committee
1208 Congress Bldg.
Miami, Florida

Mr. Gustave Falk, Area Dir.
American Jewish Committee
523 Fidelity Building
Dallas 2, Texas

Mr. Haskell Lazere, Area Dir.
American Jewish Congress
Congress Building
111 N.E. 2nd Ave., Room 906
Miami, Florida

Mr. Arthur Levin, Area Dir
ADL
41 Exchange Place, SE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Mr. Robert Kohler
Area Dir., ADL
216 N. 2nd St., Rm. 306
Richmond, Virginia

Mr. Nathan Perlmutter
Director, ADL
330 Seybold Building
Miami, Florida

Mr. Irving Schulman
Director ADL
606 Common Street
New Orleans, La.

Mr. Theodore Freedman
Director, ADL
Suite 209,
2405 San Jacinto Street
Houston 2, Texas

Mr. Harry Golden, Editor
The Carolina Israelite
1229 Elizabeth Avenue
Charlotte 1, N.C.

Rabbi E. W. Leipziger
4238 St. Charles Avenue
New Orleans, La.

Mrs. Moise Cahn
40 Versailles Blvd.
New Orleans, La.

Mr. Sylvan Meyer, Editor
Gainesville Times
Gainesville, Georgia

Mr. Morris Abram, Attny.
Healy Building
Atlanta, Georgia

JACKIE
ROBINSON

84 Nassau Street • Princeton, N. J.

November 10, 1959

Mr. Paul Anthony
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I'd like to tell you how you can go to bat for fair play in housing. A little over a year ago, I joined the Board of Directors of a new kind of business - Modern Community Developers, Inc. - in a pretty new kind of housing - planned open occupancy.

Kivie Kaplan, co-chairman with me of the NAACP Life Membership Committee, and a founder of MCD, calls it "A new dimension in social action." It's a new dimension in business and investment as well.

The idea behind Modern Community Developers is that the best way to fight jim crow is to build communities from which jim crow is barred. The idea works, on a practical business basis. There now are about 75 of these communities.

The president of MCD, Morris Milgram, was executive vice-president of Concord Park, Greenbelt Knoll, Glen Acres and Maplecrest, integrated communities totalling about 200 homes, in and around Philadelphia and Princeton. These successful projects led to the formation of MCD, hailed by Adlai Stevenson at our founding dinner: "... as sensible and intelligent an approach as I can imagine."

MCD was formed a little over a year ago, to aid integrated housing nationwide. MCD helps builders of such housing with money and advice, builds through subsidiaries, and buys properties for integrated housing. We're active in seven states right now. Serving on the board with me are such outstanding people as Frank C. Montero, David H. Scull, Benjamin J. Anderson, Max Delson, Albert Mayer, Irving Jay Fain and W. Willard Wirtz.

This job takes money, of course. In August, 1958 MCD registered a $1,500,000 Common Stock Issue, 15,000 shares at $100 each, with the Securities and Exchange Commission. Over a half-million dollars is subscribed. We've put that money to work to end segregation.

You can go to bat with us for fair play in housing. New projects, new chances to build equal housing opportunity into new neighborhoods, are available. With your backing, we can go ahead and expand the construction of modern, integrated communities. The enclosed prospectus and literature give you the facts. The subscription envelope is for your down payment on your investment in modern integrated communities. I hope you'll use the envelope to clout jim crow for a four-bagger.

Thanks for your attention.

Yours truly,

Jackie Robinson

Jackie Robinson

PROSPECTUS

FACTS ABOUT INVESTING IN OPEN OCCUPANCY HOUSING

9,684½ Shares

Modern Community Developers, Inc.

Common Stock

(PAR VALUE $100)

The Company is offering the 9,684½ shares of its Common Stock (par value $100) for the price of $100 per share, which remain unsold from its original offering of 15,000 shares. The offering made hereby is speculative in nature. See "Introductory Statement."

COMMON STOCK	PRICE TO PUBLIC	PROCEEDS TO COMPANY *
Per Unit	$ 100	$ 100
Total	$968,450	$968,450

* Before deducting expenses estimated at $105,000, and assuming all shares offered hereby are sold and are paid for in full. The offering is not being underwritten. See "Distribution of Stock Issue" and "Subscription Arrangement" herein.

THESE SECURITIES HAVE NOT BEEN APPROVED OR DISAPPROVED BY THE SECURITIES AND EXCHANGE COMMISSION NOR HAS THE COMMISSION PASSED UPON THE ACCURACY OR ADEQUACY OF THIS PROSPECTUS. ANY REPRESENTATION TO THE CONTRARY IS A CRIMINAL OFFENSE.

The date of this Prospectus is October 9, 1959

THE COMPANY

Modern Community Developers, Inc., hereinafter called "MCD", was incorporated on January 10, 1958, under the laws of New Jersey. MCD's principal office is at 84 Nassau St., Princeton, N. J. MCD is in the business of constructing or assisting in the construction of housing which is available to all persons without regard to their racial or religious background or their national origins. Housing of this kind is called "open occupancy housing".

INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT

The offering made hereby is speculative in nature, and the prospective investor should be fully aware of the following facts:

1. Investors in MCD will assume the usual risk associated with a new enterprise which, in this case, is seeking to promote a pattern of housing supported in principle through a growing number of state and local ordinances, but of limited acceptance in practice. It is not possible to predict the period of time which will be required to place MCD's operations on a profitable basis and there is no assurance that the business of MCD will ever be operated at a profit.

2. The losses which MCD has sustained since its inception have reduced the book value of its outstanding shares to below the $100 purchase price of the shares offered hereby. The financial statements included herein show at May 31, 1959 (a) total equity of $193,889; (b) 2,344 shares paid for in full; and (c) $28,222 paid in on 2,498½ shares subscribed for but not paid for in full.

3. On the basis of experience to date, it does not seem likely that MCD will be able to earn a profit from its lending and consulting activities alone. Thus, not until sales of houses, as described under "Investments in Wholly-owned Building Subsidiaries" and "Investments in Stock of Other Companies" under the caption "Business", have begun can there be any reasonable expectation of net income. As set forth thereunder, efforts are being made to acquire suitable construction sites and to obtain zoning and other necessary approvals for such sites, but there can be no assurance that any houses will be built or, if they are built, that they will be sold at a profit.

4. The financial statements included herein show at May 31, 1959 total cash of $117,997.11. At September 15, 1959, the total cash was approximately $28,000. During the interim, an aggregate of $162,000 was invested in a subsidiary of MCD. See "Investments in Wholly-owned Building Subsidiaries" under the caption "Business." A portion of the amount so invested came from the sale of additional shares of stock and from the payment of additional amounts on shares subscribed for previously.

5. It is conceivable that a project built or assisted by MCD might not be occupied by both whites and non-whites. In a given development, built by MCD or a subsidiary, for example, it might prove impossible to attract non-white buyers, or vice-versa. With respect to projects in which MCD functions as investor and/or consultant, MCD cannot compel compliance with its recommendations, although it will aid only those whom careful preliminary study shows to be planning soundly for an open occupancy development.

6. To protect its investments, MCD may have to sell property without developing it.

THE NEED FOR OPEN OCCUPANCY HOUSING

MCD was formed to develop open occupancy housing where segregated housing might otherwise be built, because:

—Residential segregation, like school segregation, is socially unjust and contrary to the democratic tenet of full equality of opportunity for all. Members of minority groups—27% of our population—and Negroes particularly, are the victims of residential segregation.

—The postwar housing boom bypassed the American Negro. It is estimated that barely 1% of the more than 13 million dwelling units built privately since 1946 have been open to him. Segregation of whites and Negroes has been extended because the Negro minority is denied access to most of the housing markets. The suburbs are being populated by whites, while Negroes are confined to congested urban areas. This blocks the development of relations between white and Negro Americans in an equal-status environment.

—Segregated housing causes segregated schools.

—In a world two-thirds non-white, the gap between America's democratic pronouncements and its segregated practices weakens our international role.

—The record shows that private enterprise has scarcely considered developing open occupancy housing. The overwhelming preponderance of new housing is privately built, and it is in fact segregated.

The trend toward segregation in housing must be ended. Integrated communities are practical. Over 50 interracial developments have been built with private capital in the past 11 years.[1] These range from less than 25 units to over 1,600 units.

Groups dedicated to developing open occupancy housing need financial and advisory assistance in solving the unique problems of this field. It is this need which MCD serves.

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[1] Grier, Eunice & George, *Privately Developed Interracial Housing*, University of California Press, Berkeley 4, Calif., to be published in 1959.

DISTRIBUTION OF STOCK ISSUE

Distribution of the Common Stock of MCD is being made through the efforts of its officers, directors and employees, who receive no special compensation therefor. Direct mail and other media are being utilized. Shares of Common Stock may be paid for in full at the time of purchase or may be purchased pursuant to the subscription arrangement described below. As of September 15, 1959, 3,817 shares of the original offering of 15,000 shares of the Common Stock had been purchased for $100 per share and had been paid for in full. As of the same date, an additional 1,498½ shares of the original 15,000 shares had been subscribed for at the same price and MCD had received $43,067.50 with respect to such subscriptions; the balance, or $106,782.50, remained as of that date subject to call under the subscription arrangement. Thus, a grand total of more than $530,000 of Common Stock has been sold to date. On September 15, 1959, MCD had approximately 550 stockholders and approximately 280 additional persons had subscribed for shares of its Common Stock. There is no active market in the Common Stock at this time.

SUBSCRIPTION ARRANGEMENT

Persons who purchase Common Stock pursuant to the subscription arrangement must pay 25% of the purchase price of $100 per share at the time of subscription. The balance of the subscription price is payable within 45 days of the receipt of written notice from the Company.

Certificates for shares subscribed for are not issued until the shares are paid for in full.

Formerly, MCD required only 10% payment at the time of subscription. On May 25, 1959 MCD issued a call to present subscribers for the amount by which their payments to that date were less than 25% of their total subscription price. By September 15, 1959, more than three months after the issuance of the call, MCD had received all but $2,835 payable under this call, this sum being due from an aggregate of 19 subscribers. MCD has not determined what action it will take to obtain payment of the balance due under the call. Subsequent calls on stock previously subscribed and on stock sold pursuant to this offering will be made at the discretion of the Board of Directors.

USE OF PROCEEDS

A portion of the net proceeds already received by MCD from this offering has been invested as set forth under "Transactions to Date" under the caption "Business." The balance of the net proceeds received and to be received from this offering will be invested in housing development operations through assistance to other builders, in construction by MCD or its subsidiaries and in the purchase of buildings, land or mortgages. See the discussion under the caption "Business". The source and amount of other funds, if any, which may be employed in connection with these enterprises cannot be determined at this time.

CAPITALIZATION

The capitalization of MCD as of September 15, 1959, and as adjusted to reflect the sale and payment in full for all the shares of Common Stock offered hereby, is as follows:

Title of Class	Authorized	Outstanding September 15, 1959	Amount to be outstanding
Common Stock, $100 par value	15,000 shs.	3,817 [2]	15,000 shs.

[2] Does not include 1,498½ shares which had been subscribed for at par and on which an aggregate of $43,067.50 had been paid as of September 15, 1959.

STATEMENT OF OPERATIONS

The following statement of operations has been examined for the period ended December 31, 1958 by Samuel F. Wilson, independent certified public accountant, as set forth in his certificate included elsewhere in this Prospectus. This statement should be read in conjunction with the other financial statements and the related notes appearing elsewhere in this Prospectus. All known adjustments necessary to a fair presentation of the results for the periods ended May 31, 1958 and May 31, 1959, which consisted only of normal recurring accruals, have been made.

	Period 1/10/58 to 12/31/58 (Audited)	Period 1/10/58 to 5/31/58 (Unaudited)	Five Months Ended 5/31/59 (Unaudited) (Consolidated)
Income			
Interest	$ 818.70	$ 104.73	$ 797.08
Fees for consultations	477.50	—	—
Total	$1,296.20	$ 104.73	$ 797.08
Administrative Expenses			
Officers Salaries	$7,297.06	$ 710.00	$ 7,628.12
Executive Salaries	4,185.88	—	4,206.26
Secretarial Salaries	4,855.76	600.00	4,310.11
Professional Services	1,577.25	305.00	—
Secretarial Service	450.55	509.33	—
Wage Taxes	818.27	41.31	686.69
Total	$19,184.77	$2,165.64	$16,831.18
Promotional Expenses (Other than for Stock Sales)			
Publicity	$ 401.58	$ —	$ 202.99
Printing & mailing—promotional*	2,159.17	—	—
Founding Dinner—net cost	1,031.49	4,714.70	—
Travel & Entertainment	5,022.15	1,133.03	2,652.95
Advertising & Sales	—	—	562.53
Total	$ 8,614.39	$5,847.73	$ 3,418.47
Other Expenses			
Rent and Insurance	$ 1,636.84	$ 200.00	$ 1,100.00
Telephone	2,615.00	595.97	1,374.88
Depreciation, Repairs and Maintenance	378.69	—	329.16
Printing and Mailing—other*	692.59	—	1,680.25
Postage and Office Expenses	1,843.57	668.95	1,577.90
Legal and Accounting	2,080.50	490.00	1,525.26
Appraisals, Reports, etc.	—	—	1,432.00
Dues, Subscriptions, Other Expenses	593.47	—	494.73
Total	$ 9,840.66	$1,954.92	$ 9,514.18
Less office expense recovered from subletting	1,092.10	—	485.00
Net Total	$ 8,748.56	$1,954.92	$ 9,029.18
Total Expenses	$36,547.72	$9,968.29	$29,278.83
Net Operating Loss	$35,251.52	$9,863.56	$28,481.75

* After December 31, 1958, accounting procedure was changed so that all expenses for printing and mailing, other than for stock sales, is charged under "Other Expenses." Expenses of printing and mailing for stock sales are capitalized and appear in the balance sheets included herein under the caption "Expenses of Stock Sales."

Since the organization of MCD, there have been no earnings applicable to the Common Stock and there have been no dividends or other distributions with respect to the Common Stock.

BUSINESS

Transactions to Date

MCD in furtherance of its objectives has made loans in connections with two proposed cooperative apartment developments in New York City, one of which is under construction now; has organized a number of subsidiaries to build open occupancy housing; and has invested and has committed itself to invest an aggregate of $50,000 in the stock of other corporations which plan to build open occupancy housing. MCD's operations are described in further detail below.

Investments in connection with proposed cooperative apartment developments

(a) MCD has loaned $50,000 to an unaffiliated corporation, M.G.W., Inc., a New York corporation ("MGW") in connection with a 180-unit cooperative apartment project under construction in the Bronx, New York City. It is expected that this project will be ready for occupancy in the summer of 1960.

The project is being built as an "investor-sponsored" cooperative under Section 213 of the National Housing Act. In accordance with this Section, the project is being constructed by an ordinary business corporation (hereinafter referred to as the "building corporation"), "sales" of apartments will be started when construction is well advanced, and the project will be sold to a cooperative corporation when 90% of the apartments have been "sold".

MGW, which owned the site on which the project is being constructed, sold it to the building corporation for a promissory note of the building corporation in the principal amount of $118,250, which constitutes the principal asset of MGW. This note is to be repaid when construction of the project is completed and it is sold to the cooperative corporation as set forth above.

MCD's loan to MGW is evidenced by MGW's 6% promissory note. Interest on the loan began to accrue as of April 24, 1959 and is to be paid annually. The loan is to be repaid when the building corporation sells the cooperative development to the cooperative corporation. It is expected that the receipt by the building corporation of the proceeds of this sale will enable it to discharge its note to MGW, which will enable MGW, in turn, to repay MCD.

MCD has been informed that all but approximately $50,000 of MGW's outstanding indebtedness has been subordinated to MCD's loan to MGW. There is no restriction upon the amount of indebtedness which MGW may incur. MCD has further been informed by MGW as follows:

> The building corporation, in order to finance the construction of the development, has obtained from a savings bank a building loan of $3,122,400 and a commitment for a long-term mortgage loan in the amount of $3,489,700 upon completion and sale of the development to the cooperative corporation, if 50% or more of its members are veterans. If less than 50% of the members are veterans, the mortgage loan will be reduced by approximately 5%. The Federal Housing Administration ("FHA") has insured the building loan and has agreed to insure the long-term mortgage loan when the latter is granted. MGW has been assured by the building corporation that all additional financing necessary for construction of the development, based on present estimates of its cost, has either been invested in the building corporation or will be invested in the building corporation when needed. If the development is completed and less than 90% of the apartments have been sold, the building corporation plans to operate the development on a privately-owned basis until the 90% figure is reached.

Under the loan agreement between MCD and MGW, if the development is not transferred from the building corporation to the cooperative corporation, MCD shall be repaid out of the first available net income of the building corporation arising from the operation of the development, or income otherwise receivable by the building corporation.

MCD is informed by MGW that at the present time, the building corporation has outstanding long-term indebtedness aggregating approximately $180,000 which is prior in right of payment to the building corporation's note to MGW, in addition to current obligations for building costs. MCD knows of no restriction on the amount of indebtedness the building corporation may incur.

While there is no absolute assurance that the development will ever be completed or that, if it is completed, enough apartments in it will be sold at prices high enough to enable the building corporation to repay its note to MGW, MCD understands there are these factors of assurance:

1. A standard 10% "performance bond" covering the building of the development has been filed with the bank which granted the building loan;
2. Progress payments from the building loan are made only after representatives of the lending institution and the FHA are satisfied the work being paid for is in accordance with plans.

On the basis of present estimates furnished by MGW, a person desiring to buy an apartment in the development will have to make an initial investment of about $500 per room, and the initial monthly charge per room will be about $36. The expected aggregate "sales" price of all apartments in the development will be about $450,000.

The loan agreement between MCD and MGW also provides that MGW is to pay MCD, until the loan is repaid in full, $375 per month beginning with April, 1959 for advisory services on community relations and tenant selection personnel, which services are to be made available to the building corporation and to the cooperative corporation referred to above. One-half of the amount payable under this arrangement in 1959 is to be paid to MCD on December 31, 1959, and the other half plus all other amounts which accrue thereafter are to be paid not later than April, 1961.

(b) MCD has contracted to lend $41,000 to Cross Island Realty Corp. ("Cross"), a corporation which plans to build a 140-unit cooperative apartment development in the northern part of the Bronx in New York City.

Cross does not yet have title to the building site, but has a contract for the purchase of the site. The contract price for the building site is $101,000, of which $71,000 is to be paid by delivery of a purchase money mortgage when title to the site is transferred. It is estimated that the cost of preconstruction development work will not exceed $25,000.

MCD's loan will thus supply all but $14,000 of the $55,000 of cash estimated to be necessary to acquire the site and make it ready for building the cooperative apartment development. The additional $14,000 will be advanced by Cross or its principal officers, when title to the property is acquired by Cross.

MCD has agreed to advance the proceeds of its loan against presentation of vouchers showing expenditures of, or the incurring of liability for, like amounts by Cross for preconstruction development work or the payment of the purchase price of the site. As of September 15, 1959, MCD had advanced $12,600 and had been requested to advance an additional $9,000 to Cross, a total of $21,600, of which $11,000 reimbursed Cross for amounts paid to the seller of the building site on account of the purchase price of the site, $4,550 represented legal and organizational fees

included in the preconstruction development costs and $6,050 represented initial site development and overhead costs prior to construction. It is expected that MCD will be asked to advance an additional $3,900 in 1959 and the balance of the commitment in the amount of $15,500 in 1960. It is estimated that the legal and organizational fees mentioned above will aggregate $7,500 during the period prior to the commencement of sales of apartments in the project and an additional $7,500 during the selling period.

MCD's loan is to be repaid not later than November 1960. Interest on the loan is to be paid at the rate of 6% commencing with the date of each advance. Interest accrued during 1959 is to be paid on December 31, 1959 and all interest accrued thereafter is to be paid upon the sale of the property to the cooperative corporation which will operate the apartment development, but not later than November 1960.

MCD is also to receive from Cross the sum of $3,000 or an amount equal to three times the interest on the loan, whichever is greater, for advisory and consulting services on community relations and tenant selection personnel and policies. One-third of this fee is to be paid one year from the date it first accrues and the balance upon the sale of the property to the cooperative corporation, but in any event such payment is to be made not later than November 1960.

Title to the property is not expected to pass to Cross from the present owner before May 1960. As security for its loan, MCD, under its contract with Cross, may take and retain title to the building site until all sums owed to it by Cross are paid.

MCD will be repaid from the proceeds of a building loan which it expects will be obtained when title to the building site is transferred to a cooperative corporation, which will then construct the apartment development. No commitment for such a building loan has yet been obtained, but MCD has been informed that the building site has been approved by the New York State Division of Housing for a cooperative housing project to be built under New York's Mitchell-Lama Housing Law. Under this law, fifty-year mortgage loans for not more than 90% of the project cost may be made by the State or City of New York at reduced interest rates, and local tax abatements for up to thirty years and up to 50% are empowered. In addition, a ceiling is placed on builders' profits and on monthly charges to cooperators or renters, all of these being done to encourage the private building of housing for persons of moderate means.

Investments in wholly-owned building subsidiaries

MCD has organized wholly-owned subsidiaries in Illinois, Connecticut and Iowa. Each of these subsidiaries has either purchased building sites or has obtained rights over building sites by means of an option or purchase agreement, as more fully described below. In general, it is expected that sites will not be purchased unless satisfactory zoning regulations and subdivision approvals are obtained, or assured to the satisfaction of the local subsidiary concerned, and it is expected that the obligation of each subsidiary will not exceed the amount of the deposit, which in certain circumstances may be forfeitable, made by it in connection with its option or purchase agreement if its requirements in these respects are not met. The Board of Directors of the corporation concerned may, however, decide to purchase sites prior to obtaining satisfactory zoning and subdivision approvals or assurances thereof, when in its discretion such action is deemed advisable.

The Illinois subsidiary recently purchased two building sites in suburban Chicago on which it plans to build a total of approximately 50 one-family homes. Both sites lie in an attractive built-up residential area, convenient to shopping and transportation. The aggregate purchase price of

these sites was approximately $115,000. The portion thereof due in 1959, which amounted to approximately $50,000, has already been paid, and title to about one-half of the 50 lots has been conveyed to the purchaser. The balance of payments is to be made over a two-year period, and the purchaser has the right to obtain outright conveyances, free of any rights of the seller, of additional lots as further payments are made. Interest at the rate of 5% per annum will accrue on the unpaid balance.

Suitable zoning regulations exist and subdivision approvals have been obtained. In this connection, it was necessary for the purchaser to post surety performance bonds in the aggregate amount of approximately $110,000 to insure the construction of utility installations and roads. In order to obtain the surety performance bonds, MCD invested the full amount of the bonds in the Illinois subsidiary, by means of loans and stock purchases, and this amount was then deposited with a bonding company as collateral security for the surety performance bonds. The obligations secured by the surety performance bonds will not be released until the installations and roads have been constructed, without regard to whether the Illinois subsidiary has constructed any houses and without regard to whether any profits are realized by the Illinois subsidiary from the sale of any houses that are built. Preliminary development work has begun on one of the sites.

The Illinois subsidiary has employed a building supervisor to direct the building of the houses on its sites, and it is expected that he will be entitled, in addition to a fixed salary, payment of which has already begun, to 10% of its profits before taxes.

MCD expects to enter into an agreement with its Illinois subsidiary under which MCD will, upon request, provide certain supervisory and advisory services until the completion of all construction on the two sites, and thereafter until either party to the agreement terminates it upon 30 days notice. It is expected that the agreement will provide that the Illinois subsidiary will pay MCD during the term of the agreement $200 per week and will also reimburse MCD for the travel and other expenses incurred by the officers and employees of MCD in carrying out the provisions of the agreement.

As of September 15, 1959, MCD had invested in its Illinois subsidiary approximately $175,000. Of this amount, $162,000 was invested after May 31, 1959, the date of the latest financial statements included herein. It is anticipated that MCD may have to invest up to an additional $75,000 in order to complete the construction of the approximately 50 homes contemplated. Thus far, the investment in this subsidiary has been in the ratio of $4 of loan for each $1 of stock purchased, and it is expected that a similar ratio will be maintained for subsequent investments. It may also be necessary for the Illinois subsidiary to borrow money from others than MCD, but the potential lenders and the amount of any such loans are not known at this time.

The Connecticut subsidiary and the Iowa subsidiary have each obtained rights over building sites pursuant to what are in effect option agreements. The Connecticut subsidiary has deposited $1,000 pursuant to one of these agreements, which expires on March 1, 1960. The Iowa subsidiary has deposited $1,000 pursuant to its option agreement, which expires on October 15, 1959, and at that time, an additional $9,000 will have to be deposited if the option is exercised; the balance of the purchase price will be due when the seller delivers a deed to the property.

The total purchase price of these two sites is approximately $210,000 (approximately $50,000 for the Connecticut property and $160,000 for the Iowa property). MCD expects that substan-

tial mortgages can be obtained by these subsidiaries if these properties are acquired so that the total amount of cash which will have to be expended by the subsidiaries, if both sites are acquired, will be considerably less than the total purchase prices. MCD cannot now estimate the amount of mortgage loans that might be obtained on these sites. However, security deposits similar to those described above in connection with the Illinois subsidiary, in amounts which cannot now be estimated, may be required from the Connecticut or the Iowa subsidiary, or both, and MCD may furnish cash necessary in connection therewith.

MCD also has a wholly-owned subsidiary in New Jersey which forfeited a $1,000 deposit on June 30, 1959. This deposit had been made under an agreement to purchase a site which was unfavorably rezoned after the purchase agreement had been executed. A total of approximately $3,850 was spent for architectural and engineering services in connection with this site and expenses for legal services were also incurred. The New Jersey subsidiary is actively engaged in looking for other sites.

It is planned that the MCD subsidiaries will build one-family houses in the $13,000 to $35,000 price range on the sites which are finally purchased, and it is expected that these houses will normally be built for sale rather than for lease. The housing industry is volatile and is intensely competitive, and the ability of MCD or its subsidiaries to earn profits will depend in part upon the availability of credit to purchasers of these homes.

MCD does not expect that any of these houses will have been completed for sale by any of its subsidiaries before the spring of 1960.

MCD estimates that it will take a minimum of three months from the time a site is purchased until a model house has been built and all other preliminary work has been done so that sales can begin. It is expected that most sales will be made from model houses and that for the most part houses will not be built unless MCD or one of its subsidiaries first has a contract for the purchase thereof and the purchaser has a commitment for a mortgage loan to be made when he takes title to the completed house. MCD or its subsidiaries may, from time to time, however, build houses in advance of sale where, in the judgment of the Board of Directors of the corporation concerned, such action is deemed advisable.

Investments in stock of other companies

MCD has purchased from Chester County Community Developers, Inc. ("CCCD") 25,000 shares (out of a total of 61,000 shares outstanding as of May 31, 1959) of the latter's Common Stock for $25,000. CCCD has informed MCD that it has acquired a building site in Chester County, Pennsylvania, on which it plans to build, after its plans for the site are approved, approximately eighty one-family houses for sale at an average price of about $16,000 each. CCCD has further informed MCD that there has been opposition to the plot sizes proposed by CCCD, and if such opposition continues it may be necessary for CCCD to build on larger-sized plots than it had originally planned. This would mean a smaller number of more expensive houses would be built.

A wholly-owned subsidiary of MCD will act as sales agent for CCCD and is to receive a sales commission of three and one-half per cent of the gross sales price of each house sold by it. The right to act as such sales agent was acquired by MCD in March 1959 and subsequently transferred to the wholly-owned subsidiary. The right was acquired from a partnership which, at the same time, transferred all its other assets to MCD, including the right, referred to below, to act

as sales agent for Runnymede Corporation of Delaware. MCD paid this partnership $100 in cash at the time of the transfer and agreed to pay the partnership all profits up to $1,500 earned by MCD from the assets transferred during the three years following the transfer. The members of this partnership included Morris Milgram, Dean Chamberlin, Stuart E. Wallace, Albert Sprague Coolidge and Warren L. Swartzbeck, all of whom are officers and/or directors of MCD.

CCCD has also agreed to pay MCD as a management consultant fee 3½% of the gross sales price of all houses sold by it and 25% of CCCD's net profits before bonuses to employees and before taxes based on income. MCD acquired the right to serve as management consultant to CCCD from Prospect Construction Corporation ("Prospect") in exchange for (a) its agreement to pay Prospect, after MCD recovers its investment in CCCD, one-half of any profits it earns as management consultant to CCCD with respect to the first site purchased and developed by CCCD and (b) its investment of $25,000 in the Common Stock of CCCD, which relieved Prospect of the obligation to make such an investment.

MCD is also obligated to invest $25,000 in the Common Stock of Runnymede Corporation of Delaware ("Runnymede") which, it is contemplated, will undertake a project similar to that planned by CCCD. Runnymede has informed MCD that on September 11, 1959, it obtained an option on a building site on which it expects to build approximately thirty one-family houses. Further details of Runnymede's plans for this site are not now known to MCD, but MCD expects that it will not be required to invest more than $6,000 in Runnymede in 1959. MCD became obligated to make this investment in Runnymede when it acquired from Prospect the right to serve as management consultant to Runnymede and relieved Prospect of the obligation to make such an investment. Runnymede is to pay MCD the same management consultant fees as CCCD. MCD has agreed to pay Prospect after MCD recovers its investment in Runnymede one-half of any profits it earns as management consultant to Runnymede with respect to the first site purchased and developed by Runnymede. The wholly-owned sales subsidiary of MCD referred to above will also serve as sales agent for Runnymede and will receive a commission of 3½% of the gross sales price of each house sold by it.

The assets of Prospect are being sold with a view to its liquidation and dissolution, and thereafter payments due Prospect from MCD under the above arrangements will be made directly to the stockholders of Prospect, who include Morris Milgram, Dean Chamberlin, Stuart E. Wallace, Albert Sprague Coolidge, Warren L. Swartzbeck and David H. Scull, all of whom are officers and/or directors of MCD.

Future Investment Policies

MCD expects to continue to encourage open occupancy housing by loans and guidance to builders, by construction of such housing by its wholly-owned subsidiaries and by investments in the stock of independent corporations which undertake to build such housing.

In general, not more than $300,000, or 20% of the expected initial capitalization of MCD, will be invested in any one enterprise. MCD may enter into transactions with officers, directors or promoters of MCD or their associates if the Board of Directors of MCD feels such transactions are in the best interest of MCD.

Property

At present, MCD owns no real property. Its offices in Princeton, New Jersey, are leased. Acquisition of real property by MCD or by its subsidiaries is not planned except in connection with the building program of its wholly-owned subsidiaries described above.

DESCRIPTION OF SECURITIES

A summary of the characteristics of the shares of Common Stock of MCD are as follows:

Dividends may be declared on the Common Stock out of funds available for dividends under the laws of New Jersey. In any liquidation of MCD, all assets remaining after payment in full of creditors shall be divided among holders of Common Stock according to their respective shares. Holders of Common Stock are entitled to one vote per share. There are no preemptive rights, preferences or special restrictions. When shares offered hereby are paid for in full, certificates therefor will be issued and said shares will then be fully paid and non-assessable.

MANAGEMENT

The directors and executive officers of MCD are as follows:

1. Morris Milgram
   President and Director
   Philadelphia, Pa.
2. Warren L. Swartzbeck
   Vice President and Asst. Sec'y-Treasurer
   Trevose, Pa.
3. Stuart E. Wallace
   Vice President
   Princeton, N. J.
4. Irving Leos
   Vice President and Asst. to President
   Philadelphia, Pa.
5. Max Delson
   Secretary and Director
   New Rochelle, N. Y.
6. Dean Chamberlin
   Treasurer and Director
   Scarsdale, N. Y.
7. David H. Scull
   Chairman Board of Directors
   Annandale, Va.
8. Frank C. Montero
   Vice-Chairman Board of Directors
   New York, N. Y.
9. Roger Wilkins
   Assistant Secretary
   New York, N. Y.
10. Benjamin J. Anderson
    Director
    Princeton, N. J.
11. Albert Sprague Coolidge
    Director
    Cambridge, Mass.
12. Morton S. Grossman
    Director
    Chestnut Hill, Mass.
13. William Hooper
    Director
    Yellow Springs, Ohio
14. Maynard C. Krueger
    Director
    Chicago, Ill.
15. George J. Ritter
    Director
    Hartford, Conn.
16. Jackie Robinson
    Director
    Stamford, Conn.
17. William H. Scheide
    Director
    Princeton, N. J.
18. Irving Jay Fain
    Director
    Providence, R. I.
19. Albert Mayer
    Director
    New York, N. Y.
20. W. Willard Wirtz
    Director
    Winnetka, Ill.

The Executive Committee of the Board of Directors consists of Benjamin J. Anderson, chairman; Morris Milgram; Frank C. Montero; Dean Chamberlin; Max Delson; and George J. Ritter.

There are presently two vacancies on the Board of Directors. There are no present plans for filling these vacancies.

BACKGROUND OF OFFICERS AND DIRECTORS

Morris Milgram, a graduate of the University of Newark, became a builder in 1947, after ten years in labor relations work. From 1953 to 1958 he was executive vice-president of two successfully integrated developments in the Philadelphia area, Concord Park and Greenbelt Knoll, with a combined total of 158 homes. He has been president of MCD since it was organized. In 1957 he became executive vice-president of Prospect Construction Corp. and of Princeton Housing Associates, Inc., positions he continues to hold. The latter is completing two integrated tracts totaling 40 homes. The former is completing a rehabilitation program in the University of Pennsylvania area of Philadelphia.

David H. Scull is a printer and has been president of the Turnpike Press for seven years. Long active in the cooperative movement, he is a member of the board of Nationwide Insurance Co., and is chairman of the Baltimore Friends Social Order Committee.

Frank C. Montero holds degrees from both Howard and Columbia Universities. He was on the staff of the National Urban League from 1946 to 1957, and was associate executive secretary for three years. Since 1957 he has been a consultant on trade and public relations.

Benjamin J. Anderson, Minister of the Witherspoon Street Presbyterian Church, Princeton, for eleven years, is a member of the Board of Pensions of the United Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., and moderator of the Presbytery of New Brunswick. He is also a director of Princeton Housing Associates, Inc.

Max Delson, senior partner in the law firm of Delson, Levin & Gordon, New York City, has practiced law for over thirty years. He is a member of the national board of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and is counsel to the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and other unions.

Dean Chamberlin, a graduate of Harvard College and Harvard Business School, is a Certified Public Accountant, who has been retired for over five years. Prior to this, he was with Time, Inc., for sixteen years, and served as business manager of the Circulation Department of Time-Life-Fortune magazines.

Warren L. Swartzbeck has served as comptroller of Concord Park Homes, Inc. and Greenbelt Knoll, Inc., since 1954, and of Princeton Housing Associates, Inc. and Prospect Construction Corporation since 1957. He was with the National Capital Housing Authority, Washington, D. C., from 1952-1954.

Stuart E. Wallace was from 1951-1955 a real estate salesman and broker in Syracuse, N. Y. He was real estate broker for Concord Associates from 1955 until early this year, when he joined Concord Associates, Inc. in a similar capacity. He also has been sales manager of Princeton Housing Associates, Inc. since 1957.

Irving Leos was with Cantor Publications, Inc., New York City for eight and a half years before joining MCD in 1958. He edited three trade publications in the building and home improvement fields, and was active with the Citizens Housing and Planning Council, New York.

Roger Wilkins is an attorney with the law firm of Delson, Levin and Gordon.

Albert Sprague Coolidge is a physicist associated with Harvard University for many years.

Irving Jay Fain, vice-president of Apex Tire and Rubber Corp., is treasurer of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and formerly chairman of Citizens United for a Fair Housing Bill in Rhode Island.

Morton S. Grossman, for more than eleven years a partner in L. Grossman Sons, New England's largest building material dealers, also is a director of the Mt. Vernon Co-operative Bank and the North Quincy Cooperative Bank, both in Massachusetts.

William Hooper is president of Porter Construction Co., Yellow Springs, Ohio, which built a private integrated housing development in that community, and has been associated with that firm for more than six years.

Maynard C. Krueger is an economist and chairman of the Social Science Department of the College, University of Chicago, where he has been on the staff for twenty-six years.

Albert Mayer, of Mayer, Whittlesey and Glass, N. Y. C., architects and town planners, serves as a consultant to many leading firms both here and abroad.

George J. Ritter, graduate of Yale Law School, is a former Corporation Counsel of the City of Hartford, 1956-1958. He has practiced law in that city since 1950, and is senior partner of the law firm of Ritter, Satter & Newman.

Jackie Robinson retired in 1956 as a professional major league baseball player and since has been with Chock Full O'Nuts as a vice-president. He is a columnist for the *New York Post.*

William H. Scheide, a musician, has for the past twelve years been director of the Bach Aria Group. He also is a member of the board of the New York City Centre, New York.

W. Willard Wirtz is a partner in the law firm of Stevenson, Rifkind and Wirtz, formed in May, 1957. Prior to that he was associated with Adlai Stevenson in the practice of law. He has been a professor of law at Northwestern Law School since 1939.

Promoters: Morris Milgram, Frank C. Montero and Morton S. Grossman took the initiative in founding and organizing MCD.

Remuneration. Directors receive no salaries for their services. They are reimbursed for expenses incurred in traveling more than 100 miles to Board meetings, with a top limit of $125 per meeting. Salaries paid to officers in 1958 totaled $7,297.06. Salaries being paid to officers in 1959 are at the rate of $24,900 per year. This reflects the shift of Mr. Leos from staff to officer status, as well as the operation of MCD on a full-year basis. The salary of Mr. Milgram may be increased from the present $11,000 per year early in 1960, when as is now expected, he ceases to draw his $4,000 annual salary from Princeton Housing Associates.

PRINCIPAL HOLDERS OF SECURITIES

As of September 15, 1959, no person owned of record, or was known to MCD to own beneficially, more than 10% of its Common Stock, $100 par value. This is based on shares paid in full, of which there were 3,817 as of that date. As of that date, the directors and officers of MCD, as a group owned of record and beneficially 845 shares, or 22.1% of said Common Stock, and the directors and officers had subscribed for an additional 390 shares which, as of that date, were not paid for in full. It is not anticipated that more than 20% of the current offering will be purchased by the directors and officers of MCD.

Except as described herein, there are no options, warrants or rights to purchase securities of MCD outstanding.

All subscriptions by the promotors, officers and directors of MCD for shares of its Common Stock were made pursuant to an agreement which provided for immediate payment of at least 10% of the amount, with balance payable within 45 days of notice from MCD, except that the president of MCD may pay $5,000 of his $18,000 subscription over a four-year period. He had paid in $13,000 as of September 15, 1959.

All amounts required to be paid by promotors, officers and directors pursuant to the May 25, 1959 call described above under "Subscription Arrangement" have been paid.

LEGAL OPINIONS AND EXPERTS

Legal matters in connection with this offering have been passed upon for MCD by Delson, Levin & Gordon, 120 East 41st Street, New York 17, N. Y., except that all matters of New Jersey law, including the validity of the organization of MCD and the statements under the caption "Description of Securities" have been passed upon by Henry S. Broad, Esq., 37 Hulfish Street, Princeton, New Jersey.

All statements made under "Investments in Wholly-owned Building Subsidiaries" under the caption "Business" as to matters of law and legal conclusions relating to title to property and contracts of MCD's subsidiaries and all matters of local law have been prepared or reviewed by (a) Stevenson, Rifkind & Wirtz, 135 S. LaSalle Street, Chicago, Ill., as to Illinois law, (b) Ritter, Satter & Newman, 111 Lafayette Street, Hartford, Conn., as to Connecticut law, and (c) James & Robinson, 1001 Walnut Building, Des Moines, Iowa, as to Iowa law. All such statements are set forth herein on the authority of such persons as experts, and all matters of law and legal conclusions contained in such statements have been passed upon only by the counsel on whose authority the statements are made.

Max Delson, Esq., a director and the secretary of MCD, is a partner of Delson, Levin & Gordon and Roger Wilkins, assistant secretary of MCD, is an employee of that firm. W. Willard Wirtz, a director of MCD, is a partner of Stevenson, Rifkind & Wirtz. George J. Ritter, a director of MCD, is a partner of Ritter, Satter & Newman.

The Balance Sheet at December 31, 1958 and the Statement of Operations for the period January 10, 1958 to December 31, 1958 and the related notes, included in this Prospectus, have been examined by Samuel F. Wilson, independent certified public accountant, as set forth in his certificate included elsewhere in this Prospectus. Such Balance Sheet and Statement of Operations for said period, and said notes, have been included in this Prospectus in reliance upon such certificate and upon the authority of Mr. Wilson as an expert in auditing and accounting.

CERTIFICATE OF INDEPENDENT CERTIFIED PUBLIC ACCOUNTANT

April 23, 1959

Modern Community Developers, Inc.:

As requested by you I have examined the financial records of Modern Community Developers, Inc., as of December 31, 1958, by generally accepted auditing standards and procedures to the extent deemed appropriate.

All depositary balances were confirmed by direct correspondence from the depositaries. Substantially all unpaid subscriptions to common stock and deposits pending subscriptions approval by state security commissions were obtained directly from such individuals.

The allocation of expenditures among operating expenses, costs of obtaining subscriptions to stock, and organization expenses was reviewed with authorized accounting representatives. Costs of subscriptions and other organization expenses are combined as unabsorbed organization expenses on the statement of financial condition.

In my opinion the attached statement of condition and statement of operations fairly present the financial status of this corporation at December 31, 1958, and the net expenses to that date from its incorporation on January 10, 1958, in accordance with generally accepted principles of accounting.

Very truly yours,

Samuel F. Wilson, C.P.A.
569 Church Road
Elkins Park 17, Pa.

MODERN COMMUNITY DEVELOPERS, INC.
Balance Sheet
At December 31, 1958, and at May 31, 1959

	MCD Audited at December 31, 1958		Consolidated Unaudited at May 31, 1959	
ASSETS				
Current Assets				
Cash in checking accounts and on hand [1]	$12,711.30		$23,997.11	
Cash in savings—on demand [1]	46,337.06		94,000.00	
Accounts Receivable	421.91		967.58	
Deposits paid on site purchases and work in process on sites [2] less Reserve ($5,000 at May 31, 1959)	1,000.00		11,588.00	
Total Current Assets		$60,470.27		$130,552.69
Investments [3]				
Notes Receivable—Co-operative development [4]	.....		20,000.00	
Homeparks, Inc. — common stock (Maryland Corp.) [5]	477.50		477.50	
Chester County Community Developers, Inc. (Penna. Corp.)—common stock [6]	.....		25,000.00	
Total Investments		477.50		45,477.50
Fixed Assets—Office Equipment—Net		2,854.28		2,923.28
Intangible Assets—Purchase of goodwill and exclusive sales agreements		.....		100.00
Other Assets				
Cash in attorney's account	400.00		400.00	
Cash in advances to officers for expenses and salary	.....		950.00	
Cash in deposits with utilities and airlines	125.00		650.00	
Organization Expense—amortizable over five years	847.24		1,589.23	
Expenses of Stock Sales—to be amortized out of earnings [7]	19,903.18		41,178.25	
Total Other Assets		21,275.42		44,767.48
Total Assets		$85,077.47		$223,820.95

LIABILITIES [3]

Notes Payable—Office Equipment	$ 312.41		.....
Accounts Payable—Trade	4,478.07		$ 3,833.36
Accrued Salaries	154.77		1,594.38
Accrued Payroll Taxes	938.74		1,258.98
Deposits held in escrow pending subscription approval [8]	3,195.00		22,245.00
Deposit held pending completion of sale of house	.....		1,000.00
Total Liabilities	9,078.99		29,931.72
Net Assets	$75,998.48		$193,889.23

EQUITY

Common stock—par value $100 per share			
Authorized	$1,500,000.00		$1,500,000.00
Unissued	1,413,600.00		1,265,600.00
Issued	86,400.00		234,400.00
Subscribed but unissued	242,250.00		249,850.00
Unpaid subscriptions	217,400.00		221,627.50
Paid but unissued	24,850.00		28,222.50
Total Paid in Capital	111,250.00		262,622.50
Less Deficit			
Net Operating Expenses—1958	35,251.52	$35,251.52	
Net Operating Expenses—1959 to May 31		28,481.75	
Reserve for Trenton loss [2]		5,000.00	
Total Deficit	35,251.52		68,733.27
Total Equity	$75,998.48		$ 193,889.23

[1] At September 15, 1959, the aggregate cash was approximately $28,000. See Introductory Statement, Item 4.

[2] Includes $5,588 for work in process on sites and $11,000 in deposits paid toward site purchases by subsidiaries or in their behalf as explained under the caption "Investments in wholly-owned building subsidiaries." These amounts could be lost under certain circumstances if plans for development of present sites fail to materialize. At its meeting on June 30, 1959, the Board of Directors voted to drop the option on the Trenton site, thereby losing its deposit of $1,000 on the site and approximately $4,000 for work in process. A reserve to cover this loss is set up in the balance sheet above for the period ended May 31, 1959, in the amount of $5,000.

[3] Investments in subsidiaries in the amount of $12,600 in loans and $12,500 in purchase of capital stock have been eliminated in the consolidated statement. At May 31, 1959, the equity of $12,500 had been reduced to $8,238.60 due to expenses of the subsidiaries. These expenses of $4,261.40 are included in the consolidated statement of operations and in the operating expenses deducted from the gross equity of parent in the consolidated balance sheet. No subsidiaries had yet been incorporated for the audited statement for December 31, 1958.

[4] Reflects total actually paid over at May 31, 1959, to cooperative developments. Total amounts committed were $91,000 as described elsewhere.

[5] Stock was given in exchange for aid in organizing corporation.

[6] Described elsewhere. Additional commitment made to invest $25,000 in Runnymede Corporation when readied.

[7] The following expenses have been attributed to the marketing of the stock issue:

	At 12/31/58	At 5/31/59
Registration Fees	$ 150.00	$ 150.00
Federal Taxes	90.00	235.00
State Taxes and Fees	867.86	962.86
Administrative Expense (Salaries, Payroll Taxes)	5,926.44	10,464.57
Printing and Mailing Costs	8,933.33	24,055.54
Legal and accounting expenses for preparing statements for the SEC and State Registration Bureaus	2,478.28	3,011.70
Travel and Miscellaneous Expense	1,457.27	2,298.58
TOTAL	$19,903.18	$41,178.25

[8] Stock sales appeals have gone into 3 states in which registration under Blue Sky Laws has not yet been completed. These subscriptions are *not* included in the Equity, and the amounts here referred to are payments on account only, where subscriptions were not paid in full. It has been learned that registration in Michigan is out of the question for the immediate future and letters to residents of this state, notifying them of their right to rescind their stock subscriptions were sent on July 28, 1959. This applied to and letters were sent to 24 subscribers for 80 shares of stock on which the amount of $3,985 was paid at May 31, 1959. In the period during which these subscribers could rescind their subscription, 3 subscribers for 12 shares of stock requested that their subscriptions be rescinded. Checks refunding the amounts that these persons had paid on account have been mailed and the balance of the subscriptions from Michigan, while still not included in the Equity in the financial statements, are now deducted from the number of shares presently being offered.

MODERN COMMUNITY DEVELOPERS, INC.

9,684½ Shares

COMMON STOCK

($100 Par Value)

PROSPECTUS

Neither the delivery of this Prospectus nor any sale made hereunder shall, under any circumstances, create any implication that there has not been any change in the affairs of Modern Community Developers, Inc., since the date hereof.

Dated October 9, 1959

This Prospectus omits certain information contained in the Registration Statement on file with the Securities and Exchange Commission. The Registration Statement may be inspected by anyone at the Principal Office of the Commission in Washington, D. C., without charge, and copies of all or any part of it may be obtained upon payment of the fees prescribed by the Rules and Regulations of the Commission.

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No person has been authorized to give any information or to make any representations, not contained in this Prospectus, in connection with the offer contained in this Prospectus, and if given or made, such information or representations must not be relied upon as having been authorized by Modern Community Developers, Inc., or any of its representatives. This prospectus does not constitute an offering or solicitation by MCD in any jurisdiction in which such offering or solicitation may not lawfully be made.

Thanks, Jackie Robinson, for the Prospectus

I'm putting my dollars to work for fair play in housing

I hereby subscribe for.....shares of Modern Community Developers, Inc.

Common Stock at $100 per share. Enclosed find remittance of $.....,

25% of my subscription. I understand the balance is payable 45 days after call.

Signature(s) Mr. / Mrs. / Miss .....Date.....

Address .....

City .....Zone.....State.....

Print Name .....

E 263

"Who paid for my freedom, and what the price, and am I somehow beholden?"

— CARL SANDBURG

JACKIE ROBINSON

Modern Community Developers, Inc.

84 Nassau Street

Princeton, N. J.

The New York Times.

SUNDAY, MAY 18, 1958.

NEW CONCERN AIDS BIAS-FREE HOUSING

Financial and Management Services Are Offered to Private Developers

PAST SUCCESSES CITED

Buyers and Builders Said to Show Increased Interest in Integrated Homes

A builder who successfully promoted two racially integrated housing developments in Philadelphia has now organized a corporation to promote large-scale interracial colonies in other areas.

Known as Modern Community Developers, Inc., the new organization is described by its president, Morris Milgram, as the first corporation to offer financial and managerial assistance to builders entering the integrated housing market.

Mr. Milgram's earlier successful ventures are the 139-house Concord Park community at Trevose on the outskirts of Philadelphia in Bucks County, and Greenbelt Knoll, a development of nineteen homes within Philadelphia.

The Concord Park houses, of ranch design, are priced in the $12,000-$16,000 range. They were sold on a quota basis: 55 per cent white families to 45 per cent Negroes. The Greenbelt Knoll houses, priced from $20,000 to $35,000, have two-thirds white and one-third Negro occupancy.

Twenty-two Homes Sold

More recently, Mr. Milgram and his associates have been building interracial homes in the Princeton, N. J., area. One of their projects is Maple Crest, a twenty-five-house development on Mount Lucas Road.

Model on Display at Integrated Home Colonies

This three-bedroom split-level is offer[illegible] tegrated home developments in P[illegible] able in a larger version at $2[illegible] three bedrooms and $22,950 for [illegible]

Pawtucket, R. I. Times — Nov. 5, 1958

Jackie Robinson Speaks Tonight

Baseball Great In Providence

Jackie Robinson, f[illegible] Brooklyn Dodgers star [illegible] now a businessman in Ne[illegible] and serves on the boards [illegible] NAACP and Modern C[illegible] nity Developers Inc., w[illegible] guest speaker tonight a[illegible] High School Auditorium, [illegible] dence.

He will speak at [illegible] lic meeting, beginning [illegible] on housing discriminatio[illegible] meeting is sponsored [illegible] R. I. Committee on Dis[illegible] tion in Housing.

Others taking part in the program will be John R. Kellam, chief of renewal services and secretary to the Providence Redevelopment Agency; Sirrouko Howard, race relations officer to the Providence Housing Authority; James N. Williams, executive director of the Urban League of Rhode Island; Mrs. Rozella Switzer, director of the Providence office of the National Conference of Christians and Jews; George Lima, chairman of the home-finding committee of the Catholic Interracial Council, and Irving Jay Fain, chairman of Citizens United for a Fair Housing Law in Rhode Island.

[illegible]an. 2, 1959

[illegible]ed in Housing Chicago

[illegible]ide with the [illegible] National As[illegible]ne Builders, [illegible] be given to a workshop on "Merchandising Housing For All." Panelists include: Stuart E. Wallace, sales manager, Concord Park Homes, Inc. and Princeton Housing Associates, Inc.; Harry Gottlieb, Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference, Chicago; William Hooper, president, Porter Construction Co., Yellow Springs, O.; Albert Taborn, president, Taborn Builders, Inc., Cleveland, O.; and Harry Jackson, sales manager, Means Development Co., Gary, Ind. This will be followed by a conference with federal housing officials [illegible] A reception for [illegible] will take [illegible]

[illegible]ler, vice pres[illegible]nes, Inc., Palo [illegible] San Francisco [illegible]uilders, will be [illegible], analyzing his [illegible] builder of open [illegible]ing in his talk, [illegible] Philosophy." He [illegible]d by Morris Mil[illegible]nt of MCD, who [illegible] "How MCD Aids [illegible]lgram will show [illegible]cord Park Homes, [illegible] Acres [illegible] 4:30 p.m. [illegible]strants will take [illegible] the

Amsterdam News — June 6, 1959

Only Seven Integrated Homes Left

Only seven homes remain to be sold in the integrated communities of Glen Acres and Maplecrest, built by Princeton Housing Associates, 197 Mt. Lucas Rd., Princeton, N. J.

Of the forty homes planned for these communities, twenty-five have been sold to whites, and eight to Negroes, it is announced by Stuart E. Wallace, sales manager. A selection of ranch-type and multilevel homes, with an average price tag of $23,500, are being constructed. Eighteen families have moved in already.

Modern Community Developers is the national corporation which

— THE PRINCETON PACKET —

Integration Gets Support Of Pastors

Purchase Stock In Firm Fighting Home Segregation

Eleven pastors, members of the Princeton Pastors Association have invested as individuals in Modern Community Developers, Inc., a firm dedicated to integrated housing, it was announced this week by the company.

[illegible] not take this step as a [illegible] demonstration, but [illegible]ctical action to end [illegible] housing" the Rev. [illegible] Luecke, Lutheran [illegible]e Messiah, president [illegible]ton Pastors Associa-

[illegible] resolutions break [illegible]e church does not [illegible] in practical steps [illegible] implementation. It [illegible] men of good will of [illegible]t busy to reach ethi[illegible]h as equal housing [illegible]r all, through non[illegible]s formed for these [illegible] said.

[illegible] John R. Bodo, First [illegible] Church, president of [illegible] Pastors Association [illegible]rved, "We haven't [illegible]e job unless we seek [illegible]chly machinery to [illegible]ical goal, and back [illegible]nent." The pastors' [illegible]ea took root during [illegible] term of office as

[illegible] invested in Mod[illegible]nity Developers include: the Rev. Benjamin J. Anderson, Witherspoon Street Presbyterian Church; the Rev. Bodo; the Rev. John V. Butler, Trinity Episcopal Church; the Rev. David L. Crawford, Second Presbyterian Church; the Rev. Kenneth Dannenhauer, Calvary Baptist Church.

Also Rabbi Joseph H. Gelberman; the Rev. Straughan L. Gettier, Princeton Unitarian Church; the Rev. Henry W. Heaps, Kingston Presbyterian Church; the Rev. Luecke; the Rev. Charles W. Marker, Princeton Methodist Church, and the Rev. William T. Parker, First Baptist Church.

Modern Community Developers, Inc., is dedicated to combating residential segregation through lending funds and guidance to builders and groups interested in building integrated housing, building integrated housing and buying land and apartment houses for integrated homes.

OPERATION
HOUSING
INTEGRATION

—a unique oppo

Put Your Principles In

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

MORRIS MILGRAM, President
DAVID H. SCULL, Chairman of the Board
FRANK C. MONTERO, Vice-Chairman
DEAN CHAMBERLIN, Treasurer
BENJAMIN J. ANDERSON, Chmn. Exec. Com.

ALBERT SPRAGUE COOLIDGE
MAX DELSON
IRVING JAY FAIN
MORTON S. GROSSMAN
WILLIAM HOOPER
MAYNARD C. KRUEGER
ALBERT MAYER
GEORGE J. RITTER
JACKIE ROBINSON
WILLIAM H. SCHEIDE
W. WILLARD WIRTZ

NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE
(In Formation)

CHARLES ABRAMS
GORDON W. ALLPORT
STRINGFELLOW BARR
SENATOR JOSEPH S. CLARK
HENRY HITT CRANE
EDWARD P. EICHLER
MAURICE N. EISENDRATH
GOVERNOR ORVILLE FREEMAN
LLOYD K. GARRISON
VICTOR GRUEN
LEONARD G. HAEGER
DONALD HARRINGTON
DOROTHY I. HEIGHT
EDWARD HOLLANDER
SIDNEY HOLLANDER
GEORGE M. JOHNSON
LEE F. JOHNSON
MRS. CHARLES KELLER, JR.
MARTIN LUTHER KING
PHILIP M. KLUTZNICK
FRANCES LEVENSON
ALFRED BAKER LEWIS
FRANK S. LOESCHER
PATRICK MURPHY MALIN
LOREN MILLER
SUMNER A. MILLS
ARTHUR E. MORGAN
JOHN J. O'CONNOR
GEORGE E. OTTO
FREDERICK PATTERSON
CLARENCE E. PICKETT
ELEANOR ROOSEVELT
JOSEPH F. ROSENFIELD
NORMAN THOMAS
HOWARD THURMAN
MARIETTA TREE
ROBERT C. WEAVER
WILLIAM L. C. WHEATON
CATHERINE BAUER WURSTER
CHARLES S. ZIMMERMAN

Dear Friend:

Now you can strike a blow for human rights at the same time that you invest in your own behalf.

Now you can back up your belief in bias-free housing by becoming a stock-holder of Modern Community Developers, Inc., the first national corporation formed expressly to advance the cause of integrated housing.

With your participation, Modern Community Developers aims to:

- **Lend financial and advisory assistance to local groups planning in-tegrated communities.**
- **Build such communities directly.**
- **Buy land or apartment houses for integrated living.**

This, in brief, is Operation Integration.

To finance this program Modern Community Developers is issuing 15,00 shares of common stock at $100 per share. Registration of the issue with t Securities and Exchange Commission now is in effect.

Operation Integration is gathering momentum. Over $570,000 has be subscribed by board members and friends of Modern Community Develop MCD already is aiding integrated housing in five states. Your suppor needed now to launch this campaign in full force. Remit 25 per cent your subscription, the balance 45 days after call. You can begin with as as twenty-five dollars.

Here is a unique opportunity to put your principles into practice, to inve you believe. Now join your friends in Modern Community Developers. make equal housing opportunity for all a reality throughout our land. your subscription to Modern Community Developers, Inc., 84 Nassau Princeton, N. J., and share in Operation Integration.

Sincerely yours,

David H. Scu

DAVID H. SCULL,
Chairman of th

—Clip Out and Mail—

Morris Milgram, President
Modern Community Developers, Inc.
84 Nassau Street, Princeton, N. J.

Thank you for the prospectus. Count me in on Operation Integration. Here is $....., my 25 per cent remittance for ..... shares of MCD common stock at $100 each. I understand the balance is payable 45 days after call.

SIGNATURE.....

ADDRESS.....

CITY....., ZONE....., STATE.....

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Modern Community Developers

Founding Dinner
Hotel Savoy-Plaza
N. Y. C.

In an impromptu appearance at MCD founding dinner, Adlai Stevenson lauded its program as a most sensible and intelligent one. Shown with him: Morris Milgram, Pres., MCD; Jackie Robinson, Vice-Pres., Chock Full O'Nuts, co-chairman with Kivie Kaplan, far right, NAACP Life Membership Committee; Frank Loescher, toastmaster, former director, Philadelphia Commission on Human Relations; A. Philip Randolph, chairman, national committee of dinner sponsors, vice-pres., AFL-CIO, pres., Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and Kivie Kaplan, gen. mgr., Colonial Tanning Co., Boston, Mass.

"For the future." Sophia Yarnall Jacobs presents MCD's first annual Averell Harriman Equal Housing Opportunity Award jointly to Jackie Robinson and Kivie Kaplan, urging them to further achievement.

Thomas K. Finletter, another surprise visitor, praised the practical idealism of Modern Community Developers, Inc. The former Secretary of the Air Force stressed the importance of unsegregated housing in strengthening our international role. Seated, l. to r: Algernon D. Black, chairman, New York State Committee Against Discrimination in Housing; Alfred J. Marrow, chairman, Commission on Intergroup Relations, City of New York; Marietta Tree, trustee, Natl. Urban League; Morris Milgram; Jackie Robinson; Mr. Finletter, at mike; A. Philip Randolph, and Kivie Kaplan.

John McDermott, Catholic Housing Council of Philadelphia, standing left, presented MCD scrolls of honor. Recipients, standing: Algernon D. Black; Marietta Tree; Robert C. Weaver, New York State Rent Commissioner, and David H. Scull, president, Turnpike Press, chairman of MCD board. Seated, l. to r: A. Philip Randolph, Kivie Kaplan and Charles Abrams, Chairman, N.Y. State Commission Against Discrimination, a key speaker.

● *Registration with the Securities and Exchange Commission does not imply approval or disapproval of the securities by the Commission, nor does the Commission pass upon the accuracy or adequacy of the information furnished by the prospectus or the registration statement.*

—New York Post, July 15, 1958

My Day By ELEANOR ROOSEVELT

Hyde Park.

Things are really moving in the way of integrated housing, it seems, because in the last few days two efforts in this direction have come to my attention.

One of these enterprises is outside of Philadelphia. It is called Concord Park Homes. These were the first planned open-occupancy homes put on sale by a builder determined to build only integrated housing. The project consists of 139 three- and four-bedroom homes in the $12,000 to $16,000 range, in Trevose, Pa. All these homes have been sold and are occupied by 55 per cent white families and 45 per cent Negro families.

The same builder has another project called Greenbelt Knoll, with 19 homes in the higher price range of $20,000 to $30,000. This is a beautiful wooded site surrounded by parkland on four sides, including a two-acre private park, and only one mile from Pennypack Circle, Philadelphia. Here two-thirds of the home buyers are white and one-third Negro.

The builder of these houses is a man named Morris Milgram, who lives in the Greenbelt development. The two sites have won a number of awards, and the builders feel they have learned a great deal about housing and about human relations. Milgram is now organizing "Modern Community Developers"—a nationwide organization to aid builders of open occupancy housing with capital and advice. I found Milgram deeply interested in his undertakings and a very vital and energetic human being.

* * *

The second housing enterprise was brought to my attention by two gentlemen, one white and one colored. They are planning to build a kind of residential continental club somewhere not too far away from New York, but in a rural area, to be open to both Negro and white American citizens on an equal basis, and also to all UN members or foreigners coming here from other countries in an official or semi-official capacity.

Now I am waiting to have someone announce the construction of apartment houses here in New York City on an open-occupancy basis. I have tried to find one in the area in which I would like to live, but so far have been unsuccessful. I hope before long to hear of such a development.

* * *

New York Age, August 23, 1958

Benjamin J. Anderson, Chairman of the Executive committee, Modern Community Developers, Inc., of Princeton N.J. announced that the registration of the common stock issue of the new corporation with the Securities and Exchange Commission now is in effect. The first national firm to be dedicated to integrated housing is issuing 15,000 shares of common stock, par value $100, to be sold at par. Stock subscriptions

GREENBELT KNOLL

THE PITTSBURGH COURIER June 7, 1958

Adlai Pays Tribute To MCD at Founding

NEW YORK—A program to end segregation in hou ing, launched by Modern Community Developers, Inc., w termed "as sensible and intelligent an approach as I imagine," by Adlai Stevenson before 500 guests at the fou ing dinner of MCD.

A surprise guest at the dinner, ...d of the Hotel Savoy Plaza, ...ed en route ... paid tribute ... agency that ...ders of inte- ...th funds and

... chairman of ...e Commission ...nation, pointed ...t pressing need ...age money for ... for leadership ...f responsibility ... community, and ...ing.

... solution rests ... enterprise," Mr. ...espite everything ...n do, in a private ...m it is the private ...ust take the initia- ... we must educate ... is no more risk ... open occupancy ...other type of hous- ... Community Devel- ... and cooperative ...ntegrated housing is ...needed financial spur ...ntary development of ... housing by private

... MILGRIM, a pioneer ...ed housing and presi- ...CD, called the firm "a ...d." He said that the ...nting jim crow in hous- ...e done with the tools at ...e don't need any new ...n. He cited the success ...levelopments as Concord Park in Trevose, Pa.; Gree Knoll, Philadelphia, and tw Princeton, N.J.

He said that builders in states had told him they giving up their all-white hu and would henceforth buil integrated communities.

Robert Lewis, assistant ...ator William Proxmire ...consin, brought greeting the Senator who was un attend. Mr. Lewis urged ...eral Government to use ...ence to promote open o all over the country.

THE FIRST Averell Equal Housing Op Award was made Jackie Robinson, MC member, and Kivie Ka ...ton manufacturer and in the corporation's The presentation wa Mrs. Sophia Yarnall J dent of the Urban Greater New York.

Scrolls of honor we to Mrs. Marietta

Chicago Defend July 19.

DAVID H. SCULL Va., was recently ...man of the board of ...nunity Developers.

OPERATION HOUSING INTEGRATION

—Prototypes—

At Concord Park, at Greenbelt Knoll, at Princeton, the potentials of integrated housing are realized in attractive and harmonious integrated communities.

Concord Park, 139 $12,000 - $16,000 homes at Trevose, Pa., just outside Philadelphia, was sold out in 1957, 55% white, 45% Negro. Concord's $110,000 investment was returned in three and a half years. The majority of the investors in Concord have reinvested in integrated housing under the same leadership. Greenbelt Knoll, where Mr. Milgram lives, is an award-winning tract of 19 $20,000 - $45,000 homes at Longford Street and Holme Avenue, Philadelphia. It was sold out in 1958, two-thirds white. Construction in Princeton, N. J. is almost completed at two sites, with 39 $18,000 - $42,000 houses sold, 75% white.

MODERN COMMUNITY DEVELOPERS
Incorporated
84 NASSAU STREET • PRINCETON, N. J.

Baltimore, Md. Afro-American Sept. 20, 1958

Housing pattern cause of segregated schools

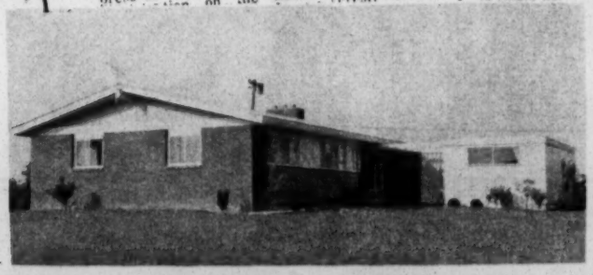
CHICAGO—Morris Milgram, president, Modern Community Developers, Inc., of Princeton, N.J. declared that "the root of segregated education in most schools of our major cities is the prevailing pattern of segregated housing."

"This is the key roadblock to fulfillment of the Supreme Court decision on school integration," said Milgram in a statement released to the press in conjunction with his ...on the housing ... **until we practice democracy in housing — until housing is made available generally on an open occupancy basis."**

Modern Community Developers, the first national corporation devoted exclusively to integrated housing, will lend financial and advisory assistance to groups planning integrated housing.

"We have a practical goal of equal housing opportunity for all, as demonstrated at Concord Park, Greenbelt Knoll, Glen Acres and Maplecrest," Milgram said.

... funds nor



RANCH MODEL — PRINCETON

Des Moines Register — Jan. 25, 1958

'Unwritten' Bar to Mixed Housing Told

By Nick Lamberto

An unwritten law in northern cities restricts "all new housing to white residents only" in most cases, a pioneer in the development of interracial housing said here Friday.

Morris Milgram, 41, of Philadelphia, Penn., developer of two open-occupancy housing projects, said that "as a result no new housing is available for Negroes."

"I have a feeling the situation is the same here in Des Moines," Milgram added.

"Has Responsibility ..."

St. Louis Post-Dispatch —

Parley on 'Bias-Free' Development Schedul

Builders and executives in ... been timed to coin the field of integrated housing convention of the will pool their know-how at sociation of Ho MCD's first Builders Workshop Jan. 18-22. on Integrated Housing, Jan. 19, Edward P. Eich 1959, at the Congress Hotel, ident, Eicher Ho Chicago. Calif., Alto,

Sponsored by Modern Community Developers, Inc., 84 Nassau street, Princeton, N.J., the first national agency dedicated exclusively to bias-free housing, the Workshop will ... together panelists and ... from coast to coast ... area's biggest b lead-off speake experience as a occupancy hou "A Builder's will be followe gram, preside will speak on of Builders." M

December 15, 1959

Mr. Fred Routh
Post Office Box 2292
Detroit 31, Michigan

Dear Fred:

Here are my reactions to the Memorandum entitled, "Need for an immediate decision." I don't know if, as an ex officio member of the board, I am supposed to react to these things or not, but I will probably do so until you inform me otherwise.

Since the entire program seems to be too well jelled for effective re-examination and since the AJC has approved an expenditure of $3,000, I would vote yes on the question of authorizing the expenditure of up to $3,000 from NAIRO funds to make possible the initial consultation.

I have grave reservations concerning the value of this entire effort which seems to me over-elaborate and over-structured. I think the appointment of a small study commission which could make a report at the Cincinnati meeting, or one report coming out of one consultation, or the effective use of the Cincinnati conference as a sounding board on these questions would be more effective means of reaching the objective than two national consultations, a series of regional consultations, the printing of voluminous proceedings, etc. I doubt that the regional consultations would be feasible or helpful. I don't believe that a full-time staff coordinator could be justified for this program. I think the program itself, even if carried through on its present basis, could be done for less $6,000 or $10,000.

Although I do see considerable value in an effort to mark out some of the major directions of the field of intergroup relations for the next decade, I have always been somewhat sceptical about this great push in NAIRO for "professionalization" of the field. I think there is always a

danger that a new field, struggling for recognition will lean over backwards in becoming over-formalized and over-professionalized in its emphasis on skills, techniques, formal requirements. Much of the vitality and excitement in the field today derives from its present scope, its unchartered horizons, its success in drawing practitioners from many allied fields.

Of course, I share Harold's feeling of Southern chauvinism in suggesting that competent Southerners be included both in the consultation and among those presenting papers to the study groups.

Probably as I become more familiar with the workings of the inner circles of NAIRO I will mellow in some of the more heretical views expressed above.

Season's greetings, etc.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Field Director

PMR/sm

JOHN A. KROUT
President

MRS. RUTH H. PURKAPLE
Executive Director

MIDTOWN INTERNATIONAL CENTER
GREATER NEW YORK COUNCIL FOR FOREIGN STUDENTS, INC.
152 West 56th Street, New York 19, N. Y.
Circle 5-4131

January 2, 1960

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Paul,

I was so glad to hear from you and to know that you are with the Southern Regional Council. I left the committee in the summer of 1959 to take up a job with less travelling, and am now with the Midtown International Center. We are just pulling out of a big holiday program, a copy of which I am enclosing.

In regard to the student from Etiopia, I do have several suggestions. Most of the Ethiopian students are here either on grants from their own governmnet, or under the International Cooperation Administration. I would suggest that he apply to ICA for help. I am sorry that I do not know the person who handles such applications, and it is always slow going thru channels, but is worth exploring. It s true that most grants are made by the ICA mission in Ethiopia, but sometimes something can be done here.

The African American Institute, 1234 20th N.W., Washington, D.C. has an extensive scholarship program for Africans. For the most part it is for those from the former colonial countries, but I think that Ethiopia may qualify. If he is doing very well adademically, they might be willing to help him if he goes to a better school. Then I think that he should apply directly to a number of first rank schools. Georgetown University has quite a scholarship program, if Washington appeals to him. Boston University under Dr. William Brown has a fine African program, and it would not hurt for him to apply there. You can suggest others, and perhaps one of them will prove willing to accept him.

If he is to be in New York we'll be glad to see him, and do drop into the Center whenever you are here.

Sincerely yours,

Ruth

Ruth H Purkaple
Executive Director

January 4, 1960

Mr. Saal Lesser
Encampment for Citizenship
2 West 64th Street
New York 23, New York

Dear Mr. Lesser:

I am enclosing a list of our state Councils on Human Relations. Would you please add them to your list receiving information about the summer Encampment programs. Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Timothy Miller, secretary
to Paul Rilling

Enc.

January 15, 1960

Mr. William M. Brewer
Journal of Negro History
1538 9th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Brewer:

The enclosed paper was presented by me at the fall meeting of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History. Both Dr. Wesley of the Association and Dr. Tinsley Spraggins who was program chairman of the conference suggested that it might be appropriate for publication in the Journal. I therefore send it for your consideration.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Field Director

PMR/sm
Enc.

February 16, 1960

Miss Fay Jackson
212 North 17th Street
Philadelphia 3, Pennsylvania

Dear Miss Jackson:

There are no branches of the Southern Regional Council. We do, however, cooperate with a number of state councils on human relations throughout the South. Unfortunately, the Texas Council on Human Relations is not one of the more active of such organizations. The Texas Council depends on lay leadership and is not served by professional staff. The president of the Texas Council is Mrs. James S. Crate, 8510 Ferris Street, Houston. You might want to get in touch with her on your return to Texas.

We also work rather closely with the Houston Council on Human Relations, a fairly promising group in the Houston area. Mr. James Noland of the Houston Council of Churches would be your contact in this group. His address is Greater Houston Council of Churches, 9 Chelsea Place.

Concerning other groups working in the direction of better race relations in Texas, you might want to contact the following offices:

Anti-Defamation League, Suite 209, 2405 San Jacinto Street, Houston.
Southwestern Region, N.A.A.C.P., 2600 Flora Street, Room 107 & 8, Dallas.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Field Director

PMR/sm

P.R.

212 N. 17th St.
Philadelphia 3, Pa.
Jan. 31, 1960.

Southern Regional Council,
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Sirs:

Could you please give me the address of the Texas Branch of the Southern Regional Council, if there is one? If not, what group or groups are doing work of a similar nature?

I am a Texan and shall be returning there before long. I should like to get in touch with groups working for better understanding and easing of our racial tensions.

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,
Fay Jackson (Miss)

January 20, 1960

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I expect to be in Atlanta from February 4 to 6 and would like very much to meet with you and any other members of your staff if they are available. As you know, the Southern Regional Council is one of the cooperating agencies of the Encampment for Citizenship and I am hopeful that we might be able to discuss the possibilities of interesting some white Southerners in participating in the Encampments in California and New York this coming summer.

I am looking forward very much to the opportunity of meeting with you and would appreciate any ideas as to people I should be talking with while I am in Atlanta.

Any help that you might be able to give would be deeply appreciated.

Sincerely,

Saul D. Lesser
Executive Director

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

cc: Paul Rilling

HCF

The New Republic
1244 19TH STREET, NW WASHINGTON 6, D.C.

Helen Fuller, MANAGING EDITOR

January 28, 1960

Mr. Paul M. Rilling
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Rilling:

I want to thank you very much for your memorandum on the Atlanta school situation. Please tell Harold how much we appreciate his asking you to substitute for him.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Helen Fuller

Helen Fuller

HF:gs

Telephone: REpublic 7-8656
Cable Address: NEWREPUB

339

March 18, 1960

Mr. Arnold Aronson
Consultative Conference on Desegregation
55 West 42nd Street
New York 36, New York

Dear Arnold:

I believe that most of our directors of state Councils on Human Relations are on the mailing list for Mass Media Committee memoranda and reports. We have heard from one or two, however, that they are not receiving this material. If it is in order, we would appreciate it if you would check our list of directors and make sure that they are all included on your mailing lists.

The Rev. Robert Hughes, Alabama Council on Human Relations; Room 1218, Comer Building; Birmingham 3, Ala.
Mr. Nat Griswold, Arkansas Council on Human Relations; 1220 West Capitol; Little Rock, Arkansas.
The Rev. William K. Williams, Florida Council on Human Relations; 4241 S. W. 109 Court; Miami, Florida.
Dr. W. C. Cowart, Georgia Council on Human Relations 63 Auburn Ave., N.E, Room 424, Atlanta 3, Ga.
Dr. Rufus B. Atwood, Kentucky Council on Human Relations; P. O. Box 338; Frankfort, Kentucky.
Mr. Harry Jones, N.C. Council on Human Relations; Room 209 121 E. Third Street; Charlotte, N.C.
Mrs. E. H. Spearman, S. C. Council on Human Relations; Room 605, 1400 Main Street; Columbia, S.C.
Miss Louise Young, Tennessee Council on Human Relations; 2001 Division Street; Nashville, Tennessee.
The Rev. Dan Bowers, Virginia Council on Human Relations; 216-C Broad-Grace Arcade Building; Richmond 19, Virginia

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Field Director

PMR/sm

March 18, 1960

Mr. Dwight Wiebe
VS & 1-W Director
Mennonite Central Committee
Akron, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Wiebe:

Harold Fleming has asked me to respond to your recent letter asking for suggestions as to ways that the Mennonite Committee can be of service in the South. I am responsible for our working contacts with other agencies, but all of us here have given considerable thought to the issues you raise.

We know of the work and reputation of the Mennonite Central Committee and I feel fairly sure that with sufficient consideration we will be able to find several important ways in which the Committee can work in the South. I am going to share this letter with representatives of all agencies working in the South in the field of race relations. We have an interagency meeting scheduled at the Penn Community Center in Frogmore, South Carolina on April 21 and 22. Perhaps you would like to attend the meeting or have the Mennonite Central Committee represented at these discussions. These meetings are held quarterly to provide an opportunity for staff workers of the religious and civic groups concerned to inform each other of their program activities and to think together about more effective ways of meeting the needs of the region in this important field. We would be happy to have the benefit of your thinking and to give you an opportunity to discuss the possible role of the Central Committee with the entire group.

Only two ideas have occurred to me thus far. Both of them relate to situations where Negro children are being denied the facilities of public school due to the current conflict over public school desegregation. In Burnsville, North Carolina, the entire Negro school population is refusing to attend public schools 30 miles away and is therefore receiving no public

education. Some 25 of these children are being taught in the basement of a Negro church in the small mountain community of Burnsville. The only instruction being received is from one elderly retired Negro teacher who attempts to operate with inadequate material after the fashion of the one-room school covering eight grades. It would seem to me that it might be a very fine contribution if some white teacher could share the work at this school. It would serve a real educational need and would perhaps be a good morale factor for this small Negro community. It might not prove feasible for a white teacher to become involved in this situation but I think it would be well worth exploring. We could send you further information on this community, or you could write directly to Miss Rosella Hill, 331 College Street, Asheville, North Carolina.

An even more critical situation is in Prince Edward County, Virginia, where all public schools have been abandoned. The white children are being educated at "private" schools in a fairly well organized fashion. The 1,600 Negro children, however, are receiving no education whatsoever. This is an agricultural County, with an approximately 50 -50 racial division of the population. There is very little educated Negro leadership in the community but the Negro group seems to have a high morale and is fairly well organized and coordinated. A few of the high school students have been sent to Kittrell Junior College in North Carolina on a part scholarship basis. Most of the children are receiving nothing more than recreational supervision if that.

To say that there is a critical need for volunteer teachers in a situation like this is to make a drastic understatement. Again, the involvement of white teachers might pose a problem as well as provide certain advantages. We have been trying hard to find some way to bring about the organization of an educational program for these children which would not replace schools but would meet some of the real needs. We have been unsuccessful so far. The need is obviously very urgent.

Let us hear further from you and I will pass on other ideas as they occur to us and others in the field.

We are not too familiar here with needs that may exist in the field of health but we are making inquiries concerning your suggestion of possible assistance in the medical field.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Field Director

PMR/sm

MENNONITE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

AGENCY FOR RELIEF AND OTHER CHRISTIAN SERVICES

TELEPHONE EPHRATA REpublic 3-4915 • CABLE ADDRESS MENCENCOM

ORGANIZED 1920
INCORPORATED 1937

AKRON, PENNSYLVANIA

March 4, 1960

Dr. Harold H. Fleming
Executive Secretary
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 5, Georgia

Dear Dr. Fleming:

The purpose of this letter is to introduce to you the Voluntary Service program of the Mennonite Central Committee. The Mennonite Central Committee is a relief and service agency which represents the inter-church activity of 17 different Mennonite conferences. The Voluntary Service program represents the youth phase of this total Brotherhood outreach in terms of contributing toward the alleviation of basic needs through the personal services of volunteers who come to live, learn to love, and stay to help people in their unfortunate circumstances.

For further clarification I am enclosing two pamphlets entitled 'Newfoundland' and 'Haiti' which define our program of emphasis in the North and South. In this same spirit we would be interested in assisting in areas of racial tension in America.

The purpose of my writing to you today is to inquire as to the opportunity and need for Christian service, "in the name of Christ" in the area of racial integration. For some time our Voluntary Service program has been carrying an increasing concern for problems related to integration or lack of it. We are in the process of exploring the possibility in the South and would appreciate any suggestions or counsel that you may have to offer.

We have given some thought to the possibility of making teachers available to some worthy secondary schools which are seeking to provide leadership for the colored folks in the South. We thought that perhaps our contribution might be providing teachers with certain necessary qualifications that would not be available to such schools under normal circumstances. We thought that perhaps in this way we could give colored students the opportunity to study under white teachers who would "understandably have to be " free from prejudice and unwholesome attitudes toward integration. We would also be open to a contribution coming through medical assistance on the school campus although our capacity due to personnel would be more limited in this area.

Perhaps your office would also be aware of some small community hospital which serves primarily colored folks. If so, would there be any need for personnel

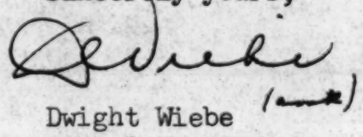
assistance in the area of medical doctors and registered nurses or lab technicians? Would community pressure even allow such a situation to exist?

In some respects we would prefer to work in a community where we might have contact with colored and white. However, for the success of the project it may be necessary for us to limit our activities to a community predominantly colored in order to avoid tension and misunderstanding.

We are not interested in a financial arrangement which will bring profit to our organization. Our volunteers come to us on an allowance of $10 a month plus maintenance. However, our program would seek to receive the regular remuneration for each position. Hopefully this would cover the costs involved in an operation of this kind.

In the true spirit of Christian Brotherhood and understanding we are desirous of becoming better acquainted with the needs in the South as well as discovering ways and means for us to have a small part in improving the unfortunate situation in human relations and living together.

Sincerely yours,



Dwight Wiebe
VS & 1-W Director

DW:amk

cc: William Snyder (Executive Secretary)
Elmer Neufeld (Peace Section)

CCD

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Tel. MUrray Hill 5-1606

347

March 22, 1960

Mr. Paul M. Rilling, Field Dir.
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I have checked our Mass Media Mailing List and have added the following names as contained in your letter of March 18: Dr. W. C. Cowart, Dr. Rufus B. Atwood, The Rev. Dan Bowers. All others were previously listed.

I have removed the names of Guy H. Wells and Hugh A. Brimm on the assumption that they have been replaced by Mr. Cowart and Mr. Atwood respectively. If this assumption is wrong, please let me know.

Warm regards.

Cordially,

Arnie

AA:sl

ARNOLD ARONSON
Secretary

MENNONITE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

AGENCY FOR RELIEF AND OTHER CHRISTIAN SERVICES

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PR

March 29, 1960

Mr. Paul M. Rilling
Field Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Rilling:

Thank you for your letter of March 18 informing us of your interest and willingness to assist us in becoming better acquainted with the needs in the South. I also appreciate your willingness to share our concern with other interested parties and particularly at your conference in Frogmore, South Carolina on April 21 and 22. Since this will be after our exploratory visit to the South which is scheduled for the week before Easter, we will be interested in receiving additional information from you by correspondence prior to that date. However, we will be interested in any new developments that may come out of this conference on interracial concerns.

If it were not for our tight schedule I am certain that someone from our office would be interested in participating in your Frogmore Conference. Perhaps as we become better acquainted with the situation in the South we will be able to arrange our program so as to include this on our agenda. Until such time, we will need to depend on experts in the field to interpret the situation for us.

The two ideas which you suggest in your letter are certainly thought provoking examples of need in the South. Both situations are certainly tangible enough and warrant full consideration. I am confident that our eyes are not closed to such needs but that we must become much better acquainted with circumstances of this type before we can fully appreciate the problem which the Negro population is facing under such circumstances.

Broadly speaking, we are interested in service opportunities which would provide long range benefits. It seems to me that the situation which you have described in Burnsville, North Carolina is a result of an emergency response to a climactic situation. How long can the school operation be continued in the church basement? What is the community and state sentiment toward this operation? Who is providing the finances for supporting the teacher under such circumstances? Is all of this being carried on outside of the approved educational program? If so, what could be done within the approved framework of education? As you indicate in your letter it may be impossible due to circumstances for a white teacher to become involved in this situation. However, I think we should carry a continuing concern for problematic conditions of this kind. I would be happy to receive more information concerning the welfare of this particular situation as you have described it at Burnsville, North Carolina.

In discussing the matter concerning Prince Edward County I find that our Peace Section representatives are already alert to the circumstances which you have described. It seems incredible to learn that 1,600 children are being denied adequate educational opportunities in this one county alone. This is truly a tragic situation which cannot be denied constructive assistance.

Having expressed myself rather freely with regard to your first two suggestions I am going to ask for your further assistance as we continue to plan for possibilities in the South. We are particularly interested in a location where we could place a unit (minimum of 4 persons) in one location. Our thinking has been that of an educational program where we could place several teachers in a predominantly or exclusively Negro situation. The suggestion would lend itself to a small church related or independent school system which may be an isolated community in itself. Such a situation would give us an opportunity to become climatized within more limited environment and help us provide the service that we are looking for without running into conflict with some of the more dramatic forms of tension coming out of the interracial issue.

As you well know our contribution must be accepted if it is to be effective. This means that we may need to limit our contribution to those areas where our volunteers stand a good chance of being successful. Your position and experience places you in a good situation to evaluate such circumstances and I would appreciate receiving further correspondence from you within the next ten days suggesting such school campuses and circumstances where our offer of assistance would be appreciated and helpful.

Where would you suggest that I write to concerning a list of the Negro sponsored elementary and secondary schools? This might provide us with an entrée to further needs in this area.

Sincerely yours,

Dwight Wiebe
VS & 1-W Director

DW:amk

cc: Elmer Neufeld (Peace Section)
William T. Snyder (Executive Secretary)

April 8, 1960

Mrs. Paul Santmire
Editorial Department
Luther Life
2900 Queen Lane
Philadelphia 29, Pennsylvania

Dear Mrs. Santmire:

Dr. Brubaker requested my assistance in finding the student to handle an article on the sit-in demonstrations. I believe that Charles Jones of Johnson C. Smith University would do an able job for you. He is a graduate divinity student and has been the key student leader in the Charlotte demonstrations. He is a committed Christian and has held regional offices in the student YMCA and other church youth groups.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Field Director

PMR/sm
Enc.

May 2, 1960

Miss Edith Lowry
Associate Executive Secretary
Division of Home Missions
National Council of Churches
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, New York

Dear Miss Lowry:

I will be very happy to serve as a member of the panel discussion of the school's responsibility within the larger community during your consultation in Atlanta on October 26.

I will be looking for further communication from you as the time approaches.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Field Director

PMR/sm

May 3, 1960

Mr. John H. Cooley
United Christian Youth Movement
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, New York

Dear Mr. Cooley:

We are happy to have your preliminary report of the coordination consultation April 27. It is of course, quite acceptable to list the Southern Regional Council as a contact with Southern agency staff as noted on page two.

None of our staff will be in the New York area May 4, but we look forward to further word as to your discussions.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Field Director

PMR/sm

ENCAMPMENT FOR CITIZENSHIP

2 WEST 64th STREET, NEW YORK 23, N. Y.
TRafalgar 4-5200

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Algernon D. Black
Kyver M. Blumstein
Gideon Chagy
Theodore Charnas
Hugo Cohn
S. Arthur Dembner
Mrs. Michael Elbert
Paul W. Fink
Miss Betty Freeman
Dr. Horace L. Friess
Mrs. Horace L. Friess
Norman Fuerth
Leo Goldsmith, Jr.
Henry B. Herman
James F. Hornback
Dan Isaacson
Joseph D. Isaacson
Abraham P. Kanner
Mrs. Eugene H. Klaber
Gerhart L. Kobrak
Mrs. Gerhart L. Kobrak
Dr. Lucile Kohn
Stanley Leff
Mrs. Sally S. Lindsay
Louis Lubin
Mrs. Albert Mannheimer
Benjamin Margolin
Benjamin Miller
Frank Montero
Dr. David Saville Muzzey
Jerome Nathanson
Dr. Henry Neumann
Mrs. James E. O'Brien
Mrs. Alan Rabinowitz
Howard Radest
Leo Rosen
Sidney H. Scheuer
Mrs. Ethel K. Schwabacher
George P. Shettle
Dr. Matthew Ies Spetter
William Starr
Mrs. William Starr
Dr. John Thirlwall
Mrs. John Tishman
John P. Tolbert
Dr. Adolf S. Tomars
Robert C. Weinberg
Mrs. Walter White
Mrs. James B. Zabin

May 4, 1960

Saal D. Lesser
Executive Director

Algernon D. Black
Education Director

HCF
names?

Dear Paul,

Thank you for your note of April 27, in which you requested a supply of Encampment material. They should have reached you by now. This letter, however, is largely for another purpose. Enclosed is a brochure announcing the Institute for Leadership Training in Public Responsibility that will take place in Puerto Rico this summer, about which we had some discussion while I was last in Atlanta. I hope that your summer schedule is such that you would be able to take advantage of this program. I think it will really be a most exciting and important experience and hope that you will find time to participate.

return PR

If you are unable to attend I hope very much that there will be others in the southern area that you might recommend to the program.

Bill Williams HCF

I hope that there might be a number of young people from the South who are available to participate in either the California or New York Encampment and will appreciate anything you can do to stimulate some attendence.

Best wishes,

Saal

Saal D. Lesser

Mr. Paul Rilling
Field Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

May 16, 1960

Mr. Saal D. Lesser
Encampment for Citizenship
2 West 64th Street
New York 23, New York

Dear Saal:

The prospectus for the Leadership Seminar in Puerto Rico looks excellent. I only wish that I could go. After having no vacation for the last two years I seem to be embarrassed by riches this summer. I have secured an assignment with the Council on Student Travel and will be sailing for Europe in late May, returning near the end of June. Thank you for thinking of me.

We are again this year circularizing all of our state groups concerning possible participants in the encampments. I hope we have some results.

Before I leave I will try to pass on to you names of other persons who might be suitable for the Leadership Seminar. I wanted to get this in the mail today.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Field Director

PMR/sm

SUNDAY, JULY 17th, 1960

Coffee Break

Good Morning!

By DON DEDERA

WE'LL NEVER know how many shoe shine boys are potential surgeons, how many surgeons would have made better shoe shine boys.

But it's nice to know there's an outfit in town attempting to match pegs and holes.

Dedera

Careers, Inc., it is called. Eighteen months ago, Robert B. Choate Jr., professional engineer, gathered together a group of adults who were concerned about the haphazard ways that young people chose their life work.

CECIL C. Pine, supervisor of Sperry Phoenix engineering facilities, was elected president.

"We all knew bright young kids who never quite decided what they wanted to do," said Pine.

"For some reason, these young people were not being stimulated to a career. Not everybody can be a self-starter, and all too often these young people were trapped in a cycle. Their grandparents and their parents didn't know how to inspire their children to higher goals.

"These kids grew up unmotivated, with promise of no more than random, accidental progress.

"Organizations such as Boy Scouts are devoted to character-building. Church groups are concerned with spiritual development. We thought with Careers, Inc., we might assist young people in perhaps a more practical field—choosing a career."

Careers, Inc. has provided speakers for high school career clubs. The speakers, principally professional and industrial leaders, have been frank—giving the bad with the good about their particular fields.

So successful has been the Phoenix experiment, Careers, Inc. now is offering to help similar efforts in other towns.

As for itself, the Phoenix group is asking little.

"We need the moral support of the community," said Pine. "We need the understanding of parents, and their children need the encouragement to raise their sights. We already have the fine co-operation of teachers.

"WE WANT more professionals to participate. Beginning in the fall, we will need speakers from a variety of careers.

"As we grow, we will need a certain amount of money. We have been considering nominal scholarships, as a means of helping the kids along in college.

"But finally, and most important, we ask for the curiosity of young people who have been drifting along without purpose, who want some help in finding a satisfying work."

SUNDAY NEWS
NEW YORK'S PICTURE NEWSPAPER®
New York 17, N.Y., Sunday, July 24, 1960

Wise Old Lady Teaches Youth How to Make Its Votes Count

By WILLIAM NEUGEBAUER

As Democrats and Republicans gird for the November Presidential battle, Mrs. Alice K. Pollitzer of 215 W. 88th St. is carrying forward an ambitious program to equip more young Americans with the knowledge they need to make their votes count.

At 90, the former suffragette, now great-grandmother of 14 children, is kindling the guiding premise of the Encampment for Citizenship, a summer workshop in citizenship at the Fieldston School in Riverdale, that political responsibility in a democracy is for the many, not the few.

(NEWS foto by Ossie LeVineas)

Algernon D. Black and Mrs. Alice K. Pollitzer meet informally with representatives of student government at Encampment for Citizenship on campus of Fieldston School in Riverdale, Bronx.

"Politics isn't for politicians only," Mrs. Pollitzer said. "There's more to voting than pulling down a lever. If you pull it without knowing the candidates, the issues and problems of your community and country—of the world, for that matter—you're giving your franchise away. That's not government by representation; it's government by default."

Helped Found Project

Mrs. Pollitzer, honorary board chairman for its first 13, has been working at the job of citizenship for more years than most Americans expect to live.

Widow of a New York physician, Nanny Pollitzer, as her friends call her, helped to found the encampment project when she was a mere 75. She has held executive posts in vocational guidance and school administration, and she paraded with the suffragettes before women got the vote.

Educational Director Algernon D. Black said that more than 100 students, from 18 to 23 from the U.S., its territories and 13 foreign countries, with a deliberate cross-section of varying social, racial, economic and ethnic backgrounds, are taking part in the six-weeks course.

How Democracy Works

"We don't teach young people who or what to vote for," he pointed out. "We do not indoctrinate, but we try to open their minds and give them a fresh insight into the democratic process, to teach them not only that democracy works, but how it works."

The teaching process, says Nanny Pollitzer, includes an informal academic arrangement on the sprawling campus which provides lectures on comparative political systems, international affairs, civil rights and liberties, economics and agriculture, supplemented by group discussions, films and workshop sessions.

Field trips take students to factories, farms, union hiring halls, government bureaus, settlement houses and housing projects. The resident faculty, who live with the students in dormitories, are drawn from the nation's colleges, universities and government and community agencies.

Democracy Practiced, Too

Encampment staffers feel another way of learning democracy is by practising it. Ground rules are laid down at the outset, and each encampment governs itself, electing its own administration and slate of officers in vigorous town mettings.

Students come from colleges, settlement houses, government agencies and numerous national and local organizations. The alumni recruit half the students at succeeding encampments. Several of these groups provide scholarships to offset the student fee of $350.

Encampment for Citizenship

'It's Made Everything Easier'

By Joan McKinney
Club Editor

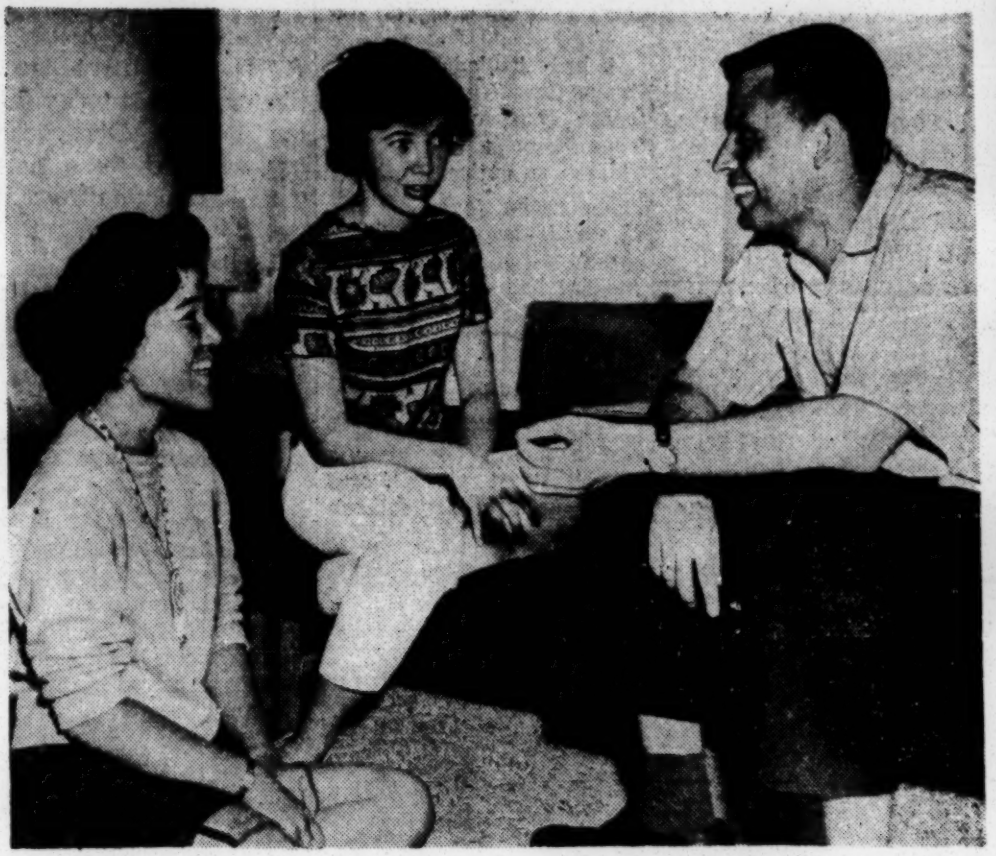
Fifty-eight young people between the ages of 18 and 23, currently attending the Encampment for Citizenship at Freeborn Hall on the University of California campus, have made a miraculous discovery.

They are not alone in what each one thought was his or her own "youthful idealism."

"It's wonderful to be with a group of people who feel as I do—and to find adults, like those in charge of the Encampment, who are not cynical about the ideas of youth," bubbled Dorothy Giller, a pretty brunette from Chicago.

"I'm planning to be a teacher," said soft-voiced June Kelly of San Francisco, "but what I really want to do is to work in an orphanage or with handicapped children.

"I'd never have dared suggest it at home, because people would pat me on the head and say 'what a sweet idea' and dismiss it. Being here has made me realize that I can do what I want to—it's made everything so much easier."



VIVIAN ARVISO, JUNE KELLY, STU LIBERMAN
Backgrounds differ, viewpoints coincide

'I Want to Help'

"This experience has given me an interest in going into foreign service, either with a government agency or church group, and trying to help people in whatever way I can," said Ernest Ito of Hawaii.

"I am a teacher, too," said Mary Rucker, a Negro girl from South Carolina, "but now I am beginning to question whether I can help my people enough by teaching in segregated schools, or whether I should join some organization working with both Negro and white, where I would have an opportunity to 'convert the unconverted'."

Vivian Arviso of New Mexico, whose cloud of soft dark hair and brown eyes reveal her Indian heritage, is studying to be a social worker.

"I want to work with other minority groups first, and then go back and try to help my people," she said.

"Being here has awakened me to so many things. I am reminded of our last war chief, who said the Indians must use education as a ladder to climb up to where the Anglo-Saxons are. This experience has made me want to go back and build that ladder much higher."

Serving Others

"I'm going to be a lawyer," said eager-faced, crewcut Stu Liberman of New York, "but I also hope to find self-satisfaction in service for others."

This common denominator of eager interest in others, and the desire to translate that interest into action, is all the more impressive reviewed against the widely varying backgrounds of the students at the Encampment.

They are chosen from every kind of socio-economic and ethnic milieu, and thrown together in dormitory living so that, willy-nilly, they are exposed to each other's viewpoints and experiences. The wonder is that, though the experiences differ widely, the viewpoints are so similar.

In class they listen to lectures on economics (American and Soviet style), government, inflation, and racial, religious and ethnic problems — almost anything that may help them to become more effective leaders in tomorrow's world.

They take field trips, watch the political conventions on television and discuss them in bull sessions that run far into the night. Living right along with them are the 10 staff members, headed by Aron Gilmartin.

Air of Excitement

There is an atmosphere of intense excitement — not only intellectual but human, too; a feeling that in a program like this the hope for the future is being fostered.

Organized by Algernon Black in New York 15 years ago, the Encampment is now in its third year at the University of California, though this is the first time it has been held in Freeborn Hall —"the Berkeley Hilton," as the ultra-modern residence is called.

This year's program, which started June 26, will continue through Saturday, August 6.

chairman
now in its 15th ye

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, BOSTON
FRIDAY, JULY 29, 1960

Camp Pitched For Citizenship

By a Staff Correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Riverdale, N.Y.

Clusters of young men and women — in shorts, sandals, slacks, and other informal wear —are scattered across the tree-shaded campus of the Fieldston School here this summer, comprise a strikingly divergent mixture of people who have come here to help one another widen their outlook on the world around them.

At a panel discussion on disarmament this week held indoors (because of rain) in the school's spacious auditorium, these were the five panelists:

The son of a Negro share cropper from Georgia who ran away from the intellectual confinement of his home community.

A legally blind college student from New York City who relishes discussions and has taken to playing Ping-pong since coming here.

The daughter of a textile-worker and member of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union from New York.

The son of a physician in Minneapolis.

Moderator for the panel was the son of an Indonesian Government official who plans to enter the government service on his return.

Various Backgrounds

Among the audience of more than 100 between 18 and 23 years of age, there were the son of an industrialist and the son of a confectioner (they share the same dormitory room), students of various backgrounds from Thailand, Hong Kong, Liberia, Japan, Holland, France, Belgium, Guatemala, Spain, and Italy.

To round out the picture, there were seven American Indians, three of them Utes from Utah, two Sioux — one from South Dakota, the other from North Dakota—a Cheyenne from Montana, and a Zuni from New Mexico.

This list hints at the rich social, educational, economic, ethnic, and religious variety that is characteristic for these meetings in Riverdale.

For this is the Encampment for Citizenship, a nonprofit educational organization sponsored by the American Ethical Union and backed by civic, social, and labor groups. It holds such a six-week project each year here and at the University of California's Berkeley campus. This year's is the 15th encampment.

Adventure Offered

Through lectures, discussion, and workshop meetings on current problems and through communal living and recreation, the Encampment seeks to provide these young people with an "adventure in democracy."

Participants may apply personally or are selected by sponsoring organizations in their communities. Among these organizations are three labor unions (Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and the United Automobile Workers of America); the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith; the National Urban League; the Southern Regional Council; and the American Jewish Committee.

Supporting Institutions

Educational institutions actively supporting the project include Columbia College, New York; Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.; and the City College of New York. Funds come from private contributions and foundations. Students receive scholarships. Travel expenses are paid by themselves or by supporting organizations.

Most of the participants in the six-week courses are students, but some are not. They are being exposed to an intensive program of lectures, discussions, and workshops on topics such as international affairs, civil rights, economics, and intergroup relations. Field trips are made to local social agencies, labor unions, the United Nations, and business corporations.

Life in the Encampment is strictly regulated. There is an 11 p.m. curfew (except Saturdays when it is 2 a.m.). Attendance at sessions and meals is compulsory. Those leaving the campus must sign out.

Yet this does not seem to have dampened the enthusiasm of participants.

A ten-man staff of instructors from various academic backgrounds provides guidance. Saal D. Lesser, executive director, formerly served as educational director of the Greater New York area of the National Conference of Christians and Jews and as assistant national education director of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

Honorary chairman of the organization is Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Sec. II—S.F. Examiner Friday, July 22, 1960

Encampment That Restored His Faith In the Human Race

By CLAIRE LEEDS

"I HAD NEVER met a SINGLE American Indian, and suddenly here were SIX of them! Six kids I could sit down and talk with about what it's like to live on a reservation."

The young man who made this confession had the startled look of a visitor from Mars. Actually, he is a typical student from a small southern California college and one of 57 youth attending the June 26 to Aug. 5 Encampment for Citizenship on the University of California campus.

These 18 to 23 year olds, selected for diversity, come from big industrial cities and midwestern farms, from the troubled South and the easy going northwest, from well-to-do families and poor ones.

THEY ARE HAVING perhaps the most eye-opening experience of their lives.

"I felt as if I were living on an island, surrounded by apathy; that no one really cared about the the election, or the H-bomb, or what's happening in Africa," said a fresh faced blonde from San Francisco. "Now, suddenly, I'm surrounded by 57 people who care very much."

"The encampment has restored my faith in the human race. And it is teaching me that all of us must shoulder the responsibility for making this a better country," said the bright looking northern Negro boy, raised in a substandard neighborhood. Dissatisfied with the quality of education available close to home, he traveled 12 miles a day by bus to attend a high school with high academic standing.

"I didn't think I could stand living with the guy they gave me for a roommate here," chirped the young man from Mars. "He's Jewish, and I never really knew any Jewish people before. Now I know it's the best thing that could have happened to me—I had a lot of misconceptions."

Conducted for three years on the west coast, the Encampment for Citizenship is a youth seminar based on the premise that strong leaders must be developed in every segment of American life.

Through scholarships and foundation grants, a cross section of intelligent young people are brought together for six weeks in a campus dormitory situation, to study Government, business economics, politics, labor unions, foreign policy, human rights and mostly to learn to know each other.

THERE ARE LECTURES by UC professors; field trips to see San Francisco's financial district, slum clearances, housing; and many, many discussions dissecting the democratic process, looking at both its strengths and its weaknesses.

"You can't possibily spend six weeks here without being made aware of problems you were never aware of, and people you never knew existed," said the girl from San Francisco, summing up the reaction of 57 young people who today are seeing the world through new eyes.

NEW YORK WORLD-TELEGRAM AND SUN, MONDAY, AUGUST 1, 1960

STUDENT *notebook*

A Little Understanding Goes A Long Way, Youths Learn

By HOPE JOHNSON.

One hundred and twenty-five 18 to 23-year-olds from every corner of the world have grown faster in human understanding this past five weeks than probably in any other period of their lives.

These young people are all participants in the 15th annual Encampment for Citizenship now in progress at the Fieldston School, Riverdale, N. Y. A nonprofit nonsectarian, nonpolitical program under the auspices of the American Ethical Union, it is an intensive education in democratic human relations, citizenship responsibility and leadership training.

The encampment is conducted on this principle: "Talk about democracy is meaningless without the actual experience of students of every race, color, creed, nation and economic and social strata actually living, studying and playing together."

Agree on Results.

Naturally, the youths are almost always of opinions as different as their backgrounds. But four young people representative of the group agreed wholeheartedly on the program's results, as put by Sharon Jeffrey, 19, of Detroit, Mich.:

"I think we've all been struck by how well we live together. We know this can be done. Knowing it can be done gives us more courage to carry on this work when we return home."

(It is interesting to note that an evaluation of the encampment done by Columbia's Bureau of Applied Social Research showed that the positive attitudes developed by former participants were not fleeting, but lasted at least five years.)

The young people attend lectures in the morning, use the community as their workshop in the afternoon and discuss life and the world late into the night.

Sharon had never met an American Indian until this summer. Sirikanya Banchong-Slipa, 19, of Chiengmai, Thailand, had never met a person of the Jewish faith. Sirikanya, daughter of a Thai newspaper editor, is currently on an Asian Foundation scholarship at Mills College.

BANCHONG-SILPA.

SHARON JEFFREY.

Sees Other Needs.

Sirikanya said, "I never thought so much could be accomplished in such a short time. Before I came here I planned to study international relations and become a member of our Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Now I see there is much that can be done in the fields of health, sanitation and education."

Thomas Blanchard, 18, of Foynette, Wis., a former University of Michigan engineering major who switched to political science, said, "The encampment has verified my decision to change courses. In engineering I would be working with slide rules, not people. I've also gained new perspective on myself."

University of Seattle basketball star Jim Preston, 19, a Negro who hopes to study law, gave his opinion: "When I first came here I thought the Southern whites saw only the color of my skin. Now I think they see only me. Yes, I think individuals' understanding of other individuals can do a lot to simplify integration. I think this program would work with older participants, too."

"The program should be made worldwide," Sirikanya concluded.

For further information contact
ENCAMPMENT FOR CITIZENSHIP
2 West 64 Street, New York 23, N. Y.
2209 Van Ness Ave., San Francisco, Calif.

AFRICAN-ASIAN relations could be the topic of conversation of this trio on the Fieldston School campus. At the left is Yeanie King, daughter of former Liberian Ambassador and Mrs. C. T. O. King, who lived for a time in New Rochelle and later in Riverdale before returning to their native country. Yeanie's mother, Etmonia, was a speaker last Spring at Yonkers' Metropolitan AME Zion Church. Yeanie attends the School of Foreign Service in Washington, D. C., and her Citizenship Encampment friends include Han Ong (center), Indonesian student at New York University, and Sirikanya Banchong Silpa of Thailand. She begins her senior year at Mills College, Oakland, Calif., in the Fall and is majoring in history and government on an Asia Foundation scholarship. She plans to return to Thailand to enter government relations work.

Photos by John Sarno

Text by Audrey J. Brown

MINDS AT WORK on the business of democracy tackle individual and world problems at the 15th annual Encampment for Citizenship at the Fieldston School in Riverdale. To train and develop informed, effective and responsible citizens was the goal of the six-week program for eighteen to twenty-three-year-olds from all sections of the United States and from many foreign lands. This discussion group on the Fieldston quadrangle is led by Dr. John Anthony Scott of Yonkers (second from right), who was on the encampment faculty and is head of the Fieldston School's history department. The citizenship education program was founded by Algernon D. Black and is sponsored by the American Ethical Union, federation of Ethical Societies. The third annual encampment was held this summer on the University of California campus at Berkeley and for the first time there was an Institute for Leadership Training in Public Responsibility for twenty-five to thirty-five-year-olds at San Juan, Puerto Rico.

Youngsters Learn And Live Democracy.

More than 100 young people coming into adult political responsibility have just had the experience of learning and living democracy in a unique community set-up in Riverdale. They were the students at the 15th annual Encampment for Citizenship sponsored by the American Ethical Union at the Fieldston School on Manhattan College Pkwy. and Fieldston Rd. They were eighteen to twenty-three-year-olds of all colors and creeds who come from colleges, farm and factory, from a variety of social, cultural and regional backgrounds and from many nations. For six weeks they were engaged in a concentrated program on the meaning of democracy, its history, methods and ideological challenges farm and rural problems, civil rights, intergroup relations, desegregation, the American economy and how it works; labor and management relations, the role of America in the world community and its foreign policy. To clarify the meaning of democracy and develop informed, responsible citizens is the purpose of the encampment. It was founded by Algernon D. Black, Ethical Society leader and head of the ethics department at the Fieldston School, who says, "Youth is wide open and tends to simplify. Today youth is kept too young too long."

The eight faculty members, authorities in their fields, lectured to the entire student body and conducted small discussion groups, workshops and study trips in related fields. The tuition is about $350 for the program, but about two-thirds of the students were on scholarships. The encampment is supported by private donations, foundation grants and by civic, labor, farm, religious, inter-faith and inter-racial groups. Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt is honorary chairman of a board of national sponsors including educators, clergymen, labor, social and civic leaders. Each year Mrs. Roosevelt entertains the encampment at a picnic at Hyde Park. Round-the-clock integration is the keynote of the yearly program as the young people, after establishing their own system of self-government, work, study, live and play together. On Aug. 5, the 1960 campers become alumni. Many of their 1,400 predecessors have become community leaders in all fields. Mr. Black reports that 95 per cent of the alumni register and vote.

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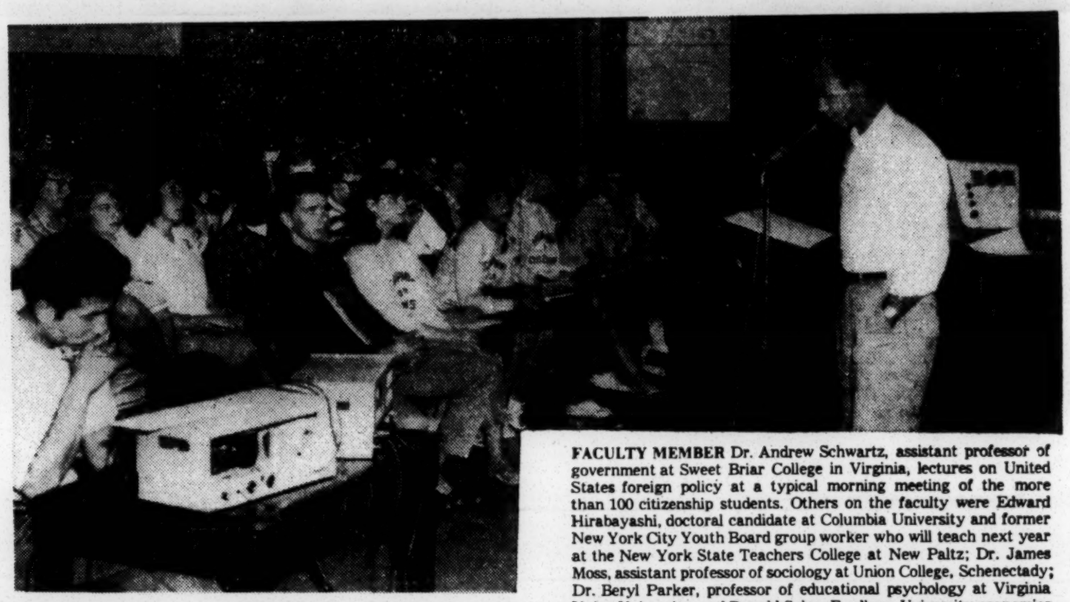
CLASSROOMS at Riverdale's Fieldston School were converted into bedrooms for the six-week Citizenship Encampment, and bunk beds replaced desks and chairs. Demonstrating the housekeeping phase of citizenship responsibility is Ervin Staub, a student from the University of Minnesota. Both boys' and girls' dormitory rooms represented a cross section of the encampment population with Negro and white students and those from different national and economic backgrounds learning to live together.



FACULTY MEMBER Dr. Andrew Schwartz, assistant professor of government at Sweet Briar College in Virginia, lectures on United States foreign policy at a typical morning meeting of the more than 100 citizenship students. Others on the faculty were Edward Hirabayashi, doctoral candidate at Columbia University and former New York City Youth Board group worker who will teach next year at the New York State Teachers College at New Paltz; Dr. James Moss, assistant professor of sociology at Union College, Schenectady; Dr. Beryl Parker, professor of educational psychology at Virginia Union University, and Donald Solar, Fordham University economics instructor.

ISLANDERS meet over extra-curricular project at the Citizenship Encampment. Lynne Whitman, sophomore at the University of Arizona, is from Great Neck, L. I., and Stirling Walkes, freshman at the University of Manitoba, Canada, is from Barbados, British West Indies. The encampment young people got to know each other quickly. Lynne said, "We've all been good friends since two days after it opened."

FIELD TRIPS in New York City supplemented Citizenship Encampment studies in social, economic and foreign relations as well as in the arts. Discussing a proposed trip with Saal D. Lesser, executive director of the encampment, are Sanne Spetter (left) of Riverdale, who will be a senior at the Fieldston School in the fall and is the daughter of Dr. Matthew Ies Spetter, leader of the Riverdale-Yonkers Ethical Society, and Karen Eisenberg, who will enter Antioch College in Ohio in the fall and is the daughter of Mrs. Raymond House of 143 Douglas Ave. Mr. Lesser is responsible for the year-round administration of encampment offices in New York, San Francisco and Los Angeles, Calif., and Chicago, Ill.

NOTE TAKING for further discussion occupies two Citizenship Encampment students outside the Fieldston School lecture hall. Perched on the railing is Cette Curwood, a student at the University of New Hampshire. Her mother is Dr. Sarah Curwood, a member of the encampment faculty, assistant professor of child development and sociology at Antioch College in Ohio and director of its nursery school. In the doorway is Rose Scott of Cleveland, Ohio, where she works and acts at Karamu House, a community center playhouse.

July 26, 1960

The Council on Human Relations
281 The Arcade
Cleveland 14, Ohio

Gentlemen:

I am enclosing a check for $1.15. Please send me one copy of the Resource Handbook in Human Relations.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field
Activities

PMR/sm
Encl.

DEPARTMENT OF ARCHIVES

August 10, 1960

Mr. Francis A. Henson
Director of Education
Great Lakes Territory
International Association of Machinists
1336 National City Bank Building
Cleveland 14, Ohio

Dear Francis:

Thank you very much for your thoughtful follow-up to our conversations in Lexington and for the kind comments in your letters to your colleagues.

I certainly will follow-up on these suggestions if I do not hear from these men first. I hope to see you again in the near future. You are, as of now, on our mailing list.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm

Misc

The Arizona Republic, Phoenix, Arizona
Sunday, August 28, 1960
Profession Finder

Careers, Inc., Vocational Youth Aid, Seeks Workers

By ROBERT B. CHOATE Jr.

One of the great advantages of living in America is the relative freedom with which one may choose his niche in life. The doctor's son may become a poet, the ditch-digger's daughter a nurse. One is fairly free (by laws at least) to select the economic and challenge level that one prefers. Hard work is the main key to admission.

A non-profit organization by the name of Careers, Inc. has set itself the task of keeping this freedom. Privately run and financed, it seeks to take the most capable youth from difficult circumstances, and to raise the motivations and ambitions of this youth to a point where he or she can have a chance of succeeding in a career or profession.

THERE ARE shortages in most technical fields today. There is an unmet demand for qualified secretaries and nurses, for engineers and draftsmen, for technicians and laboratory workers. At the same time there are many intelligent children in Phoenix that are being overlooked as a source of talent while their plans reflect the earnestness with which they would try to raise their standards.

Careers, Inc. works with the intelligent child, whose family, neighborhood, economics, or background seem to limit his future, in an effort to see that he achieves the level of work in our society that is commensurate with his intelligence. The child needs an "uncle" to help him break out of his confining shell, and this relationship is one of the goals of Careers, Inc.

STARTING cautiously last year, Careers, Inc. selected a pilot group of seventh and eighth graders from some of Phoenix's downtown schools. They were organized into "Career Clubs" and met every two weeks to hear an informal talk on a profession or a career.

Dentistry, medicine, engineering, architecture, physics, chemistry, laboratory work, research, surveying, nursing, and many other types of technical work were scheduled for small "bull session" meetings right after school. Working with the schools involved, these Career Clubs were an adjunct to school counseling and did the specialized job that a public agency could not.

Every fifth week field trips were taken to hospitals, factories, laboratories, or places of vocational interest to show what career employment meant, what working conditions existed, and who did what. Men were talked to at their desk or machine, so firsthand knowledge was obtained.

CONTESTS were held to keep the atmosphere stimulating. Last spring a dinner at Green Gables, special tour through the Art Museum, and a free trip to the Ice Capades rewarded the most eager students. These events expanded and raised the aspiration level of the children involved for such events were not part of their normal living.

The 80-odd students who were given this lift last year will make up a good share of the 150 students who will be in the 1960-61 Career, Inc. program. (Two hundred students have applied.) It is planned to add a grade - a - year to follow these children into college or specialized training.

From the start many individuals worked hard at organizing the program. Delta Sigma Theta sorority, the Urban League, and several Spanish speaking groups gave wise advice and help from the inception. But now the task is so large as to require the help of all professionals and civic organizations in the city.

CAREERS, INC. forsees helping 400 to 500 students as its eventual goal. This would produce yearly approximately 75 more talented youngsters to enter the career and professional pool. Career, Inc. wants to help those that need it; it does not want to become the vocational baby - sitter of the lazy parent.

However, the lessons it learns as time progresses will be made available in booklet form so all parents can learn the rudiments of vocationally boosting their children here in Phoenix.

Can you help in a small or a major way? "Yes!" is the shout of Careers, Inc's 12-member board of directors which for reference, includes honorary chairman Governor Fannin, Engineer Cecil Pine, Dentist John Kelly, School Principal Sidney Anderson, Teacher Gussie Edwards, as well as Dr. Lewis Albee, Orville Buchanan, Eugene Marin, Elias Schlossberg, Neil Sherman, Harold Tarr, Eldridge Gonway Jr., and Robert Choate.

LAY PEOPLE as well as professionals are definitely being sought out. The need for career-minded adults, who will devote as much as two days a week or as little as two afternoons per year, is critical. There are talks to be given, tours to be conducted, letters to be written, contests to be managed, mailings to be made, contributions to be secured, and careerists to be interviewed.

Because it is nonprofit and new, Careers, Inc. needs many volunteers now from 16 to 80. It also needs donations for scholarships and incidental expenses.

Arizonans, who would like to co-operate with Careers, Inc. in its objective of helping intelligent youngsters climb the ladder toward success, are urged to contact Cecil Pine or Robert Choate through P.O. Box 23-6, Phoenix, or WHitney 5-1235 or WHitney 6-0295. A brochure is available that describes the objectives of this very American, privately administered educational program.

c/o National Student's Association
3457 Chestnut Street
Philadelphia 4, Pennsylvania
September 19, 1960

Paul Rilling, Dir. of Field Work
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

As a graduate student in anthropology at the University of Chicago, I have become interested in the formation of the sit-in committees, and am trying to collect histories of the various groups. Of course the best such information comes from the participants themselves, but inasmuch as it is impossible to talk to everybody who was involved in the formation of such groups, I am looking for a collection of such information, discussing the beginning of the committees, the recruitment of members, development and control of leadership, etc.

I have been told that some rudimentary records of the histories of local groups have been sent into the Southern Regional Council. If there are such, I would very much like to see them when I arrive in Atlanta, probably on September 22ond or 23rd. I realize that the concern of the various historians differs from mine, but they still may be valuable. When I arrive in the city, I will contact you; and if they do exist, would like to come to see them.

Thank you very much,

Vivian Scott

Vivian Scott

September 23, 1960

Manager
Prince Conti Motor Court
Conti Street
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Sir:

Would you please reserve a single room next Wednesday and Thursday nights (September 28 and 29) for Paul Rilling. Mr. Rilling will not arrive until evening, but we will guarantee his reservation.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Timothy Miller
secretary to Paul Rilling

September 23, 1960

Via Air Mail
Special Delivery

The Rev. James M. Wall
604 Colfax Street
Elmhurst, Illinois

Dear Mr. Wall:

At Harold Fleming's request, I am sending you the enclosed information concerning the recent ordeal of the Rev. Robert Hughes, Executive Director of the Alabama Council on Human Relations. If you need any additional information, I hope you will free to call me Monday.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm

Misc

Careers, Inc.

A non-profit educational enterprise

P. O. BOX 2326

PHOENIX, ARIZONA

Sept. 25, 1960

Mr. James McBride Dabbs
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

I think it is time we became acquainted. I have been reading your publications for some time and wish to be put on your mailing lists with the following address:

5525 N. Quail Pl.
Scottsdale, Arizona

The enclosed literature will briefly describe what CAREERS, INC. is. We deal with "overlooked" talent. In the majority of cities of the United States this would include many Negroes and Spanish-speaking people. It certainly does here.

Our program takes the white, the Indian, the Negro, the Spanish-speaking, and tries to show the most talented of their students from the 7th grade and above that there really IS a way to get into top careers and professions.

We hold talks, field trips, culture trips, bull sessions, library sessions, movie trips, contests, etc.;-in an infinite number of methods and ways, we try to show the talented child how to make maximum use of his talents to achieve a career comensurate with his intelligence.

One of the most delightful aspects of this work is the growth shown on the part of adult professionals when they finally realize the gap between them and some of their fellow citizens. We also supply scholarships and other forms of financial aid.

Apparently we have come far enough now so that Kiwanians and others will work with us. The future looks bright!

Many feel that we are missing a bet by not telling our story to dozens of communities throughout the entire USA, north and south. I am particularly interested in the possibility of setting up a similar program in those cities of the south that are far enough along to understand the importance of what we are trying to achieve. We hope to always be interracial, but would not balk at a city's requiring us to have only 20% of a certain minority.

I am sure you are far ahead of me already. May I ask you to review this literature and give us your thoughts on the possibility of such a program starting (with local funds and local directors) in the cities in which you are most involved?

Thank you.

Robert B Choate Jr

Robert B. Choate, Jr.
Executive Secretary

cc/C-OC
OSP

"Through knowledge, not out of ignorance"

September 26, 1960

Via Air Mail

The Rev. Ben Sissel
Board of Christian Education
United Presbyterian Church
830 Witherspoon Building
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Ben:

Jean Russell tells me that it might be possible for the United Presbyterians to make some contribution toward legal costs recently incurred during Bob Hughes' ordeal in Birmingham. The total fees and costs came to $7,000, so we are facing somewhat of a problem.

I am enclosing a memorandum which will give all the relevant facts about the situation. Let me know if you need any additional information.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm
Enc.

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3 WEST 61ST STREET • NEW YORK 23, N.Y. • CIRCLE 5-7840

September 27, 1960

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Att.: Mrs. Timothy Miller

Dear Mrs. Miller:-

Thank you for your letter of September 20.

We would like to begin by saying that a map of the Southeast Quarter of the United States does not exist in color. Such a map could be supplied by making up a special map for you. #6136 would have to be photographed on a different kind of paper stock and hand-colored in Marshall Oils, with the States set off in contrasting colors. The charge for such a special map, mounted on map pin board with taped edges, and treated with a wipeable surface, would be $99.50, f.o.b. New York City.

Very truly yours,

AMERICAN MAP CO., INC.

L. M. Andrews, Jr.

aek

TOGETHER
FOR METHODIST FAMILIES

CHRISTIAN ADVOCATE
FOR METHODIST LEADERS

740 NORTH RUSH STREET, CHICAGO 11, ILLINOIS, MICHIGAN 2-6431

LELAND D. CASE, Editorial Director
WARREN P. CLARK, Business Manager

September 29, 1960

Mr. Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council, Inc. - Room 201
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Rilling:

Thank you very much for your letter of September 23 containing the chronological events leading up to Mr. Robert Hughes' transfer to the Southern Rhodesia Conference.

This has been very helpful to us in preparing our news story for our October 13th issue. It has also been helpful in the preparation of an editorial which appears in the October 27th issue. We recognize that this is a difficult situation at best for those of you who directly involved. You may be sure that our concern is to report the news as accurately as possible and as helpfully as possible to our constituency.

Thank you again for your prompt handling and detailed reporting of this matter.

Sincerely,

James M. Wall

James M. Wall
Managing Editor
CHRISTIAN ADVOCATE

JMW/co

cc: Dr. Harold Fleming

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Robert Delson
General Counsel

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American Committee on Africa

801 SECOND AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, NEW YORK • MU 6-7263

George M. Houser
Executive Director

Homer A. Jack
C. Sumner Stone, Jr.
Associate Executive Directors

October 6, 1960

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Enclosed is a kind of background release and pictures of Alan Paton. I'm sending three for the Journal, Constitution, and the World. If you need more, give a yell.

give to John

As things stand now, Mr. Paton is scheduled to arrive in Atlanta on Thursday, October 13th at 1:02 pm by plane. According to a carbon copy of a letter to him from Bill Kitchen, he will be met by Mr. Leon Marion, the World University Service Secretary, who will drive him to Dr. Benjamin Mays at Morehouse College.

I guess he will then come under your jurisdiction for that evening's meeting. Mr. Paton is scheduled to leave Atlanta the next day for Washington, D.C., but the exact time of departure has not yet been worked out.

Again, let me say how much I personally appreciate the tremendous service you performed in this situation under constantly shifting odds (worse than the World Series). I hope we get a chance to meet soon. And if you run into any problems, call me.

Cordially,

Chuck Stone

C. Sumner Stone, Jr.
Associate Director

CSS:lds

enc

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F 1

October 10, 1960

Sheraton-Park Hotel
2660 Woodley Road, N.W.
Washington 8, D. C.

Dear Sir:

Enclosed you will find the payment for the accommodations of Mr. Paul Rilling on April 24, 1960. Mr. Rilling was a guest of the National Student Association at our conference at that time, and we were to cover his expenses.

For some reason, the bill has been sent to Mr. Rilling rather than to us, and this accounts for the delay in payment.

We do apologize for the delay and thank you for your patience. (and persistence)

Sincerely,

Constance Curry
Southern Office, USNSA

here, darling, now please
don't resign or bomb me.
cwc

Park authorities have to
I have your advice choate,
I can give but do, Mr.
Sincerely

Copy

PR ✓
PA

Mr. Robert B. Choate, Jr., Ex. Secretary
Careers, Inc.
5525 N. Quail Place, Scottsdale, Arizona

Oct. 16, 1960

Dear Mr. Choate:

Your letter of Sept. 25 was forwarded to me from our Atlanta office.

I am asking our executive assistant to put your name, with the address above, on our mailing list.

I shall also ask him, together with our director of state affairs, who travels more widely in the South than any other member of the staff, to comment upon your question about the possibility of establishing programs of Careers, Inc. in Southern Cities at the present time.

I don't know enough about the matter #### to be more than simply doubtful. The South is so concerned at present about the desegregation problem that it might be hard to focus interest upon your particular concern. On the other hand, the increased interest in education may make people, especially in the large Southern cities, susceptible to the appeal of your organization.

I have read the pamphlets you enclosed, and am interested in what you are trying to do. But I know too little to offer you any very worth-while advice. Perhaps our staff can be of more help.

Sincerely,

J. M. Dabbs,
President.

EPISCOPAL MINISTRY AT M.I.T.
317 MEMORIAL DRIVE, CAMBRIDGE 39, MASSACHUSETTS

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DR. HOWARD MEANS
THE REV. MYRON B. BLOY, JR.
CHAPLAIN

October 18, 1960

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs-

The Protestant Ministry at M.I.T. is sponsoring a "Seminar on Racial Justice" which has a threefold purpose: 1. To read and discuss the best current literature on the subject; 2. To hear lectures by persons who are leaders in the the cause of racial justice; 3. To act in behalf of racial justice, both in our local situation and in national terms. I am writing you, first of all, because I would like to obtain 25 copies of your special report on the sit-ins which you put out last spring and any subsequent reports which would help us to understand the situation a little better. I would appreciate receiving this material by October 29th, the date of our next meeting, and will, of course, pay whatever cost is involved. Secondly, I would appreciate any suggestions from you either in terms of the literature we should read, the persons wh should listen to, or the kinds of actions in wh ich we could be most helpful to the cause of racial justice.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

Myron B. Bloy, Jr.

The Rev. Myron B. Bloy, Jr.
For the Protestant Ministry
at M.I.T.

10 copies
School Desegr. last 6 yrs
25 sit-in reports
15 ea Price & Morehead.

October 21, 1960

The Rev. Myron B. Bloy, Jr.
Episcopal Ministry at M.I.T.
317 Memorial Drive
Cambridge 39, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. Bloy:

We are sending you under separate cover the material you requested on the student protest movement, plus several other samples of our publications which we think might be helpful. The pamphlet, "School Desegregation: the first six years," contains a bibliography of suggested readings in this field.

In answering your request about speakers in this field, I will simply list a few of those that come most readily to mind. I purposely list only Southerners in this connection, for I presume you will know those in other sections of the country.

The Rev. Will Campbell, Southern staff member in the field of social action, National Council of Churches (Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, P. O. Box 1083, Nashville, Tennessee). Will travels throughout the South working with protestant ministers on concerns of human relations. He is one of the most knowledgeable Southerners from the standpoint of interpretation of the total scene and the role of the church.

The Rev. Cornelius Tarplee, Associate Executive Secretary, Division of Christian Citizenship, National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church, P. O. Box 853, Lynchburg, Virginia. You probably already know Mr. Tarplee as an able speaker and analyst of Southern tensions.

The Rev. Hubert Beckwith a regional moderator of the United Church of Christ and former president of the Virginia Council on Human Relations(Congregational Christian Church of Fairfax County, P. O. Box 186, Annandale, Virginia). Mr. Beckwith has played a key role in local and state developments in Virginia.

Father Albert Foley, Jesuit priest and sociologist at Spring Hill College, Mobile, Alabama, the only desegregated college in Alabama. Father Foley is president of the Alabama Council on Human Relations. He has been active both in the field of research and action projects to eliminate desegregation.

The Rev. Dr. James Glasse, Vanderbilt Divinity School professor and president of the Tennessee Council on Human Relations. Extremely active in the Nashville crisis last spring and one of the faculty members who originally resigned in protest against the expulsion of the Rev. James Lawson, Negro protest leader.

The Rev. Wyatt T. Walker, Negro Baptist minister, new executive director of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (the Martin Luther King group). Walker was formerly minister in Petersburg, Virginia, where he was an active leader in the fight against discrimination, locally and state-wide.

The Rev. Virgil Wood (Diamond Hill Baptist Church, 1415 Grace Street, Lynchburg, Virginia), Negro minister who is or has been chairman of the local NAACP and the local Council on Human Relations. He has also served as a member of the Mayor's biracial committee.

In addition to the above ministers, I would highly recommend any of the following:

Art Levin, regional director of the Anti-Defamation League, (41 Exchange Place, S.E., Atlanta), knowledgeable concerning developments throughout the South, particularly well informed on the activities of such groups as the Ku Klux Klan and White Citizens' Councils.

Mrs. Ruby Hurley, Southeastern Regional Director of the NAACP (859½ Hunter Street, N. W., Atlanta), competent, able and courageous, a major factor in the cooling off of the recent Jacksonville crisis.

Marion Wright, retired attorney, vice-president and former president of the Southern Regional Council. Mr. Wright is an extremely able lecturer, informed on all phases of the racial problem in the South. (Top Knot, Linville Falls, North Carolina).

Dr. Herman Long, professor and minister, Chairman of the Department of Race Relations at Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee. One of the top men from the academic side of the field.

Dr. Lewis Killian, professor of Sociology at Florida State University, one of the top research men in the field. Has done negotiating and trouble shooting in this field.

I trust this information will be of help to you. Please let us know if there is anything else we can do.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm

October 25, 1960

Miss Terry Friedman, Culture Chairman
% Director of Activities
Wright Junior College
3400 North Austin Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Miss Friedman:

I am afraid that we cannot be of much help to you in furnishing speakers to your campus on the subject of the sit-in movement. Our work is limited to the South, and it is extremely rare when one of our staff people finds himself in the Chicago area.

I am taking the liberty of turning your letter over to Miss Connie Curry of the Southern Students Human Relations Project of the National Student Association. I feel that she will know of student leaders who could help keep you up to date on the movement.

I am sending you under separate cover some of the materials we have on the sit-in movement. I trust they will be of interest to your committee. If we can be of additional help, please let us know.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm

PRELIMINARY PROGRAM
CONSULTATION ON CHURCH RELATED SCHOOLS AND INTEGRATION
Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia
October 25-27, 1960

October 25

Evening - Worship - Dr. Samuel Williams, Morehouse College
Music - Dr. W. L. James, Morehouse College, Spelman College

A Presentation of the General Background Situation in the South
- Dr. Harold C. Fleming, Southern Regional Council

Fellowship Hour

October 26

Morning - Worship - Dr. Samuel Williams
Music - Dr. W. L. James

A Presentation of the Guy Johnson Study

A Presentation of the Findings from a Survey made by Dr. Herman Long on specific problems in the different schools, progress being made, barriers confronted, solutions tried, evaluation of these solutions, and expectations for the next five years
- Dr. Herman Long, Fisk University

Work Groups

Afternoon - Panel Discussion of the School's Responsibility Within the Larger Community

10 min.

Dr. Willa Player, Bennett College
Dr. Paul M. Rilling, Southern Regional Council
Dr. Will Campbell, Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, National Council of Churches

Report from Work Groups

Evening - Philosophical Presentation on "What Is the Function of a Christian Liberal College" - Dr. Horace M. Bond, Atlanta University

October 27

Morning - Worship - Dr. Samuel Williams
Music - Dr. W. L. James

Panel Discussion on the Policies of Boards of Higher Education

Dr. Rufus E. Clement, Chairman, Atlanta University
Dr. Woodrow A. Geier, The Methodist Church
Dr. John M. Ellison, Virginia Union University
Dr. Rabun L. Brantley, Southern Baptist Convention
Rev. J. C. Herrin, American Baptist Convention
Dr. William S. Findley, The College of the Ozarks
Dr. Samuel Williams, Morehouse College

Overall Report on Work Groups and Presentation

division of home missions

national council of the churches of christ in the u.s.a.

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, N. Y. RIVERSIDE 9-2200

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REV. WILLARD M. WICKIZER
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REV. JON I. REGIER
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

October 5, 1960

Dr. Paul M. Rilling, Field Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Rilling:

We are very glad you are coming to the Consultation on Church-related Schools and Integration to be held at Atlanta University, October 25-27, 1960.

Knowing that you are anxious to know about the program, I am enclosing a preliminary schedule. There may be a few changes as several who have been asked to assume responsibility have not yet replied.

Reservations should be sent to Mrs. E. M. Comer, President's Office, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia. The rate is $5.50 per day including meals. I am sure it will help very much to have you send in your reservation well in advance. The dormitory where we shall stay is located at 50 Chestnut Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia.

We are looking forward so much to these days of work together on this very important issue.

Very sincerely yours,

Edith E. Lowry

Edith E. Lowry
Associate Executive Secretary

International Association of Machinists

1300 CONNECTICUT AVE. WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

ADAMS 2-6309

1336 National City Bank Bldg.
Cleveland 14, Ohio

August 1, 1960

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I attach copies of letters to Larry Rogin, Duke Gritzmacher and Bill Clitheroe; I hope that you can follow up with them, if they do not write or see you in the near future.

I certainly enjoyed hearing you speak and hope that we can use you in more schools conferences, and local unions in the near future.

Keep me on your mailing list and call on me if I can ever be of service.

Ever,

Francis A. Henson (EB)

Francis A. Henson
Director of Education
Great Lakes Territory

FAH:eb

(Signed in the absence of Mr. Henson)

International Association of Machinists

1300 CONNECTICUT AVE. WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

ADAMS 2-6309

1336 National City Bank Bldg.
Cleveland 14, Ohio

August 1, 1960

Mr. Lawrence Rogin
Director of Education, AFL-CIO.
815-16th Street, N.W.
Washington, 6, D. C.

Dear Larry:

I have just returned from a week at the Kentucky School where I taught LABOR ECONOMICS AND COLLECTIVE BARGAINING TRENDS. It was a good Advanced School.

While there, I met Paul Rilling of the Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Avenue, Atlanta, Georgia.

He did one of the best jobs I have ever heard anyone do on "Civil Rights" (or the interracial situation in the south).

I urge you to try to use him more than he seems to have been used by the labor movement.

He may be in touch with you before you write to him - but do write and get acquainted.

Best wishes.

Fraternally yours,

Francis A. Henson
Director of Education
Great Lakes Territory

FAH:eb
cc-Rilling ✓

(Signed in the absence of Mr. Henson)

COPY

International Association of Machinists

1300 CONNECTICUT AVE. WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

ADAMS 2-6309

1336 National City Bank Bldg.
Cleveland 14, Ohio

August 1, 1960

Mr. Warren Gritzmacher
113 S. Blount Street
East Point, Georgia

Dear Duke:

I have just returned from the Kentucky AFL-CIO School and met there Paul Rilling of the Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Ave., Atlanta, Georgia.

He did the best job yet on "Civil Rights" (and general interracial relations in the south).

I told him about you. Do try to see him. And use him as a speaker, whenever possible.

Ever,

Francis A. Henson
Director of Education
Great Lakes Territory

FAH:eb
cc-Rilling

(Signed in the absence of Mr. Henson)

COPY

International Association of Machinists

1300 CONNECTICUT AVE. WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

ADAMS 2-6309

1336 National City Bank Bldg.
Cleveland 14, Ohio

August 1, 1960

Mr. William Clitheroe
International Association of Machinists
808 Glenn Bldg.
120 Marietta Street, N. W.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

Dear Bill:

I have just returned from the Kentucky AFL-CIO Labor School and met there Paul Rilling of the Southern Regional Council.

He did the best job yet on "Civil Rights" (and the general interracial situation in the south).

If you ever need a good speaker, be sure to use him.

In the meanwhile, give him a ring and have lunch with him sometime. I told him about you and your work.

See you in St. Louis.

Ever,

Francis A. Henson
Director of Education
Great Lakes Territory

FAH:eb
cc-Rilling

(Signed in the absence of Mr. Henson)

P.S. Also met Ray Andrus, COPE, formerly from Texas. He sends greetings.

COPY

division of home missions

national council of the churches of christ in the u.s.a.

475 riverside drive, new york 27, n. y. riverside 9-2200

rev. edwin t. dahlberg, president rev. roy g. ross, general secretary

rev. willard m. wickizer
chairman
rev. jon i. regier
executive secretary

May 9, 1960

Dr. Paul M. Rilling, Field Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Rilling:

Just a note to thank you for your letter.

We are delighted that you can accept our invitation to serve as a panel member on the discussion of the school's responsibility within the larger community. Of course we hope you can be with us throughout the consultation, too.

When the program is worked out in detail I will send it to you but I wanted to let you know how much we appreciate your acceptance at this time.

Very sincerely yours,

Edith E. Lowry
Edith E. Lowry
Associate Executive Secretary

EEL/sak

division of home missions

national council of the churches of christ in the u.s.a.

475 Riverside Drive, New York 27, N. Y. Riverside 9-2200

Rev. Edwin T. Dahlberg, President Rev. Roy G. Ross, General Secretary

Rev. Willard M. Wickizer
Chairman
Rev. Jon I. Regier
Executive Secretary

April 27, 1960

Dr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Rilling:

The Division of Home Missions of the National Council of Churches through its Committee on Home Mission Institutions is planning a consultation of leaders from church-related schools in the Southeast to consider the role of church-related schools in integration.

In 1956 the first such consultation was held and those who participated from the different schools appreciated the opportunity to come together. In response to an inquiry from many of these schools they feel the need for a similar meeting again. Therefore, from October 25 to 27, 1960 a second consultation will be held at Atlanta University in Atlanta, Georgia.

The Program Committee of which Dr. Herman Long of Fisk University is Chairman has outlined the program briefly. This is it:

The evening of October 25 - worship; a presentation of the general background situation in the South; followed by a fellowship hour.

The morning of the 26th - a presentation of the Guy Johnson Study and a presentation of the findings from a survey made by Dr. Herman Long on specific problems in the different schools, progress being made, barriers confronted, solutions tried, evaluation of these solutions, and expectations for the next five years.

The afternoon of the 26th there would be a panel discussion of the school's responsibility within the larger community followed by a report from work groups which would have met for the first time in the morning following Dr. Long's presentation.

The evening session would have a philosophical presentation on "What Is the Function of a Christian Liberal College."

On the morning of the 27th following worship there would be a panel discussion on the policies of Boards of Higher Education and recommendations from the work groups.

The Program Committee is very anxious to have you serve as a member of the panel discussion of the school's responsibility within the larger community. We hope very much that it will be possible for you to render this service.

Very sincerely yours,

Edith E. Lowry

Edith E. Lowry
Associate Executive Secretary

EEL/sak

John Dent
in Tuscaloosa 10/3/6

124 N. 2nd St.
Easton, Penna.
November 1, 1960

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

We, the members of the Middle Atlantic Federation of Temple Youth, are deeply interested in furthering civil rights and civil liberties. We would therefore request that you send us information in these fields with which we can develop a program to further these fields.

Thank You for your kind co-operation and consideration in this matter.

Respectfully,

Jonathan T. Reibman

Jonathan T. Reibman
Northern Vice-President
Middle Atlantic Federation
of Temple Youth

November 7, 1960

Mr. Al Chernin
National Community Relations Advisory Council
% Statler Hilton Hotel
Detroit, Michigan

Dear Mr. Chernin:

I am sending the enclosed L-Report at the request of Mr. Fred Baker. He asked that I tell you that our last reports on the sit-ins were in April and May, and he felt that this must be what you were referring to.

If we can be of additional help, I hope you will let us know.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Timothy Miller

Enc.

RECEIVED NOV 12 1960

SM
please handle
PR

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

southern student
human relations project

To : Paul Rilling

Date: Nov. 8,

From : Constance

Subj : work for Paul

I take great pleasure in forwarding this letter to you, for your attention or anyone who works in this area.

I work with students —

Love —

C.WC.

P.S. Only adults talk about "relevant and practical avenues of investigation" and "concrete goals."

Washington College
Chestertown, Md.

November 3, 1960

Gentlemen:

We have recently formed a small community study group as part of the activities of the local chapter of the American Association of University Women. Our little group is undertaking to gather data and formulate analyses which could facilitate the eventual peaceful integration of this Southern community.

We feel our lack of experience in this particular area and would much appreciate whatever advice and assistance you could supply along the following lines:

1. What are the most relevant and practical avenues of investigation?

2. What might be the concrete goals that we could set before our members?

3. What other organizations or agencies (social, religious, etc.) might be able to furnish literature or other forms of guidance?

We thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely,
Evelyn Rubin
Mrs. Evelyn Rubin
Washington College
Chestertown, Md.

NOV 9 1960

PR

ELECTION CALENDAR - 1960

April 19 - Louisiana, general election state officers

May 3 - Alabama, primary
Florida, primary

May 7 - Texas, primary

May 24 - Florida, run off if needed

Florida, presidential primary

Kentucky, primary

May 28 - North Carolina, primary

May 31 - Alabama, run off if needed

June 4 - Texas, run off if needed

June 14 - South Carolina, primary

June 25 - North Carolina, run off if needed

June 28 - South Carolina, run off if needed

July 5 - Oklahoma, primary

July 11 - Democratic national convention

July 12 - Virginia, primary

July 25 - Republican national convention

July 26 - Arkansas, primary

Oklahoma, run off if needed

August 4 - Tennessee, primary

August 9 - Arkansas, run off if needed

August 16 -Virginia, run off, if needed

August 23 - Mississippi, primary

August 27 - Louisiana, primary for Congressmen

Sept. 13 - Mississippi, run off if needed

Sept. 14 - Georgia, primary

Oct. 1 - Louisiana, run off if needed

Oct. 5 - Georgia, run off if needed

Nov. 8 - Presidential election and general election; all officers except state officers in Louisiana

November 9, 1960

Mr. Jonathan T. Reibman
Northern Vice-President
Middle Atlantic Federation of Temple Youth
124 North 2nd Street
Easton, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Reibman:

We sent you earlier in the week some of our materials which we thought might be useful to your group ~~in~~ for information and program planning. We hope these will answer some of your questions.

If we can be of additional help to you or your group, we hope you will call on us.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm

November 10, 1960

Mr. Robert Choate, Jr.
Executive Secretary
Careers, Inc.
P. O. Box 2326
Phoenix, Arizona

Dear Mr. Choate:

Our president, Mr. Dabbs, asked us to give consideration to the matters you raised in your letter to him September 25.

We are quite interested in the possibility of Careers, Inc. doing some program work in the South. As you know, there are rather pressing problems here concerning the lack of use of the talents of minority groups, the Spanish speaking in the southwest and the Negro throughout the South. Because your program deals with the total program of the use of talent and does so without regard to race or creed, it would be particularly applicable to the South.

The problem is, of course, that practically any effort which deals with minority group talent even as part of a broad effort, tends to be controversial and difficult at this time in the South.

I hope that you will further explore the possibility of setting up programs in certain Southern cities and we will be happy to work with you in providing some contacts in Southern communities. I believe that Tennessee, Kentucky, North Carolina would be particularly receptive to the program of Careers, Inc. The Miami area in Florida and the western portion of Texas around San Antonio and Galveston might also be receptive areas. Further South, it would be much more difficult, but we would be happy to work with you to explore the Atlanta situation. It is sometimes possible to accomplish more than we anticipate if we only try.

Perhaps it would be useful for you or one of your staff members to visit us here and also to check with contacts in two or

three Southern communities. At any rate, we are anxious to cooperate with you in any further step you may take toward a Southern program.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm

Bc - Mr. Dobbs.

American Friends Service Committee

Southeastern Regional Office

1818 S. Main St. High Point, N. C.

NATIONAL OFFICE
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
Henry J. Cadbury, *Chairman*
Colin W. Bell, *Executive Secretary*

TELEPHONE 2-4025

REGIONAL OFFICE
Byron A. Haworth, *Chairman*
W. Evan Cecil, *Treasurer*
Wilton E. Hartzler, *Executive Secretary*

Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Friend:

The meeting to discuss an INTERNES IN COMMUNITY SERVICE project in Atlanta will be:

10:00, Monday morning, November 14, 1960.
Conference Room
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.

The Interne Projects sponsored by the AFSC have a three fold purpose:

1. To provide interested young people with an opportuity to gain firsthand knowledge in certain areas of our economic and social order through working in established social agencies in on going programs in various sections of an urban community.

2. To provide this first hand experience in a framework of a group living together and seeking for a sound spiritual and moral approach to the problems of life and particularly those met through the work experience.

3. To provide an avenue of service to fellow men either in future careers through direct application of knowledge, experience and the approach gained in the project, or through leading a richer and fuller life as a more intelligent, informed, and spiritually motivated citizen.

The planning of a project <u>with</u> the cooperating agencies is extremely important and takes time. Every agency to which an intern is assigned must understand the nature of the program to the fullest extent to make the project successful. Students work under the supervision of the agency. It is essential that the work experience of the intern be meaningful and useful. Agencies should contribute on the average of $250 per intern for the projects budget.

Please come to this meeting with your ideas and suggestions of agencies which might take part in an ICS. We need to decide if the project is feasable for next summer, or another year.

Sincerely,

Richard Ramsay

Richard Ramsay
COLLEGE PROGRAM

RR:jm

THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

Box 271, Nyack, New York • Elmwood 8-4601 • Direct New York City line, [illegible]

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Glenn E. Smiley
FINANCE SECRETARY
Raymond Paavo Arvio
MANAGING EDITOR
William Robert Miller

November 18, 1960

Dear Friend:

The need for concerted action by the Judicial and Executive branches of the Federal Government is paramount at this time in Louisiana, particularly in New Orleans. Any continued silence from the President of the United States in this crucial area will prove fateful for the entire country. We don't want another Little Rock and the after effects that situation caused.

We here at the Fellowship of Reconciliation are vitally concerned with this issue to the point that we have considered some nonviolent direct action. Students in the New England area have already been contacted and have begun to act. At Yale University, a group of students connected with the Challenge Program have sent to President Eisenhower, Vice President Nixon and President-elect John F. Kennedy the following telegram:

> "One hundred years ago the nation lay divided because of a lack of leadership. We ask you as - - - - of the United States to use your leadership and moral force to reunite a divided nation. We call upon you personally to lead the four Negro school children in New Orleans to their classes."

As Student Secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and a member of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee of the sit-in movement, I urge you to send a similar telegram signed by as many persons and organizations as possible in the limited time available, to these three persons of public, national leadership.

Sincerely yours,

Charles Jones
Student Secretary

CJ/g

MENNONITE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

AGENCY FOR RELIEF AND OTHER CHRISTIAN SERVICES

TELEPHONE EPHRATA REpublic 3-4915 • CABLE ADDRESS MENCENCOM

ORGANIZED 1920
INCORPORATED 1937

AKRON, PENNSYLVANIA

November 23, 1960

Mr. Paul M. Rilling
Field Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Rilling:

Last spring Mr. Dwight Wiebe, who recently terminated his services with our organization, was in correspondence with you regarding ways in which we might help in the race problems in the South. He also corresponded with Miss Rosella Hill of the Burnsville Educational Project, with whom I am also renewing correspondence now.

Mr. Wiebe indicated that the Mennonite Central Committee would be interested in a long term project. However, I am directly concerned with our Summer Service program, in which mostly college-age young people volunteer to spend their summer vacation months working with various needs in the spirit of Christian service. Enclosed is our 1960 brochure generally describing the program.

Would you invite discussion, without commitments from either of us at this point, about possibilities for several of these young people to serve in a summer project in an area of need? You had mentioned the critical situation in Prince Edward County. Would there be a place there or in another situation where the talents of these young people could be used, perhaps in the area of education, recreation, or health? I believe that many of our Mennonite young people are concerned about the race problem today and would be challenged to respond to this need.

I will anticipate your reply as we work together to meet needs.

Sincerely,

Ruth Ann Liechty

Ruth Ann Liechty
Summer Service

c.c. Elmer Neufeld, Peace Section

Enclosure

ENCAMPMENT FOR CITIZENSHIP
2 WEST 64th STREET, NEW YORK 23, N. Y.
TRafalgar 4-5200

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Honorary Chairman, Sponsors

Mrs. Alice K. Pollitzer
Honorary Chairman, Board of Directors

Arthur M. Bullowa
Chairman, Board of Directors

Saal D. Lesser
Executive Director

Algernon D. Black
Education Director

November 28, 1960

Dear Mr. Rilling,

In this, the sixteenth year of the Encampment for Citizenship, we are pleased to announce the development of a third unit to take place in Puerto Rico from June 25 to August 5, 1961. We are encouraging applications from young people 18 to 23 years of age for this and our other two units in New York and California.

Enclosed is our new brochure, a montage of publicity releases covering last year's Encampments and a card for your return. I hope very much that we will hear from you and that you will be able to recommend some applicants to our projects this coming year.

Sincerely yours,

Saal D. Lesser m

Saal D. Lesser

John Gunther
Honorary Chairman

Rt. Rev. James A. Pike
Vice Chairman

Rev. Donald Harrington
Chairman, Executive Board

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(partial listing)

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Rep. William B. Widnall

Robert Delson
General Counsel

347

Sent to all State directors and/or chairmen 12/1/60

cable:
AMCOMMAF

American Committee on Africa

801 SECOND AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, NEW YORK • MU 6-7263

George M. Houser
Executive Director

Homer A. Jack
Associate Executive Director

Dear Friend:

Oliver Tambo, Deputy President-General of the South African National Congress, and Vusumzi Make, a founding member of the South African Pan-Africanist Congress, are currently in America to confer with delegations of the United Nations about South Africa's policy of apartheid. They are the most important African leaders to come from South Africa to the United States in several years.

These two prominent leaders are expected to remain in the United States for at least the next six weeks as representatives of the South Africa United Front to focus world attention on South Africa's racial practices.

The American Committee on Africa is pleased to announce the availability of both men for speaking engagements. While Mr. Tambo and Mr. Make are particularly anxious to meet and talk with as many groups as possible, their primary purpose in coming to the United States is to seek support from the Afro-Asian and other sympathetic delegations to the U.N. But their desire to present the South African problem directly to the American people is an encouraging sign in the strengthening of African-American ties.

If your organization is interested in the possibility of sponsoring either Mr. Tambo and Mr. Make or both in your city, would you kindly fill out the enclosed speaker's form. We might add that the two organizations to which these two prominent leaders belong are being vigorously opposed by the South African government. The raising of operating funds has been and still is one of desperate need.

Cordially,

Chuck Stone

C. Sumner Stone, Jr.
Associate Director

CSS:mr
Enclosures

executive board: Nelson Bengston, Edward F. Gray, Maxwell Harway, Harold R. Isaacs, Joseph Jablow, Sophia Yarnall Jacobs, Elizabeth S. Landis, Stanley D. Levison, Frank C. Montero, John V. Murra, Cleveland Robinson, James H. Robinson, Bayard Rustin, William X. Scheinman, Adelaide Schulkind, Hugh H. Smythe, Hope R. Stevens, Peter Weiss.

Biographical Data on Oliver Tambo and Vusumzi Make,
representatives of the South African United Front

prepared by the American Committee
on Africa, 801 Second Ave. N.Y.17,N.Y.

OLIVER R. TAMBO - lawyer, 42 years old; born Pondoland, Transkei, South Africa; home, Johannesburg. One of the founders of the African National Congress Youth League. In 1955, was appointed secretary-general of the African National Congress and in 1958, elected Deputy to the President-General, Chief Albert J. Luthuli. Was arrested in 1956 and was one of the accused in the "treason" trials. In 1959, was banned from attending all gatherings for 5 years. Left South Africa a week after the Sharpeville riots in March and is now a member of the South African United Front formed by exiled leaders. Currently working in the London office.

VUSUMZI LINDA MAKE - studied law, 29 years old; born in Johannesburg. Law studies at the University of South Africa were interrupted in 1954 when he became chairman of the Evaton Peoples' Transport Council which led an 18-month bus boycott and resulted in victory for the people of Evaton. As a result of this campaign, was arrested several times on a multiplicity of charges. Was deported in January 1959, but escaped in May 1959, taking political refuge in Ethiopia. Was one of the founding members of the Pan-Africanist Congress and is now director of the Cairo office of the South Africa United Front.

Speakers Bureau

AMERICAN COMMITTEE ON AFRICA

801 Second Ave., New York 17, N. Y.

Request for Oliver Tambo and/or Vusumzi Make

1. Organization _____

2. Address _____ City _____ State _____

3. Date of speech _____

   Alternate dates _____

4. Hour of speech (morning, afternoon, evening) _____

5. Length of speech _____ Questions following? _____

6. Speaker(s) desired _____

7. Topic (for example: An Alternative to Disaster in South Africa; What Americans Can Do About South Africa; South Africa: An Experiment in Racism; South Africa, the U.S., and the U.N.; South Africa and Apartheid; The Fight for Freedom in South Africa. _____

8. Expected size of audience _____

9. Expenses and honorariums. Traveling expenses must be paid to all speakers. In the case of these two speakers, we are asking a minimum honorarium of $100 per talk which goes directly to the South African Defense and Aid Fund. Depending upon location and group, however, this fee may be adjusted. One easy method of guaranteeing a larger honorarium is to interest several groups in co-sponsorship so that a trip to a particular city results in two or three talks with fees of varying size. Would you indicate your organization's possible honorarium? _____

10. Meeting place for speech _____

    Address _____ City _____ State _____

Signed _____

Position _____

Organization _____

Address _____

Telephone _____

Please return this form to the Speakers Bureau, AMERICAN COMMITTEE ON AFRICA, 801 Second Ave., New York 17, N. Y.

(In the event your organization is unable to sponsor these two speakers during the next few weeks, would you kindly pass this form and enclosed letter to an interested organization or institution? Thank you very much.)

December 14, 1960

Mr. Corneff R. Taylor
Milwaukee Commission on Community Relations
706 City Hall
Milwaukee 2, Wisconsin

Dear Mr. Taylor:

I am replying to your letter of December 8 at Harold Fleming's request. I regret the delay in responding, but I have been spending so much time in New Orleans lately that I am running well behind in my correspondence.

The situation in New Orleans is certainly a tense and ugly one. The people there who are fighting so courageously are in an exposed and isolated position. They certainly do need encouragement from other communities and they certainly can use financial contributions. Several of the white parents have lost their jobs or have been threatened with loss of jobs. One or two of the families have had to move at least temporarily from their homes in the embattled area. Money is needed to assist these families and others who may be similarly situated in the next few weeks. Money is needed, too, to assist with the educational activities of those who are striving to awaken the city and the state to the absurdity of continued defiance of federal court orders.

Your contributions might well be channeled to Save Our Schools, a committee of white persons working to keep schools open. This is the group which was driving the white students through the boycott line until the federal marshalls took over. The SOS group is in close touch with the white parents of the children still in school. They are trying to coordinate assistance for those parents. Communications or contributions for SOS should go to Mrs. N. H. Sand, President, 1447 Granada Drive, New Orleans. They could of course be earmarked for special purposes if you prefer.

Another group that has been working for sanity in the present situation is the Committee for Public Education. CPE is less of an actionist group than SOS but has been conducting a useful and

effective educational program with power structure figures and with the general public. Both of these organizations are operating in the red at the present time. The president of the CPE group is Dr. R. C. Lancaster, Box 8192, Gentilly Station, New Orleans.

If you need any further information, I hope you will let me know.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm

PR - Please reply at my request
HCF

City of MILWAUKEE

COMMISSION ON ~~HUMAN RIGHTS~~ COMMUNITY RELATIONS
706 City Hall ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ • MILWAUKEE 2, WISCONSIN
BROADWAY 6-3711, EXT. 367-368

~~FRANK S. ZEIDLER~~
~~MRS. RICHARD KRUG~~
~~REV. FRANKLYN KENNEDY~~
~~MRS. WILLARD DOWNING~~
CORNEFF R. TAYLOR
Executive Secretary

December 8, 1960

Rush!

Mr. Harold Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Yesterday about fifteen representatives of local organizations met to explore possible ways of assisting organizations and individuals, who are leading the fight against segregationalists in New Orleans. It was agreed that before any move is made, inquiries be directed to responsible organizations for purposes of obtaining a quick evaluation of the situation, as well as suggestions as to how groups such as ours can help.

Newspapers have referred to the existence of several groups--one with a program "Save our Schools." Mention has also been made of a group that is sponsoring bus service to white children, whose parents desire to keep them in the desegregated schools. Does this group need financial assistance? If so, to whom should contributions be sent? In what other ways can groups such as ours lend support? I appreciate that you are far away but am hoping you are keeping in touch with the situation through your Director of Field Activities.

We are scheduled to meet again on December 16, and I would very much appreciate receiving such information as you can give me prior to this date.

Sincerely yours,

MILWAUKEE COMMISSION ON COMMUNITY RELATIONS

Corneff R. Taylor

Corneff R. Taylor
Secretary

CRT/eb

December 7, 1960

Mrs. Evelyn Rubin
Washington College
Chestertown, Maryland

Dear Mrs. Rubin:

Your request for information has been forwarded to this office and I am happy to send under separate cover some of our materials which might be of help to your group. I call to your attention especially the three community self-surveys, Arlington, Greenville, and Atlanta. These will give you some idea of areas for exploration and the sort of questions that need to be asked. In addition, I am enclosing some general material which might be of interest to you and your group.

As you get underway with your project, if there is additional specific information you need, or other help we might give, I trust you will let us know.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Timothy Miller
secretary to Field Director

NATIONAL STUDENT CHRISTIAN FEDERATION

The United States affiliated member of the World's Student Christian Federation and the Student Movement related to the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U. S. A.

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK • RIVERSIDE 9-2200 • CABLE: UNISTUD

December 1, 1960

Dear Friend:

In behalf of the staff and Executive Committee of the National Student Christian Federation, I want to send you this brief Christmas greeting.

Those of us who have been associated with the NSCF in this first full calendar year of its operation are very grateful to God for the opportunities and challenges that He has laid before us. In recounting the year since last Christmas, we are very happy about the Quadrennial Conference on the Christian World Mission - in the Spring, we were greatly pleased to be given an opportunity to begin work among Orthodox students for the first time in our country - we are, and have been, greatly challenged by the Student Non-Violent Movement and the opportunity that was given to us to be so deeply involved - the World Teaching Conference of the World Student Christian Federation, to which we sent a fifty-five-man delegation, has given us a new vision of the task and challenge that lies before us - at the General Committee of the WSCF, held at Thessolonica, Greece, our delegation was impressed with the world-wide opportunities for the progress of the Gospel in the student Christian movements, now found in over eighty countries, and whom we are asked to give help and encouragement.

This brief rehearsal of the year gives some indication of the dimension of the new frontiers to which our Lord is calling us. We are grateful, not only for this call, but for the support which our friends in this country have given us to make it possible for us in any way at all to respond.

We are also grateful for the financial support that has been given to us, which indeed sometimes embarrasses us, even though it seems never quite enough to permit us to do the things we want to do in the way in which we think would be best. The fact that we continue to have a deficit hanging over us is also cause for some gratefulness. It at least helps us to be mindful of making the most with what we have been given and, of course, gives us an opportunity to ask for further support for our work!

In this year of stirring challenge to students in so many parts of the world, we ask you to join us in prayer to God for his continued blessings upon the life and work of the student Christian movements in the U.S. and throughout the world.

Yours sincerely,

Herlur M. Jensen
GENERAL SECRETARY

encl.: envelope

The National Student Christian Federation is a continuing organization resulting from the unification of the Interseminary Committee, the Student Volunteer Movement, and the United Student Christian Council.

From _____

_____

_____

WORLD STUDENT CHRISTIAN FEDERATION—
NATIONAL STUDENT CHRISTIAN FEDERATION
475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE
NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

World Student Christian Federation

Through the World Student Christian Federation, Christian students in colleges and universities in over sixty countries are invited into "A More Than Human Fellowship" of evangelical concern and ecumenical responsibility.

Through your generous support the work of the World Student Christian Federation is maintained and extended. Through the work of the multiracial international staff, through publications, and international meetings, through the Program of Mutual Assistance, and the study and teaching program on the Life and Mission of the Church—the work among students is forwarded the world over.

Won't you be generous in your support?

Offering

Any contribution, large or small, is gratefully received. If your contribution is $8.00 or more, you will become a "Friend of the National Student Christian Federation—World Student Christian Federation," and will be entitled to receive the WSCF publications, *The Student World* (quarterly), *Federation News* (bi-monthly), and the National Student Christian Federation's *Communique* (seven times annually).

Amount $_____ Name _____

Movement to be credited Address _____

_____ _____

Desire publications: Yes ☐ No ☐

Kindly make checks payable to the:
World Student Christian Federation.

December 16, 1960

Miss Ruth Pirkaple
Committee on Friendly Relations with Foreign
Students
600 Lexington Avenue
~~Atlanta, Georgia~~
N.Y. NY

Dear Ruth:

We are confronted with a problem on which we would like your advice. A young Ethiopian student at Bethune-Cookman College, Mr. Assifa Fre-Heitt, is eager to pursue upperclass work in the field of international relations. He is preparing for a diplomatic career and finds that the work at Bethune-Cookman is somewhat more elementary than he had hoped. He is a personable, well trained and obviously intelligent student who would in my opinion profit from the kind of advanced training offered at some of our outstanding institutions. I am not at all sure that anything can be done about this situation. Perhaps you already know about him. Let me know if you have any ideas or if you have any institutions to recommend and where he might apply for some financial assistance. He has some personal funds, but would need some assistance.

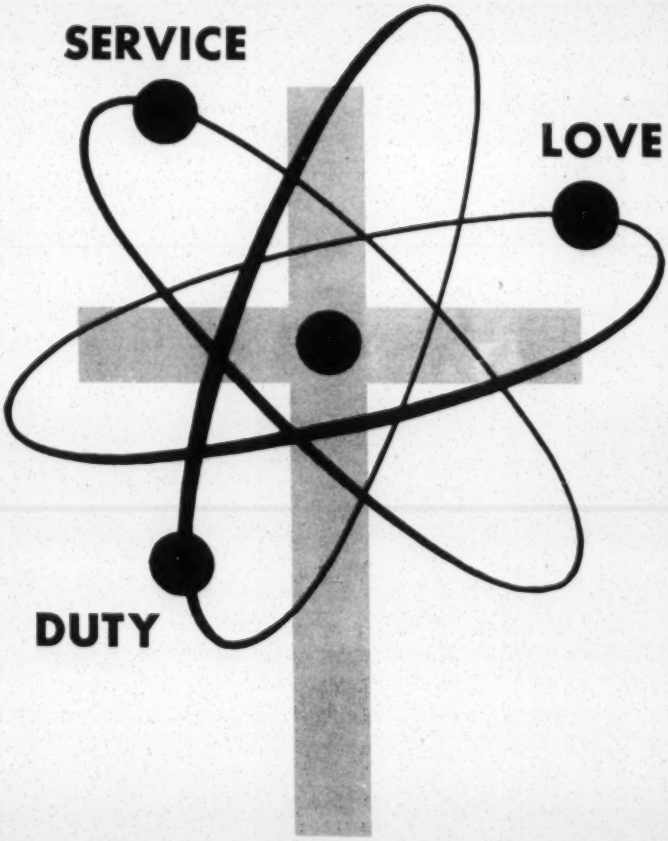
It has been a long time since I have seen you. I hope to be getting to New York some time this spring and plan to drop by your office. You will probably be travelling as you so often are. Best wishes for a happy holiday.

Sincerely,

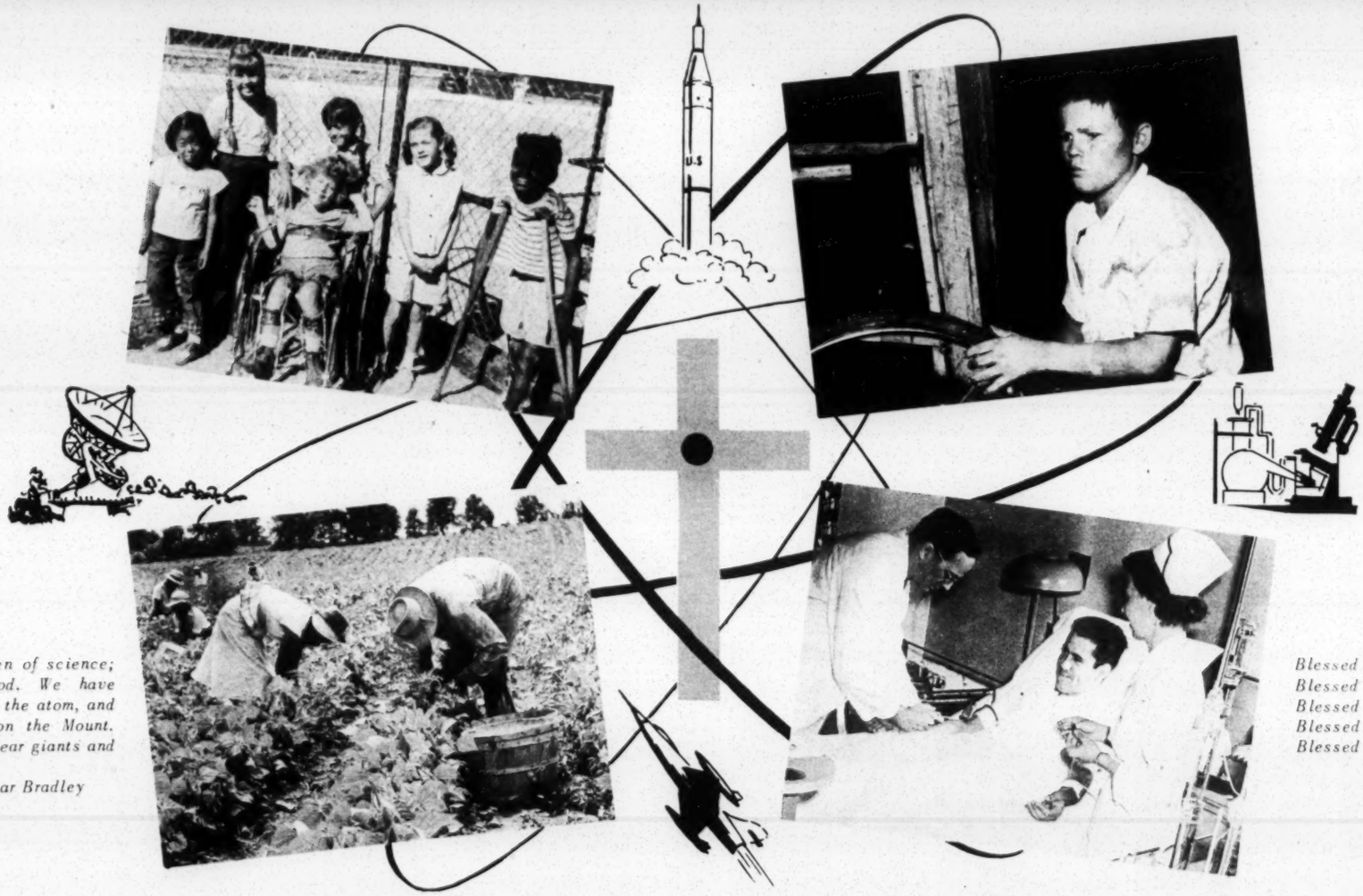
Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm

1960



SUMMER SERVICE



"We have too many men of science; too few men of God. We have grasped the mystery of the atom, and rejected the Sermon on the Mount. Ours is a world of nuclear giants and ethical infants."
General Omar Bradley

Blessed are the poor in spirit...
Blessed are the meek...
Blessed are the compassionate...
Blessed are the pure in heart...
Blessed are the peacemakers...
Sermon on the Mount

"No man is an Island unto himself; ... any man's death diminishes me, because I am involved in Mankind: and therefore never send to know for whom the bell tolls; It tolls for thee!" *John Donne*

SOCIAL PASSIVENESS IN THE FACE OF SCIENTIFIC PROGRESS

Stoop laborers in migrant camps are searching for an answer to their endless hours of toil, their status as second class citizens, the unwanted feeling expressed toward their children. Daily Vacation Bible School, first aid, and supervised recreation do much to improve their condition.

The hostile child in a correctional institution seeks to strike back at a society which can punish and prosecute but can not Love.

The mentally ill seek to escape reality from the pressures of an over demanding world. They require a bridge of understanding for rehabilitation. The Peace that passeth understanding brings new hope.

Crippled children bear the scars of a sinful society although not by any choice of their own. We cannot bear this burden for them but we can share it with them.

The plagues of today--arthritis, heart attacks, mental disturbances and cancer will be tomorrow's victories. However, normal controls are needed to prove the successful effects of modern medicines.

EFFECTIVE SERVICE

Effective service can be achieved by contributing your best for the advantage of the most. You will join other young people (18 years or older) dedicated to the task of giving themselves in an effort to help others. Christian discipleship will be the key to successful relationships between yourself and other unit members. Your reward for Summer Service will be the joy of demonstrating Christian love in unusual circumstances.

You are encouraged to give your service under the Voluntary Service financial arrangement which is $10 a month plus maintenance. Under this plan you will be in either a unit with no earning potential or one in which you would be donating your earnings above $10 to help support one of these nonpaying units. For those who find it necessary to earn during the summer there are projects with modest pay.

PROJECTS

Medical Research

NATIONAL INSTITUTES OF HEALTH, Bethesda, Maryland; 15 men and 10 women to participate in medical research. June 15-August 31.

Community Service

MIGRANT LABOR CAMPS in Hamilton and Waterville, New York; 20 workers to help in recreation, crafts and religious instruction. June 17-August 22.

Mental Health

FERGUS FALLS and HASTINGS, Minnesota, state hospitals for the mentally ill; 30 volunteers to serve as psychiatric aids. June 15-August 31.

Correctional Institutions

BROOKLAND PLANTATION, Edisto Island, South Carolina; 2 men and 2 women to participate in a correctional program with Christian emphasis. June 10-August 24.

WILTWYCK SCHOOL FOR BOYS, Esopus, New York; 4 volunteers to assist in treatment center program for emotionally disturbed boys and religious life activities. June 10-August 24.

Projects with Children

INSTITUTE OF LOGOPEDICS, Wichita, Kansas; 10 volunteers to assist in classrooms, relief duty and recreational activity helping children with speech and hearing defects. June 10-August 24.

JUNIOR VILLAGE, Washington, D.C.; a unit of 4 helping children from broken homes or abandoned by their parents. June 10-August 24.

CAMP PAIVIKA, Crestline, California; 10 camp counsellors to take part in recreation and devotional programs for crippled children. June 20-August 29.

* * * * * *

CANADIAN UNITS. Mental hospital, tuberculosis sanatoria, polio hospital and farm for boys. Dates available from May 1 to September 1. Financial arrangement similar to USA. For further information write to Mennonite Central Committee, 10 Union Street East, Waterloo, Ontario.

For conference-related Summer Service units write to Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities, Elkhart, Indiana, or Board of Christian Service, 722 Main Street, Newton, Kansas.

For information about new units under consideration and for additional project details write to:

SUMMER SERVICE
Mennonite Central Committee
Akron, Pennsylvania

16M160bs/dw PRINTED IN U.S.A.

January 9, 1961

Miss Ruth Ann Liechty
Summer Service
Mennonite Central Committee
Akron, Pennsylvania

Dear Miss Liechty:

We certainly are willing to do whatever we can to help you find good experiences for young people wishing to work in the South in summer service projects. Unfortunately, programming of this sort is not part of our normal activity and I am not sure we are in a position to be of much service.

I do feel that the Prince Edward County situation continues to be critical and might provide an effective situation. The Negro organization which has been attempting to care for children who are out of school operates a number of training centers for the benefit of the children. These centers are primarily recreational with some citizenship training involved. I am not sure what effect an interracial team of young people would have on the rather explosive local situation but I would urge you to explore it. The American Friends Service Committee is now maintaining a resident professional to assist in the Prince Edward crisis. I would suggest that you write directly to her. (Helen Baker, AFSC, Miller Building, Corner South Main and Madison Streets, Farmville, Virginia -- P.O. Box 463) I understand that Miss Baker hopes to be able to serve as a channel through which interested groups and organizations can offer assistance.

I cannot at the moment think of another area where you might carry out a summer project, but we will continue to give it some thought here and to inquire of organizations closer to this kind of program activity.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm

ENCAMPMENT FOR CITIZENSHIP
2 WEST 64th STREET, NEW YORK 23, N. Y.
SUsquehanna 7-2714

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Saal D. Lesser
Executive Director

Algernon D. Black
Education Director

Corinne Schreider
Alumni Field Secretary

January 12, 1961

Dear Paul,

Thank you very much for having Mrs. Miller send me the list of state councils on human relations. We are following through and will send out material to those people that you suggest.

I hope that you have had a successful program year and that all is going well with you. I missed you at NAIRO but had a wonderful time with Harold Fleming. Please extend my best wishes to him. He did a magnificent job at a special Sit-in program which we had at NAIRO and which I understand was considered the real high spot of last year's NAIRO Conference.

Anything that you might be able to do directly with regard to interesting young people from the South in attending our Encampments in Puerto Rico, California and New York will be appreciated.

Corinne Schreider, our Alumni Field Secretary, will probably be in touch with you before long in connection with a contemplated field trip to the South in the early spring.

With all best wishes,

Most cordially,

Saal

Saal D. Lesser

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

AMERICAN FOUNDATION FOR CONTINUING EDUCATION
19 SOUTH LA SALLE STREET • CHICAGO 3, ILLINOIS • ANdover 3-5540

January 12, 1961

ANNOUNCEMENT OF NEW GRANT

I take pleasure in announcing the receipt of a $300,000 grant from the fund for Adult Education. This grant is given to the AFCE to enable it to function during the next five and a half years as a center of information about liberal education for adults through study-discussion and as a center for promotional help and leadership training. The Foundation will continue to develop its own discussion materials and make them available to the field.

In addition, in order to provide one central place of information, the Fund is turning over to the AFCE the rights to those study-discussion programs which have been developed for or by the Fund during the past decade. Many of these programs have been or shortly will be published by various commercial publishers. The Foundation intends to issue regular newsletters containing the latest information about all aspects of study-discussion, including up-to-date information on the availability of programs from commercial publishers, universities and all other sources. Enclosed is a copy of the most recent News Digest distributed by the Fund for Adult Education which explains the current status and availability of those study-discussion programs in general use.

The AFCE will continue its present activities of preparing and conducting special programs of liberal arts and politics for business, trade union and national organization groups, and governmental agencies, of preparing materials in the new science series and of assisting organizations and agencies of all kinds with leadership training and promotion.

We look forward to a continuing association with those sponsoring institutions and organizations, private groups and discussion leaders with whom we have been working since 1947. We will welcome your comments and suggestions on any and all aspects of our work.

Jerome M. Ziegler

Executive Director

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AMCOMMAF

American Committee on Africa

801 SECOND AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, NEW YORK • MU 6-7263

George M. Houser
Executive Director

Homer A. Jack
C. Sumner Stone, Jr.
Associate Executive Directors

Mr. 26

January 24, 1961

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe St.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Rilling:

I write to you on a matter of great urgency.

As you may know, Alan Paton's passport was seized when he returned to South Africa for what Eric Louw, South Africa's Minister of External Affairs called "aiding and comforting the enemies of South Africa in the United States."

Mr. Paton has been placed in an extremely dangerous position. He has been charged by the South African Broadcasting Company, of advocating the boycott of South African goods while in this country--possibly a treasonable offense.

It is imperative that Alan Paton have all newspaper clippings, summations of speeches, and anything else that indicates what he said while in this country.

We are asking you to check your local newspapers, and any other sources of information, and to send us pertinent clippings, copies of speeches, etc. We, in turn, must send these to Alan Paton.

I know you will appreciate that the well-being of a great and courageous man may depend upon your promptness.

Please let us hear from you soon.

Sincerely,

George M. Houser

George M. Houser
Executive Director

GMH:mr

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January 25, 1961

Mr. Saal Lesser
Encampment for Citizenship
2 West 64th Street
New York 23, New York

Dear Saal:

We have followed up with a note of encouragement to our state offices concerning recruitment for the encampments. If this seems to move too slowly during the spring and you are low on Southern participation, let me know and we will try to push a bit more.

I note that you list the Louisiana Council on Human Relations as one of your co-operating agencies. Be informed that the Louisiana Council has not been in existence for the past several years.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm

ENCAMPMENT FOR CITIZENSHIP

2 WEST 64th STREET, NEW YORK 23, N. Y.
SUsquehanna 7-2714

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Saal D. Lesser
Executive Director

Algernon D. Black
Education Director

Corinne Schreider
Alumni Field Secretary

January 27, 1961

Dear Mr. Rilling:

Saal Lesser has suggested that I contact you about my forthcoming trip to the South, planned for late March and early April, to recruit students for the 1961 Encampments.

I would appreciate any assistance you can give me in putting me in touch with individuals and organizations who would be interested in the Encampment program. My itinerary will be worked out when I know which cities it would be most fruitful for me to visit.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Corinne Schreider

Corinne Schreider
Alumni Field Secretary

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

February 1, 1961

Mr. Jerome Ziegler
Executive Director
American Foundation for Continuing Education
19 South La Salle Street
Chicago 3, Illinois

Dear Jerry:

Congratulations on your recent large grant from the fund for Adult Education. I am always interested to see your newsletters from time to time. The program here goes well although we are in the process of helping Oglethorpe look for a new coordinator. We are hiring Frances Pauley away to serve as director of the Georgia Council on Human Relations.

Regards to any of you who are still around.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm

February 2, 1961

Mrs. Dudley Moore
Department of Community Service
Unitarian Service Committee
9 Park Street
Boston 8, Massachusetts

Dear Mrs. Moore:

I am sending biographical data on two persons who I thought might be possibilities for the Knoxville job. Mr. Mixon has indicated an active interest. I have not told Mr. Whaley of the opening. You could contact him in New York if you want to encourage him to make an application.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm
Enclosures

PROPOSED AGENDA

Meeting of the Executive Committee
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

February 2, 1961

10:00 a.m. **EXECUTIVE SESSION**
(Staff on Call)

Invocation

Adoption of Agenda

Election of Chairman

Approval of Minutes of Last Meeting
(including resolution on charter as prepared by Mr. Haas)

Report of the Personnel Committee

Other Business for Executive Session

GENERAL SESSION

Administrative Matters

Comments on Fund Raising -- Mr. Fleming
Financial Report -- Mrs. Alexander
Changes in Budget, 1961 -- Mr. Anthony
Report on New Members -- Mr. Fleming

Program Considerations by the Committee

Comments by the Director
Southern Leadership Project -- Mr. Muse and Mr. Brewbaker
Follow-Through on Previously Proposed Programs
SRC Committee of Attorneys
International Institute
Work with Colleges

Areas of Discussion and Clarification

SRC's Role With Respect to Direct Action
SRC's Role with Respect to State Councils

Other Program Areas - As Determined by Committee

Other Business

3:30 p.m. ADJOURNMENT

NOTE: Lunch will be served at 12:30 p.m., or therafter at the convenience of the Committee

February 2, 1961

Miss Corinne Schreider
Alumni Field Secretary
Encampment for Citizenship
2 West 64th Street
New York 23, New York

Dear Miss Schreider:

I am not sure that I have other than obvious advice to offer as to your contacts in the South. You should, of course, see those groups who work with students and have a human relations concern. This would include:

Miss Rosetta Gardner of the area YWCA student office here.
Thornton Merriam, new director of a special human relations project through the campus office of the area YMCA here.
Constance Curry, directing a human relations project for the National Students Association here.
Dick Ramsey, in charge of student work for the regional office of the American Friends Service Committee in High Point, N.C.

The South Carolina Council on Human Relations has recently added a part time staff person to work with students, Mrs. Theodore Ledeen. She can be reached through the state office of the S. C. Council on Human Relations. The Virginia Council has been doing some work with students in Lynchburg, Fairfax County, and Richmond. You have Dan Bowers' address. Dr. Peter Mellette of the NCCJ office in Virginia has been doing special work with high school students of both races.

There are clusters of human relations agencies in Nashville, Tennessee and in Miami, Florida as well as in Atlanta.

We look forward to seeing you if and when you come to Atlanta.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm

NATIONAL STUDENT CHRISTIAN FEDERATION, 475 Riverside Drive, Room 754, New York 27, New York

February 7, 1961

INFORMATION LETTER # 3

TO: Key Leaders and Friends of NSCF
FROM: James Monsonis, President of NSCF

Yesterday, February 6, four Negro student members of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee were arrested on charges of trespassing for sitting-in at Good's Drug Store in Rock Hill, South Carolina. This letter is being written to explain the reasons for the sit-in and to give the most recent developments in the situation.

The Coordinating Committee met last weekend in Atlanta, and heard reports there of the arrest of nine students from Friendship Junior College in Rock Hill, S.C., and one CORE staff member. They were given the sentence of $100 fine each or one month at hard labor with a "chain gang", and chose the month at hard labor. The Coordinating Committee felt that attention must be called to this extreme situation, and members proceeded to Rock Hill to do exactly the same thing, in order to focus national attention on the situation. Diane Nash, of Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn., (some of you may recall as having been at the II General Assembly of NSCF); Ruby Doris Smith, 18, of Spelman College, Atlanta, Ga.; Charles Sherrot, 23 (a theological student) of Virginia Union University, Richmond; and Charles Jones, 23, (a theological student) of Johnson C. Smith University, Charlotte, N.C. were arrested yesterday afternoon.

Trial was held this morning and the same sentence was passed. These four students have also chosen the month's hard labor. The two girls will be serving their sentence at the York County Jail, Women's Division, Prison Farm, York, S.C., and can be written to there. The two others will be with the York County Chain Gang, York, S.C.

The demonstration has served to focus south-wide and nation-wide attention on the South Carolina situation and on the segregation question in general. In Atlanta, as of this morning, 18 persons, including Lonnie King, head of the Atlanta Committee on Human Rights and member of the Coordinating Committee, have been arrested for a sit-in in Sprayberry Cafeteria in the Federal Building in Atlanta. More students are scheduled to sit-in at the same place this afternoon, with more arrests expected. On this weekend, several bus-loads of students are expecting to go from Atlanta to Rock Hill to join in the demonstrations there. A group of students in Nashville is busy organizing several car-loads to go to Rock Hill to join in the sit-in itself and to join the chain gang.

On this coming Sunday, February 12, at 1:00 p.m., (which, incidentally, is Race Relations Sunday) a pilgrimage will leave Friendship Junior College to go to visit the prisioners, and all persons who can possibly do so are asked to join. Visiting hours are from 1 to 3 and from 4 to 6, on Sundays; ten persons at a time are allowed for visits of five minutes each. Visiting, incidentally, is integrated!

We suggest you can help to focus attention upon the Rock Hill situation and upon the continuance of racial discrimination in every way possible. Perhaps you will want to join those in the pilgrimage to Rock Hill; letters to city and prison officials may also be helpful. Especially we ask that a community of support be given to those students who have been arrested in order to focus the moral attention of the nation on the situation. We suggest that you may want to write to the students and express your concern. If any visits to South Carolina are planned, we ask that you contact either the Rev. Cecil Ivory (327-3296) or Dr. Dewey Duckett (327-4996) for coordination. Both live on West Trade Street, Rock Hill, South Carolina.

II-78
2/8/61

NATIONAL STUDENT CHRISTIAN FEDERATION
475 Riverside Drive, New York 27, N.Y.

1177

PR
JC

January 6, 1961

INFORMATION LETTER # 2

RECEIVED
FEB 10 1961

TO: Key Leaders and Friends of NSCF

FROM: Herluf M. Jensen, General Secretary

Dear Friends:

On January 3rd I sent you an Information Letter in which I told you about six students in Lynchburg, Virginia, who had been involved in a "sit-in" at Patterson's Drug Store. They had been arrested and were up for trial on a trespass law. When the trial was held on January 5th they received a sentence of 30 days each.

This sentence was appealed and the students were awaiting a new trial to be held today, February 6th. When it appeared that a fair trial would not be given, and because these same students had joined as plaintiff in a test of the constitutionality of the law, they decided to accept the the jail sentence. Accordingly, they began serving their terms this afternoon.

I have been told that a fair number of persons responded to the earlier Information Letter, and sent personal letters to the students involved. I am sure that they would appreciate very much additional letters coming to them. Such could be addressed to them at Lynchburg City Jail. Their names are: Miss Rebecca Owen, Miss Mary Edith Bentley, Miss Barbara Thomas, Mr. Terril Brumback, Mr. James Hunter and Mr. Kenneth Green.

It has also been brought to my attention that the Presidents of the three colleges involved have been under some pressure to take action against the students, but that they have to date resisted. I believe they would be encouraged in their resistance to pressure if letters could come from various people around the country. Accordingly, I give you their names and the colleges of which they are the President, all in Lynchburg:

Dr. William F. Quillian, President, Randolph-Macon Women's College
Dr. M. C. Allen, President, Virginia Theological Seminary and College
Dr. Orville W. Wake, President, Lynchburg College.

The Mayor of Lynchburg is William C. Vaughan; the Attorney General of Virginia is Albertis Harrison; and the Governor is Lindsay Almond. Again, I think that some pressure upon these people may be helpful in securing the early release of the students.

February 8, 1961

Mr. Whitney Young
18 Robinson Street
Apartment 32
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Dear Whitney:

I have just recently heard of your acceptance of the post of executive director of the National Urban League. I have heard the rumors of this impending development and am delighted that you have agreed to take on this very challenging and important national role. We will miss you in Atlanta but look forward to working with you at more rarified levels.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm

Foreign Policy Association—World Affairs Center

SOUTHEASTERN REGIONAL OFFICE

614 Candler Building • Atlanta 3, Georgia

TO: Paul Rilling

FROM: Nena Hale, Secretary

Attached is a folder on Gordon Hall, the gentleman who will be available for speaking engagements in the Atlanta area February 6-10, 1961.

Dates already committed:

Monday - luncheon meeting (tentative)
Tuesday - Buckhead Rotary - lunch
Wednesday - possible luncheon meeting sponsored by UCW, AAUW, LWV, etc.

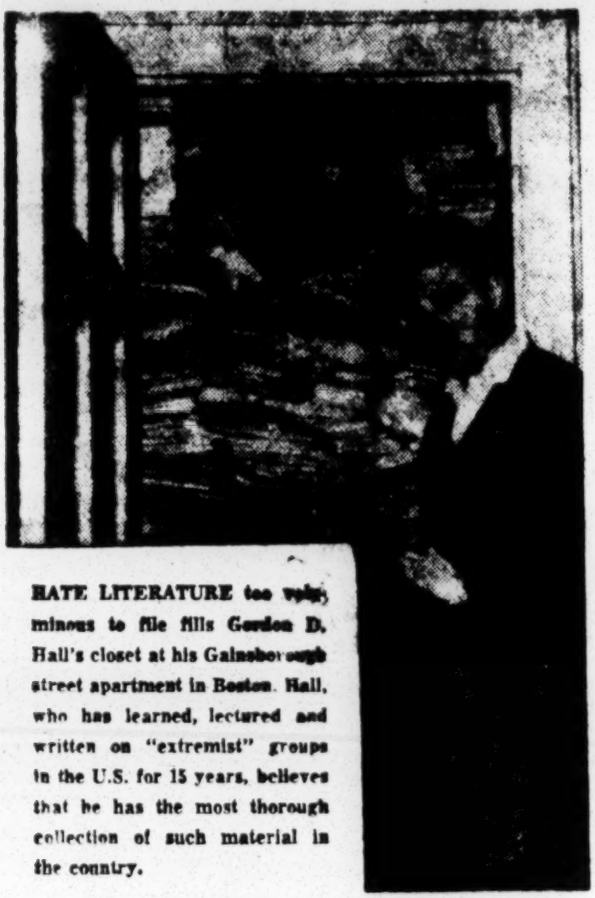
At this point evenings or afternoons appear the most free.

Any small interested group as well as more formal presentations would be of interest to us.

Also, any group able to contribute toward general expenses or honorarium would be particularly welcome at this point -- though is not essential to his appearing before any one group.

Thanks for any suggestions you may have —
Nena Hale

JAckson 5-3461



HATE LITERATURE too ugly, ominous to file fills Gordon D. Hall's closet at his Gainsborough street apartment in Boston. Hall, who has learned, lectured and written on "extremist" groups in the U.S. for 15 years, believes that he has the most thorough collection of such material in the country.

Extremist Groups His Specialty

Back Bay Man Expert on Hate

"Too often I have seen cases where loyal and patriotic but misguided Americans have thought they were 'fighting Communism' by slapping the label of 'Red' or 'Communist' on anybody who happened to be different from them or to have ideas with which they did not agree." —J. EDGAR HOOVER.

By JAMES TOUMEY

A closet full of history—and old papers—in a Gainsborough street, Back Bay apartment surrendered an important clue about the man who two weeks ago was arrested for plotting President-elect Kennedy's assassination.

★ ★ ★

The apartment is occupied by a confident, self-educated man named Gordon D. Hall, his wife, two children and a [illegible].

The clue was a quantity of "hate" literature and letters directed [illegible] It had been [illegible] clergyman [illegible] Paul Pavlick [illegible] his recent [illegible] planning Kennedy's murder.

experience stayed with him and by 1945 he had decided there were many people who needed the same education.

Hate Is Business

Up to that time Hall had been entertaining the idea that he might like to play professional basketball, but instead turned to the lonely, little-appreciated work of trying to inform [illegible] formed and guide the [illegible]

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

3 Categories

Gordon Hall, the keeper of the closet as well as a number of carefully indexed filing cabinets, has devoted himself for the past 15 of his 39 years to learning, lecturing and writing about America's so-called extremist groups. These groups, far right or far left, or simply "crackpot" in Hall's words, can be roughly lumped into political, religious or civil rights categories.

In two areas, religious and civil rights, recent events have kept the presses busy turning out hate literature. The election of the United States' first Catholic president gave birth to many anti-Catholic organizations and the Supreme Court integration decision awoke the slumbering racists.

What specifically is this literature and what does it say?

Some of the anti-Jewish material carries the imprint of the Nazi swastika. A recent tabloid printed by an organization purportedly "anti-Communist" carried this page one headline: "Kennedy's Marxist Record."

The tabloid concerned with Kennedy's Marxist ties claims a paid circulation of 84,000 and has been in operation for years.

Generally regarded as the most inflammatory are the so-called civil rights tracts. One front page implores "Vote Right — Vote White" and "Build A White America."

1000 Groups

Hall estimates that there are about 1000 extremist groups currently operating in the country and that their publications and messages reach about 3,500,000 persons. The organizations included in this figure range from the firmly entrenched groups which have been spreading their filth over the land for years to the "fly-by-nights" and the crank "flouridation is rat poison" outfits.

"I hold, unlike most people," Hall comments, "that most of the people involved in these organizations tend to be perfectly sincere, but they are misguided and filled with misinformation."

As Hall explains, he himself came in for a good measure of misinformation during World War II while he was serving with the Air Force in the Aleutian Islands.

In a special services outfit—he played basketball—with plenty of time on his hands, he fell into a disillusioning experience with a group he identifies today as a "Red cell." If it was disillusioning it was also educational, Hall comments today. He promptly pulled out of the group and stuck with rebounding until the war ended. But the

"I just don't like hate mongers," Hall, who is a strong Unitarian, told The Herald last week. "Hate is still a $1,000,000 business in the United States, and someone has to do something about it."

Aside from giving about 150 lectures annually all over the country, Hall is consistently consulted by groups, newspapers and various authorities. His correspondence is voluminous — more than 100 letters a week—some asking questions and some replying to his questions as he works to keep up with the hate business.

It has taken dedication and courage—for him and his wife, Dorothy, sons Richard, 14, and David 7—to become what might fairly be described as the country's foremost authority on extremist groups. His windows have been shattered and there have been hundreds of threatening phone calls. "You learn to wrap the phone in a blanket," says Hall unhappily.

On Dec. 5, a bomb threat broke up one of his scheduled lectures at a Methodist Church in Ft. Lauderale, Fla. Hall, who has had his share of "lean" years, recently became co-owner of a pet store, but he is afraid to be connected with the store in print because "they would smash my windows."

Many Successor

But for all the difficulties, there have been many successes. Among them an appearance on the Dave Garroway TV show ("I did very poorly because I made the mistake of asking Garroway a question") and recent correspondence with Steve Allen ("very interested in these extremist groups").

Hall, who believes he has the largest collection of "hate" literature in the country, was able to pinpoint the past eccentricities of Richard Paul Pavlick, the ex-Weymouth postal clerk, who is being held for plotting President-elect Kennedy's death.

As soon as he heard of Pavlick's arrest in West Palm Beach, Fla., Hall dug five personal letters from his files and a folder which Pavlick had circulated in 1955. They told of a deep current of anti-Catholicism which helped to explain the motives of 73-year-old Pavlick who said he planned to turn himself into a human bomb by strapping the dynamite onto his body and kill both himself and Kennedy.

For a number of hours before Hall's information was released by newspapers, first in Boston, he held the exclusive key to why Pavlick, in his own words — would "have the crazy idea I wanted to stop Kennedy from being president."

Please see that the enclosed sheets are distributed to those interested and secure as many interested persons as possible so that this coming session of Congress will have before it an Amendment to so

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

GORDON D. HALL

- "Patriotism On the Extreme Right"
- "The Hate-Your-Neighbor Campaign In the U. S."
- "The United Nations: Friends and Foes"
- "Beware the Loaded Appeal"

The continuing campaigns of organized extremist movements is one of the calculated risks and burdens of a free society. How to lessen this burden and risk within a framework of a free society is at the core of GORDON HALL'S lecture and exhibits.

Well financed, and often boasting distinguished sponsors and impressive titles, these organized movements carry on programs of racial and religious hatred, confusion, and discord. Like the Communists whom they claim to be fighting, their real purposes are often hidden behind a smokescreen of noble words.

Veteran of thirty-one months in the Pacific Theatre and the Aleutian Islands campaign, Mr. Hall has been engaged in full time writing and research since the end of 1946. A speaker of national reputation, his audiences have included Rotary and Kiwanis, lodges, men's and women's clubs, high school, college and university assemblies, church and temple groups, and he has made frequent appearances on national radio and television.

COMMENTS . . .

"...Mr. Hall's direct and precise presentation, his ability to capture the undivided attention of his audience, and to hold them completely is impressive."

International Affairs Department
General Federation of Women's Clubs

"...He has been of considerable help in revealing information about extremist groups reported to be undermining some of our finest American institutions and organizations. We shall be happy to recommend Mr. Hall and his excellent services to anyone."

National Education Association

"...As long as criticisms are based upon accurate statements of fact they are most welcome. But the disturbing factor in most of this clamor is that it is the direct result of a deliberate campaign of distortion, mendacity and religious and racial hatred, conducted by a network of fanatical organizations. This cataract of smears reaches millions of good people who are otherwise little informed on the subject. Gordon Hall has rendered a public service in cataloguing these agencies, the record of their sponsors, and the contents of their publications."

Philadelphia Evening Bulletin

"...There is a long cry from constructive criticism to the braying of the wild jackasses who are never concerned with the truth but are consumed with indiscriminate hatred. In pinpointing these attackers Mr. Hall has done a notable service. He has amassed a facinating documentary putting together all the croaking elements in the smear campaigns."

James J. Kerney, Jr.
Editor
The Trenton (N.J.) Times

"...I have heard him twice. On both occasions he achieved excellent rapport with the audience, convincing them of his subject and his ability to project his ideas. He is reasonable and most effective as a speaker."

Norman Cousins
Editor - The Saturday Review

"...There are more kinds of subversives in this country than Communists. One other brand is the hate-mongers with their aspirations based on Fascism. Because they are a potential danger we think Gordon D. Hall who has devoted himself to studying their techniques, is doing the country a service by going about lecturing on his findings."

Editorial from the
Detroit Free Press

MANAGEMENT LORDLY & DAME, Inc. 80 BOYLSTON STREET • BOSTON, MASS. • HUbbard 2-3593

GORDON D. HALL

AMERICAN FOUNDATION FOR CONTINUING EDUCATION
19 SOUTH LA SALLE STREET • CHICAGO 3, ILLINOIS • ANdover 3-5540

February 17, 1961

Mr. Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Thank you very much for your kind letter of February 1 and no thank you at all for taking Frances away from us. Anyhow, you have a wonderful person and all good luck to you and her.

One of the results of our new grant is that we are looking for new staff. I realize that you are well situated and doing work which is congenial to you but I wonder if you have any suggestions to make concerning possible applicants. You know the level of people we have always had and that I want men of energy, competence and good education. For any suggestions that you could make, I would be very grateful. And if you are by any chance considering a change yourself, I should like to talk to you.

All the best and I hope to see you sometime if I can get down to Atlanta in late spring.

Cordially yours,

Jerry Z

Jerome M. Ziegler
Executive Director

JMZ mag

GOVERNMENT OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
EXECUTIVE OFFICE
WASHINGTON 4, D. C.

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BRIGADIER GENERAL, U. S. ARMY

"NEGRO HISTORY WEEK"

February 12 - 19, 1961

BY THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

A PROCLAMATION

WHEREAS, the Negro has, for many generations, made substantial contributions to human progress in the fields of economic development, science, music, literature, law, and many others; and

WHEREAS, research into the history of the Negro race and a proper recording, dissemination, and teaching of this history is necessary in order that the Negro may have the benefits of his fine traditions and heritage; and

WHEREAS, since its organization in September 1915, the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, has taken a leading educational role in better acquainting all Americans with the magnificent history of the Negro people; and

WHEREAS, there has been set aside each year since 1926 a certain week during which attention is focused upon the Negro and his historical background, and stimulation is given to the general improvement of human relations:

NOW, THEREFORE, WE, THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, do hereby proclaim the week of February 12 to February 19, 1961, as "NEGRO HISTORY WEEK," in the City of Washington, and during this period the attention of all our citizens is invited to the achievements of the Negro and his contributions to the well-being of all races, to the end that we may be made more aware of our basic principles of democracy.

Robert E. McLaughlin
Mark Sullivan Jr.
F. J. Clarke

COMMISSIONERS OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

February 7, 1961

March 16, 1961

Mr. Mathew H. Ahmann
Executive Director
National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice
21 West Superior Street
Chicago 10, Illinois

Dear Mat:

I had a pleasant and I hope constructive meeting with Henry Cabirac last week in New Orleans. I was quite favorably impressed with his commitment and his realistic approach to his project of a Catholic human relations council. I made a few suggestions on future program and the launching of the effort in public, but he had things quite well in hand, I thought, and I found myself in agreement with most of his ideas. I think you have a good man there.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE, Inc.

FOR EQUAL ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

14 EAST FORTY-EIGHTH STREET, NEW YORK 17, N. Y. – PLAZA 1-0300

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HENRY STEEGER, *Senior Vice-President*
LESTER B. GRANGER, *Executive Director*
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JOHN H. JOHNSON, *Vice-President*
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BURNS W. ROPER, *Treasurer*

M. T. PURYEAR
Director
Southern Field Division

Address Communications to:
National Urban League
250 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
Telephone: MUrray 8-8778

March 16, 1961

Dear Colleague:

The Biennial Board-Staff Conference of Urban League Affiliates in the National Urban League's Southern Field Division will get underway on Wednesday morning, March 22, at 10:00 A. M., in the Sage Hall Auditorium at Atlanta University. As a loyal supporter of our program and one who is interested in problems such as those which face all of us, I want to extend this personal invitation to you and your co-workers to attend and participate in this session.

The speaker will be Nelson C. Jackson, the Urban League's Associate Director. You will remember Mr. Jackson as an old friend and an ardent worker in social work circles. He will be speaking on the subject - THE IMPACT OF MIGRATION AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR SOCIAL WELFARE SERVICES - and I am sure you will want to hear him.

Your presence is important and we look forward to your participation.

Very truly yours,

M. T. Puryear

M. T. Puryear
Director
Southern Field Division
National Urban League

MTP/as

BOARD OF TRUSTEES: *Malcolm Andresen – Regina M. Andrews – William H. Baldwin – George O. Butler – Lisle C. Carter, Jr. – Edwin F. Chinlund Ray E. Clarke – Robert W. Dowling – Mrs. F. B. Farquharson – Lloyd K. Garrison – Louis J. Glickman – Sylvan Gotshal – Mrs. Walter Hirsch – Mrs. Walter Hirshon Jerome H. Holland – Frank S. Horne – John H. Johnson – Theodore W. Kheel – Lindsley F. Kimball – H. B. Law – Loren Miller – Mollie Moon – Cecil E. Newman William H. Oliver – Frederick W. Richmond – Hilyard R. Robinson – Winthrop Rockefeller – John Roosevelt – Burns W. Roper – Louis Simon – Asa T. Spaulding Edward Stanley – Henry Steeger – Roger L. Stevens – Edward D. Stone – Vernon B. Stouffer – Harry Van Arsdale, Jr. – J. Waties Waring – Boyd L. Wilson Thomas G. Young – Charles S. Zimmerman.*

Our Golden Fiftieth Anniversary 1910-1960

490

AMERICAN FOUNDATION FOR CONTINUING EDUCATION
19 SOUTH LA SALLE STREET • CHICAGO 3, ILLINOIS • ANdover 3-5540

March 24, 1961

Mr. Paul M. Rilling
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

This will introduce Stanley Gill of our staff. He is going to visit Atlanta and other parts of the beknighted Confederacy early next month and I thought it would be very nice for him to meet you. He will be talking with Frances about the discussion program but I am sure he would like to hear anything you have to say about how things are going--both with respect to the program and also in general.

I have asked him to raise with you the question whether the Southern Regional Council might be interested in and able to use any of our materials, including those of the Fund for Adult Education for which we now have responsibility. I would take it very kindly if you could see him and I am sure you will enjoy talking with him.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Jerry

Jerome M. Ziegler
Executive Director

JMZ mag

JE ✓ RHA ✓ BDC ✓ WJ ✓ MM ✓ MC ✓ JLC ✓ MF ✓ PA-✓ MEJ ✓ PW ✓

57 Sycamore St.
Roslindale 31, Mass.
Mar. 26, 1961

Dear Paul;

No wonder the north is so ignorant about the South - they never hear anything that's going on. Either the press here is more amiss than I've dreamed or everything down there has slowed to a snail's pace.

I'm like a fish out of water - wondering whats going on down there, hearing so little and fighting off academic monasticism. If someone would burn a cross in my yard I'd feel much more at home.

What's new with you - housebroke yet? Spring has arrived here at last - today the sunshine will probably melt the last of the snow in the backyard. We haven't had any flowers blooming or birds yet but today they say the temperature is going all the way up to 55°! Don't laugh, friend, it's been misery -

Bob ✓
(Hughes)

P.S. - If it was just me, I'd consider living alongside these Yankees, but it was too much of a "school" Forest came in talking about "school" Jeans wildness recently. Beth is too young (5 year old) to add to the misery.

March 30, 1961

VIA AIR MAIL

Mr. William H. Koch, Jr.
Migrant Citizenship Education Project
400 East 33rd Street
Box 1115
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Mr. Koch:

We have had inquiries concerning possible employment with one of our associated state councils on human relations from Mr. William M. Brooks of Atlanta. I understand that Mr. Brooks served as Migrant Minister with your organization from 1957-60. We would appreciate very much having your estimate of Mr. Brooks' capabilities.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm

April 5, 1961

Mr. Martin Lipp
555 Packard Street
Ann Arbor, Michigan

Dear Mr. Lipp:

We are mailing separately some materials which we hope will be helpful. As you know, our operation covers only the Southern region and consequently much of our program activity and information is not too applicable to a community like Omaha.

You mentioned that your next target will be the desegregation of recreation facilities. Of course, strategy varies, depending on whether these facilities are public or private. If they are publicly operated, the law is clear and an appeal to the courts will correct the situation. If the facilities are privately owned, the appeal must be to conscience and public opinion, unless there are state laws in Nebraska against such discrimination.

The kind of activities that have been successfully used in the border and upper South states generally follows some variation of this format: 1) There are quiet efforts by two or three Negroes to use the facilities involved. This makes the pattern of discrimination clear, and there is always the chance that they will be received. 2) If Negroes peacefully seeking admittance are denied use of the facilities, the next step is usually an effort to negotiate. This gives the owner or operator a chance to consider the issue and change his policy before any public outcries or major issues are developed. It is usually advisable to include adults with students in such a negotiation overture. 3) If the negotiation is not successful and the courts provide no avenue of redress, the next step is generally to take the issue to the public through public statements and appeals and the use of pickets protesting discrimination. At this stage, it is useful to invite supporting statements from influential organizations and public figures. 4) If the courts are not available, the final

recourse is to apply economic pressure including the withholding of patronage by those in disagreement with the discriminatory practices. Such an effort must be well organized and have broad support to have any effect. Of course, a further possible appeal, not available in the South, would be to legislative action by city council or state legislature in the direction of anti-discriminatory legislation.

If we can provide any more specific information, please let me know.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm

PR would you reply please

5812 Pierce Street
Omaha 6, Nebraska
March 21, 1961

Dear Sirs:

I am wriing this letter in order to ask your assistance. Some college friends of mine and I are planning on starting a direct-action group in Omaha with the general goal in mind of reducing discrimination against Negroes. Our primary focus will probably be places of recreation; and, if we find that we can operate effectively, we hope to eventually expand our operations.

I am presently enrolled at the University of Michigan, where I have been a member of the Ann Arbor CORE group since its formation a little over a year ago. I worked for the ADL for three years during high school and, since arriving at college, have taken several courses in race relations and am presently doing independent research in the field under the direction of a University sociology professor. All this may seem a bit petty, but I cite it to show that we won't be tackling the problem in Omaha altogether blindly. The director of the Urban League in Omaha is our advisor, and we expect to soon be in touch with other civil rights leaders in our locale.

Our problem is this: we need to have all available information on this subject in order to act in the most effective way possible. Would you please send us whatever material you have (or a list of where to look for material) on: (1) techniques of improving intergroup relations, (2) theoretical concepts and overviews and approaches, and (3) case studies and "how we did it" reports.

If it is impossible for you to forward this information within the next two weeks to the above address, please send it to 555 Packard St., Ann Arbor, Michigan. Thank you for your assistance.

Sincerely

Martin Lipp

Martin Lipp

April 11, 1961

The Rev. Robert Hughes
57 Sycamore Street
Roslindale 31, Massachusetts

Dear Bob:

It was good to hear from you. We have been hoping for your address and for news of you for some time now. You just disappeared into the vast and benighted stretches of the North without a trace. Now that we have your address we shall immediately replace you on the mailing list and forward a stream of materials to make up for the lack of adequate information on "real issues" in the Yankee press. You say that "either the press here is more amiss, or everything down there has slowed to a snail's pace." Of course, things here are moving at a snail's pace, but this is nothing new. The snail continues as before and at about the same pace.

I trust the sketchy handling of important news up there has leaked through the information that the University of Georgia has desegregated, that Georgia has abandoned massive resistance and that the Justice Department has moved into the Louisiana situation with some vigor. Also, under the heading of recent developments, I am enclosing a press notice that may be of some interest to you.

The Alabama Council still rocks along without a director and I have very little idea of what goes on due to the rather conservative manner in which Father Foley communicates with this office. I do know that on March 25, they interviewed three possible candidates for your empty boots, including a Rev. Bob Goodson of Alabama, whom you may know. I was not able to be present but had met with the other two possibilities -- Will Allred, a social scientist from North Carolina and the Rev. Norman Jimerson of Virginia, a Baptist type minister. Allred was offered the job and declined, and I understand the job was to be offered Jimerson and Goodson in that order.

We miss you around here and trust you are striking a few blows for the cause by lighting a few candles in the darkness of ignorance up there about things down here.

Sincerely,

PMR/sm

Paul M. Rilling

April 27, 1961

Mr. Dan Dodson
Center for Human Relations Studies
New York University
Washington Square
New York 3, New York

Dear Dan:

I think it is time that you begin to feed some of your able young graduates in human relations into this work in the South instead of filling up the already overflowing staffs of Northern state and municipal agencies.

Specifically, we have currently an opening as executive director of the Alabama Council on Human Relations, one of the state groups with which we cooperate. I think you are quite familiar with the kind of educational and communications work that would be involved, and the nature of the pressures that exist in Alabama today. If you know of anyone who might be interested in such a situation, I hope you will have him write to me. We would, of course, prefer someonw with a Southern background or some significant Southern exposure. The Starting salary is from $5,500 - $6,500, depending on experience and qualifications.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm

May 3, 1961

Mr. John Collins
Student Interracial Ministry Commission
National Student Christian Federation
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, New York

Dear Mr. Collins:

The Rev. Will Campbell has suggested that I contact you concerning an opening in one of the state Councils on Human Relations which are associated with the Southern Regional Council.

I understand that you were serving in one of the churches of Talladega, Alabama last summer. You are possibly aware of the work of the Alabama Council on Human Relations, a statewide interracial membership organization which attempts to work for better communication and peaceful social change. Until recently the Council was ably staffed by the Rev. Robert Hughes, a Methodist minister who has served as the director of the Council since 1954. Mr. Hughes is now in training for missionary work in Rhodesia and the state Council is seeking a replacement.

Should you be interested in considering this kind of interracial work in a deep Southern state, I hope you will send me some summary of your biographical data and that you will feel free to ask any questions that may come to your mind.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm

5 River Street
Woodstock, Vt.
May 7, 1961

Mr. Paul M. Billing
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Billing:

I am delighted to hear from you and to know that you are interested in learning more about my background and possible qualifications for work in the area of human relations. My visit with Harry Boyte this winter was the high point of the two months' travelling I did recruiting campers. I was very much impressed by him as a person, and inspired by his example as a person deeply committed to achieving racial equality in America.

To give you a thumb-nail sketch of my background, let me say that I spent most of the first 17 years of my life in India. I was born in Bengal, about 150 miles north of Calcutta, where my parents ran a mission school for the Methodist Board of Foreign Missions. That was in the year 1923. It might interest you to know that my parents rejected the whole evangelistic approach to mission work, became involved instead in an effort over a span of 25 years to prepare Indian students for self-government. "Ushagram", the educational complex which evolved had as its goal, "Better citizens in better homes in better villages". It was natural, then, that many Indian Congress leaders should have become interested in this new educational approach, the best known of whom was Gandhi, and my parents visited his ashram frequently and followed the independence movement with deep interest.

With the exception of three furloughs spent in the U.S., during the last of which I attended Horace Mann School for Boys in New York while my father took his doctorate at Columbia, all my primary education was acquired in two schools set up for missionary children: Mount Hermon in Darjeeling, and Woodstock School in Mussoorie. After graduation from Woodstock High, I returned to this country and entered Oberlin College in 1940, intending to major eventually in journalism. These plans were cut short by the war. Failing to reconcile the war effort with either my Christian upbringing or the Gandhian influence which had strongly effected me, I registered as a conscientious objector, and after my sophomore year, moved to Vermont, fully expecting to be drafted into a Civilian Public Service camp.

Events transpired otherwise, however, for in the course of a farming experience with a young Quaker couple, Norma and Alfred Jacob, at Jamaica, Vermont, I rejoined a fellow-Oberlinian, Winifred Frost, and subsequently we were married. For ten years we tried our hand at farming in this remote and rugged country where a number of other like-minded people had congregated. We raised a family of five children - two boys and three girls - and the local draft board seemed inclined to leave me alone, rather than sending me to camp.

In 1953 we heard of an opening on the staff of the Farm and

Wilderness Camps, Plymouth, Vermont, and moved into this area where we have been ever since. Another Quaker couple, Kenneth and Susan Webb own and operate these camps, where 280 children from 9 to 16 years of age spend two months each summer. The Webbs, who have been involved in this pioneer camping venture for nearly a quarter of a century, are now regarded as the deans of American camping. Their book, Summer Magic, expresses much of their camping and personal philosophy, which after many years of struggle, has established itself in the forefront of the movement, in terms of its educational emphasis, its insistence on simplicity and informality, its assertion that the individual needs of each child must be respected, and affirmation of the principle of racial equality.

I entered the Webbs' employ originally as the farmer, having responsibility for the small stock, the large vegetable gardens, the extensive grounds and the general farming operations on the 400 acres of camp property. Since that time, my role has changed to that of administrative assistant. Although my functions still cover supervision of much of the farming and grounds work, plus co-ordinating the work projects which take up a large part of the campers' summer, I am now actively engaged in forming policy and taking care of enrollment. For the past three years I have taken over most of the extensive travelling which is necessary in order to keep our camper group geographically and racially varied. Puerto Rico, Canada, Chicago, Cincinnati, Florida, as well as the seaboard urban areas send us children.

Although the Webbs were among the first of the private camps to open their enrollment to Negro children, and although they have and are now, doing all they can to encourage other camps to follow this policy, the fact is that our Negro group has remained very small indeed, and this fact began to disturb me some time ago. This winter I made a determined effort to seek out Negro families in every city I visited, in hopes of increasing the Negro representation to one third or better - the point at which I feel we can justifiably consider ourselves "integrated". My campaign has not met with much success, but it has involved me personally ever more deeply in trying to learn all I can about what appears to be a looming racial crisis in America. Anne Braden and two sit-in students in Louisville, Harry Boyte in Charlotte, Frank Reeves and Dave Sawyer in Washington, Hope Stevens, George Hauser, Henry X, Bob Disraeli, the DuBoises and others in New York, Dr. Clifton Moore and Dr. Kenneth Benne in Boston - these are some of the people who I have sought out as being in touch with integration, each of whom has confirmed this sense of crisis vis-a-vis the Black Moslems in particular.

Harry definitely encouraged me to think in terms of human relations work - in fact, he and I got all steamed up over the idea of putting together a 16 mm film which would attempt to bring home to white Americans the proportions of the storm that seems to be brewing, and I broached this idea to most of the people I subsequently interviewed. In nearly every instance the response was encouraging, although there was skepticism about ways and means. Two Negro families in Durham volunteered to act, and Bob Disraeli of the American Jewish Congress, who has himself been in educational films for many years, offered any and all technical facilities I would need to undertake the project, if I would find financial backing.

This will give you some idea of my thinking to date. Family responsibilities loom large in my mind, naturally, and I should like to know details of any opportunities which may be available. Let me know if you need more information.

Sincerely, [illegible]

April 27, 1961

Mr. Norman Williams
5 River Street
Woodstock, Vermont

Dear Mr. Williams:

I understand from Mr. Harry Boyte that you are interested in considering full time work in the general area of human relations in the South. Harry speaks highly of you and we are always on the lookout for recruits in this important but not too popular field of activities.

If you feel that you might like to consider this kind of work in the near future, I would appreciate it if you would send me some biographical information and we can talk further about it during the next few months.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm

May 11, 1961

Mr. Mathew Ahmann
National Catholic Conference for
Interracial Justice
21 West Superior Street
Chicago 10, Illinois

Dear Mr. Ahmann:

At the request of Paul Rilling, I am enclosing a copy of our inter-agency list. The checks will indicate those present for the last meeting in New Orleans.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Timothy Miller
secretary to Paul Rilling

Enc.

Also checked those regularly invited to IA meetings

NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE

21 W. SUPERIOR STREET
CHICAGO 10, ILLINOIS
MOHAWK 4-8222

20 VESEY STREET
NEW YORK 7, NEW YORK
RECTOR 2-5417

Chicago, Illinois
May 8, 1961

Paul Rilling

Dear Paul:

Just a reminder that you said you could send a list of those who are invited to the interagency conference, and that you would check off those who were present at the meeting in New Orleans.

Matt Ahmann

Honorary Chaplain: Rev. John LaFarge, S.J. OFFICERS: Dr. John J. O'Connor, *Chairman* (Washington, D. C.); Robert Sargent Shriver, Jr., *Vice Chairman* (Chicago); John P. Nelson, Jr., *Vice Chairman* (New Orleans); Miss Dorothy Mattingly, *Secretary* (St. Louis); Charles W. Wexler, *Treasurer* (Detroit) EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE: Very Rev. Msgr. Daniel M. Cantwell (Chicago); George K. Hunton (New York); Mrs. Anna M. McGarry (Philadelphia); Guichard Parris (New York); Very Rev. Harold R. Perry (Bay St. Louis); William H. Thompson (Little Rock) BOARD: Rt. Rev. Msgr. Charles J. Brady (Syracuse); Mrs. James E. Brophy (Detroit); James T. Carey (San Francisco); Dennis Clark (Philadelphia); Rev. Joseph Connolly (Baltimore); William J. Cousins (New Haven); Ellsworth Evans (St. Louis); Dr. Eugene Fontinell (New Rochelle); Norman Francis (New Orleans); William T. Greenwood (Phoenix); Charles Hayes (Greensboro); Harold Hunton (Brooklyn); Rev. Philip S. Hurley, S.J. (New York); Rt. Rev. Msgr. Franklyn J. Kennedy (Milwaukee); James A. Leadon (St. Paul); George S. Lima (Providence); William McCoy (Portland); Mrs. Mildred H. Mahoney (Boston); John J. McDermott (Chicago); Joseph J. Morrow (Stamford); Mrs. Roger Putnam (Springfield); Michael F. Quinn (Indianapolis); Francis X. Riley (Indianapolis); Charles A. Robinson (Wilmington); Miss Theresa Staudt (San Antonio); Percy H. Steele (San Diego); Charles F. Vatterott (St. Louis); John Edward White (Pittsburgh); EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: Mathew H. Ahmann

national council of the churches of christ in the u.s.a.

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, N. Y. RIVERSIDE 9-2200

J. IRWIN MILLER, PRESIDENT REV. ROY G. ROSS, GENERAL SECRETARY

May 12, 1961

Mr. Paul M. Rilling
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Rilling:

We are sorry that the package containing the 30 copies of INTERRACIAL NEWS SERVICE (March-April, 1961 issue) was somehow destroyed in transit. However, under separate cover we have forwarded this material to you by "first-class" mail.

Attached herewith is the invoice covering the order.

Sincerely yours,

Doreen F. Graves

(Mrs.) Doreen F. Graves
Dept. Racial & Cultural
Relations

Encl.

May 15, 1961

Mr. Mathew Ahmann
National Catholic Conference for
Interracial Justice
21 West Superior Street
Chicago 10, Illinois

Dear Mr. Ahmann:

Paul Rilling asked that I supply the information requested in your last two letters. The public schools in Atlanta will be opening August 30 (Wednesday). Parochial schools are scheduled to open on Friday, September 1. I am enclosing the resolution of the Atlanta Board of Education dealing with desegregation, and also the administrative regulations for the assignment and transfer of pupils.

So far as we have been able to learn, there is no current film dealing with church and school desegregation in the South. There is a film, entitled "The Baltimore Story", describing desegregation of schools there. The ADL spokesman who distributes this film says, however, that it has never been very popular, and she feels that some of the schools which desegregated later have improved techniques considerably. The Protestant Radio and TV Center here is talking about making such a film, but even if they decide to go ahead with the project, it will be at least a year before it would be ready. It sounds like a fertile field for somebody to be working.

If we can help further in these or other matters, please let us know.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Timothy Miller
secretary to Paul Rilling

Enclosures

NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE

21 W. Superior Street
Chicago 10, Illinois
MOhawk 4-8222

20 Vesey Street
New York 7, New York
REctor 2-5417

Chicago, Illinois
May 10, 1961

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Would it be possible for you to send me the date of the public school opening this coming fall? And, also, if possible, the date of the Catholic schools? Do you know whether the Atlanta School Board has written out any of its plans and procedures of desegregation, and if it is possible to get a copy of what they have done?

Sincerely yours,

Mathew Ahmann

MA:rmd

Honorary Chaplain: Rev. John LaFarge, S.J. Officers: Dr. John J. O'Connor, *Chairman* (Washington, D. C.); Robert Sargent Shriver, Jr., *Vice Chairman* (Chicago); John P. Nelson, Jr., *Vice Chairman* (New Orleans); Miss Dorothy Mattingly, *Secretary* (St. Louis); Charles W. Wexler, *Treasurer* (Detroit) Executive Committee: Very Rev. Msgr. Daniel M. Cantwell (Chicago); George K. Hunton (New York); Mrs. Anna M. McGarry (Philadelphia); Guichard Parris (New York); Very Rev. Harold R. Perry (Bay St. Louis); William H. Thompson (Little Rock) Board: Rt. Rev. Msgr. Charles J. Brady (Syracuse); Mrs. James E. Brophy (Detroit); James T. Carey (San Francisco); Dennis Clark (Philadelphia); Rev. Joseph Connolly (Baltimore); William J. Cousins (New Haven); Ellsworth Evans (St. Louis); Dr. Eugene Fontinell (New Rochelle); Norman Francis (New Orleans); William T. Greenwood (Phoenix); Charles Hayes (Greensboro); Harold Hunton (Brooklyn); Rev. Philip S. Hurley, S.J. (New York); Rt. Rev. Msgr. Franklyn J. Kennedy (Milwaukee); James A. Leadon (St. Paul); George S. Lima (Providence); William McCoy (Portland); Mrs. Mildred H. Mahoney (Boston); John J. McDermott (Chicago); Joseph J. Morrow (Stamford); Mrs. Roger Putnam (Springfield); Michael F. Quinn (Indianapolis); Francis X. Riley (Indianapolis); Charles A. Robinson (Wilmington); Miss Theresa Staudt (San Antonio); Percy H. Steele (San Diego); Charles F. Vatterott (St. Louis); John Edward White (Pittsburgh); Executive Director: Mathew H. Ahmann

NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE

21 W. Superior Street
Chicago 10, Illinois
MOhawk 4-8222

20 Vesey Street
New York 7, New York
REctor 2-5417

Chicago, Illinois
April 27, 1961

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I wonder if you could furnish me with descriptive information on films which deal with Church and School Desegregation in the South? I would also appreciate any comments you might have to make on those you have seen.

One of the Bishops has asked me to get the information on films in this area.

Sincerely yours,

Mathew Ahmann
Executive Director

MA:rmd

Honorary Chaplain: Rev. John LaFarge, S.J. Officers: Dr. John J. O'Connor, *Chairman* (Washington, D. C.); Robert Sargent Shriver, Jr., *Vice Chairman* (Chicago); John P. Nelson, Jr., *Vice Chairman* (New Orleans); Miss Dorothy Mattingly, *Secretary* (St. Louis); Charles W. Wexler, *Treasurer* (Detroit) Executive Committee: Very Rev. Msgr. Daniel M. Cantwell (Chicago); George K. Hunton (New York); Mrs. Anna M. McGarry (Philadelphia); Guichard Parris (New York); Very Rev. Harold R. Perry (Bay St. Louis); William H. Thompson (Little Rock) Board: Rt. Rev. Msgr. Charles J. Brady (Syracuse); Mrs. James E. Brophy (Detroit); James T. Carey (San Francisco); Dennis Clark (Philadelphia); Rev. Joseph Connolly (Baltimore); William J. Cousins (New Haven); Ellsworth Evans (St. Louis); Dr. Eugene Fontinell (New Rochelle); Norman Francis (New Orleans); William T. Greenwood (Phoenix); Charles Hayes (Greensboro); Harold Hunton (Brooklyn); Rev. Philip S. Hurley, S.J. (New York); Rt. Rev. Msgr. Franklyn J. Kennedy (Milwaukee); James A. Leadon (St. Paul); George S. Lima (Providence); William McCoy (Portland); Mrs. Mildred H. Mahoney (Boston); John J. McDermott (Chicago); Joseph J. Morrow (Stamford); Mrs. Roger Putnam (Springfield); Michael F. Quinn (Indianapolis); Francis X. Riley (Indianapolis); Charles A. Robinson (Wilmington); Miss Theresa Staudt (San Antonio); Percy H. Steele (San Diego); Charles F. Vatterott (St. Louis); John Edward White (Pittsburgh); Executive Director: Mathew H. Ahmann

Dalton Lahey

688 - 6191 — Mon.

Wed.

~~Sept.~~ Aug. 30,

Oth. par.

School.

Sept. 1,

May 19, 1961

The Rev. Robert Hughes
57 Sycamore Street
Roslindale, Massachusetts

Dear Bob:

Paul Rilling asked me to inquire whether you could remember ever receiving the original of the enclosed. You wrote once asking why we had not acknowledged receipt of the copy of your letter to Fleischman, but your letter crossed Paul's answer in the mail, and you never again mentioned it in correspondence. The reason for asking is that the Jeffersonian has reproduced the letter in their April publication, complete with letterhead and signature, and we are trying to determine whether it was most likely intercepted in the mail or "borrowed" from your office files. They also attacked SRC and the Alabama with the same old 'Red' charges and claimed the letter as proof that these organizations had been planning for two years to dynamite plans for the Civil War celebration. There was no mention of John McConnell in the comments, but I feel certain he will hear repercussions.

Please let us hear from you as soon as possible. We are investigation with lawyers and the Alabama Council whether or not any case of mail fraud should be brought.

With best wishes,

m Sincerely,

Mrs. Timothy Miller

P.S. Trust you saw Birmingham exposed last night, on Face the Nation. Paul was in Montgomery and it was not shown, probably not in Birmingham either! I never realized so many white people could be so willfully blind.

May 23, 1961

Mr. Norman Williams
5 River Street
Woodstock, Vermont

Dear Mr. Williams:

Thank you for your letter of May 7. I apologize for my tardiness in answering. I have been traveling of late and, as you can probably note from the press, things have been fairly busy down this way.

It is always heartening to hear from someone with a strong concern about these matters and who is willing to consider implementing this concern. Unfortunately, there are still shockingly few jobs available in the South in the field of race relations. There are, for instance, more specialists in the city of Detroit than in all of the southeastern states put together. This derives from the difficulty of trying to raise funds in the South to support this kind of work. Even so, as the jobs become available, they are not easy to fill adequately.

Your background is varied and interesting and reflects considerable contact with problems of intergroup relations. Your lack of Southern exposure would be somewhat of a weakness, but one learns fast down here. I don't know of a position open at the moment, but they do turn up fairly regularly and I hope you will let us keep in touch with you so that we can consider specific opportunities as they arise. We have, for instance, filled three positions in our general set-up this year.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SF-1201 (4-60)

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter

NL = Night Letter

LT = International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

124A EST MAY 24 61 AA052

CTA009 CT LLA46 NL PD BLUEFIELD WVIR 23

PAUL M RILLING

5 FORSYTHE ST NORTHWEST ROOM 201 SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

ATLA

WOULD LIKE TO KNOW IF YOU WILL CONDUCT COMMUNITY RESOURCES

WORKSHOP JUNE 19

L B ALLEN PRES B S C.

May 23, 1961

Dr. L. B. Allen
President
Bluefield State College
Bluefield, West Virginia

Dear Dr. Allen:

I regret that my June calendar is already too crowded to enable me to work with the Community Resources Workshop next month. I appreciate your invitation and would find it an exciting assignment if time permitted. I hope we can work together some time in the future.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm

BLUEFIELD STATE COLLEGE
BLUEFIELD, WEST VIRGINIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

May 20, 1961

Mr. Paul M. Rilling
Southern Regional Council
Five Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Rilling:

I am writing to inquire if you will be able to conduct a Community Resources Workshop at Bluefield State College beginning June 19, 1961. The workshop will run for two weeks preferably. If you can only serve one week, then the length of the workshop will be so adjusted.

The purpose of the workshop will be to draw upon community agencies, to encourage lay leadership, and to create effective lines of communication within the Bluefield community. Ultimately it is hoped that the relationship between the college and the community will be improved.

We are in position to do all of the necessary preparation for the workshop. We can supply consultants and engage representatives from local agencies.

Please let me know if you will be able to work with us in this project and what your fees will be for one or two weeks.

Sincerely yours,

L. B. Allen

L. B. Allen
President

LBA:gh

PA - ✓
SAH WD ✓

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF **BOB HUGHES**

RM. 1218 ~~COMER BLDG., BIRMINGHAM~~ 3, ALA.

May 28, 61

Dear Sarah:

Good to hear from you this week. The publication of your letter makes me furious. I believe that I did receive it as I recall that apparently Paul wasn't as negative as I thought he would be on getting John Rue on our board. So this would indicate either theft from my office, probably since I've left on Jan. 15th since I don't believe I missed anything while I was there; or someone got it out of our trash ~~can~~ after removal of the trash from the office.

I don't recall having seen

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF **BOB HUGHES**

RM. 1218 COMER BLDG., BIRMINGHAM 3, ALA.

the letter around after my initial reading & I doubt if it was one we would have kept anyway. In all likelihood it was thrown away, although I do know that there is less important mail still around in old files that I wouldn't have seen in a couple of years.

When my mail was intercepted in Tuscaloosa back in 1956 and the letter photostated, a law prof there told me I had a common law copyright & could sue them for reproduction. Don't know if the same would be true in the case of the "Jeffersonian"

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF **BOB HUGHES**
RM. 1218 COMER BLDG., BIRMINGHAM 3, ALA.

but surely there is some recourse.

Personally, due to my uncertainty of receipt, I would advise reporting possible theft to the Postal Inspectors Office & let their investigation intimidate the "Jeffersonian" folks - that is if there's nothing else that you feel you can do.

We've been all upset over B'ham & Mi'ssy - awful guilty sitting up here between semesters & feeling I ought to be down there. The

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF **BOB HUGHES**

RM. 1218 COMER BLDG., BIRMINGHAM 3, ALA.

Greyhound Station in Birmingham is directly in front of my old office there & I could see my windows in several riot photos. I came within an ace of calling Paul & asking him if I was needed as I do know folks in Birmingham of course, but decided the plane expense wouldn't be justified by my usefulness.

I'd have any confidential report Paul might make. Maybe I could make some

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF **BOB HUGHES**

RM. 1218 COMER BLDG., BIRMINGHAM 3, ALA.

comments or suggestions on the future from this objective distance.

I'll be away on a camping trip - at last - from Tues. [redacted] or Wed. until Thurs. week. Then to Indiana for 10 days at DePaul Univ. in Greencastle at a meth. missions conference & then return here for rest of the summer school session.

Gotta run. Tell Paul I really enjoy his work now. I feel like a fish out

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF **BOB HUGHES**

RM. 1218 COMER BLDG., BIRMINGHAM 3, ALA.

water. So little I could do - wired Kennedy my support on the 1st Sat of rioting, got others to write letters, called Melton Gregory in Miss, got resolutions thru New Eng. meth. Conf supporting Melton (as his chmn post is mildly threatened) & calling for a regional post to be set up under Dudley Ward. Went on T.V. locally for 15 min. interview - said I wasn't surprised at violence - we had

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF **BOB HUGHES**

RM. 1218 COMER BLDG., BIRMINGHAM 3, ALA.

26 not scares in Ala.
since 1954, 16 of them
erupting into violence, etc.
Let me know if there's
anything I can do.

Cordially,

Bob

May 30, 1961

Mr. Saal Lesser
Encampment for Citizenship
2 West 64th Street
New York 23, New York

Dear Saal:

We have received a letter from Bill Williams of the Florida Council on Human Relations concerning a possible participant in the Encampment this summer. As the relatively new field director of SRC, I am not sure whether the old scholarship arrangement was terminated or whether it is still in effect. At any rate, I hope you can consider some help for Mr. Freeman and that you will let me know if we should have some responsibility for handling this in any way.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm

May 15, 1961

Encampment for Citizenship
2 West 64th St
N Y 23, N Y

Dear sirs:

In the past we have recommended several young people for scholarships- through the Southern Regional Council- and have been most pleased with their experience there.

This year I find myself not quite as up to date as I need to be, since Corinne Schreider was in town at a time I was not. However, I've called Paul Rilling, Field Director for the SRC, and he suggests that I forward the enclosed application to you with our endorsement of Marion Freeman as a candidate for a scholarship. Paul will probably be adding a note separately.

Since Marion's participation hinges on his getting a scholarship we want you to know that we think he is especially deserving of one. He is also recommended by the last gal we helped to get up there!

If there is anything further we can do, please let us know.

Sincerely,

Wm K Williams
Executive Director

cc; Paul Rilling
Marion Freeman

June 9, 1961

The Rev. Robert Hughes
57 Sycamore Street
Roslindale 31, Massachusetts

Dear Bob:

It was very good to hear from you amidst all the turmoil down here. I am consulting our attorney about the letter in the Jeffersonian. We may or may not take this up with postal inspectors in Alabama, but will take no other action at this time. I will raise the common law copyright matter, but doubt that we would be interested in a public suit as far as SRC is concerned.

We considered calling you when the Alabama storm broke, but felt it would be unfair to interfere with your current commitments. If you had called you would have been called in with thanks and relief. I was heavily involved during that week, so Paul Anthony went to Montgomery where he made contact with our constituency and with the press to make what contribution he could. At least initially, there was some spark of constructive response as reflected in the editorials of the Montgomery and Birmingham papers, statements of the Montgomery ministerial group, group of Montgomery business men, some church women, etc. I will get you fuller details soon.

Your record of frenetic activity, TV show, call to Montgomery, New England Methodist Conference, etc. sounds as though you have made more actual contribution to the cause from there than we have from here.

Your successor, Rev. Norman Jimerson, an American Baptist type, takes over on August 1. He seems like a strongly committed and capable man, though somewhat inexperienced in this particular field.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm

June 9, 1961

Mr. Fred Routh
P. O. Box 2292
Detroit 31, Michigan

Dear Fred:

I thought it only fair to warn you that I will be coming to Detroit for the NAIRO board meeting, June 16 - 17. I trust you will be on hand and that we han have us a drink or a meal together, or something. I will probably need to get on back Saturday afternoon, but might be able to come up Thursday night depending on your plans and commitments.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm

June 16, 1961

Mr. Ernest Lent
Unitarian Service Committee
9 Park Street
Boston, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. Lent:

Following up your concern relating to Knoxville, I talked with Kay Jones, the director of the Tennessee Council, who reports that:

1. There has indeed been a meeting of members of the Tennessee Council in Knoxville to consider the role that the state Council might most effectively play in Knoxville. No conclusions have been reached.

2. The members of the Knoxville Council who belong to the Tennessee Council were not purposely omitted from this meeting, although Mr. Acuff was not invited, apparently, because of an oversight.

3. Miss Jones was not aware that the Knoxville Council was particularly interested in affiliating with the TCHR, but has received a recent letter from them indicating a desire for further exploration in this direction.

4. The Tennessee Council is most interested in the possibility of affiliation of the Knoxville Council and has no plans for an independent operation in Knoxville unless (a) the Knoxville Council does not affiliate and/or (b) The Knoxville Council is unwilling to consider opening its membership to a larger number of concerned Knoxville citizens.

This is the only information I have. I urged on Kay the need to avoid any competitive operation if possible. She indicated that this has been her thinking all along.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm
cc: Kay JONES

June 19, 1961

Mr. Saal Lesser
Encampment for Citizenship
2 West 64th Street
New York 23, New York

Dear Saal:

We very much appreciate the Encampment's willingness to provide scholarship assistance to Marion Freeman. We value this kind of experience for Southern students. Unfortunately, we are not in a position to supplement this assistance. We have no funds earmarked for this sort of a activity and none that can be shaken loose this year.

Best wishes for a fine conference.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm

ENCAMPMENT FOR CITIZENSHIP
2 WEST 64TH STREET, NEW YORK 23, N. Y.
SUsquehanna 7-2714

ARTHUR M. BULLOWA
Chairman of the Board

SAAL D. LESSER
Executive Director

June 8, 1961

Dear Paul,

Thanks for your letter of May 30, and please excuse my brief reply. We have been swamped with applications (finally) and are hard pressed to handle the thousand and one details involved in operating three Encampments.

Regarding Marion Freeman, we have granted him a scholarship in the amount of $320.00. If there is any possibility that the Southern Regional Council could help out with a few bucks we would, of course, appreciate it immensely. About 80% of the applicants need some financial aid, and I foresee a whopping deficit as a result of the large number of scholarship requests. Therefore, Paul, anything that can be done to help out will be gratefully acknowledged.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Saal

Saal D. Lesser
Executive Director

Mr. Paul Rilling
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

June 23, 1961

LWD

PR

Board of Directors

I am sending on some preliminary thoughts on the board election. My general theory on these matters is that rotation should be the normal practice and that board members should be retired at the termination of their terms except in those exceptional cases where their talents or names have been of particular value. I believe we have tended ~~to~~ in the past to reelect board members as a general practice and to an unfortunate degree.

I would suggest that the following members of the CLass of 1961 not be reelected; Doggett- has served quite a while; Duncan - we have an oversupply of Negro college presidents; Gaston - to my knowledge has showed no interest or activity; Griffin - long time member, deserves a rest; Hamilton - obvious reasons; Harris - considered very conservative by our Arkansas contacts, has not been active; Kimball - rotation policy; Hunter - has served loyally, been long suffering, is under pressure in Alabama
If any of the above have not served a full term, I would think they might well be reelected for one full term.

I will probably have other suggestions for new members, but let me pass on these for now; among the newer Negro leadership, I would suggest three;
1. The Rev. Kelly Miller Smith, member of the SCLC board, has played major role in Nashville settlements, seems responsible and sound.
2. Rev. Joseph Lowry, Mobile - longtime effective leader of Mobile Negro community & SCLC VP; intelligent, courageous, and responsible.
3. The Rev. Virgil Wood, Lynchburg, Va. Chairman of Lynchburg Improvement Association, former chairman of the Lynchburg Council on HR; former chairman Lynchburg chapter NAACP branch.

It is my belief that these persons, although oriented to more militant groups within the Negro community, are fairly balanced in their grasp of the total problem and would fit in with our board and our way of working. Smith and Lowry are both older men whose

June 23, 1961

LWD PR

leadership predates the rise of these newer groups. I have known Lowry for some 10 years and have a high regard for him. Wood might be slightly more of an actionist and is a younger man, but I feel we need more contact with this type of leadership.

I would strongly urge that David Scull of Annandale, Va. be added to our board. Although a business man, Dave works virtually half time for good causes, is chairman of the board of Community Developers, is on the International Quaker Committee dealing with race relations. He is a founder of the Fairfax County Council on Human Relations and extremely active in the Virgin ia Council. He is on the board of Nationwide Insurance Co. He is well connected in the Washington area and is nationally known in this field. Dave has always been strongly interested in SRC and in the old days when we had annual membership meetings, he was a regular participant. I worked closely with him in Virginia, and feel he would be a real asset to our board.

Misc.

June 28, 1961

Mr. Leo Marsh
National Council of YMCA's
291 Broadway
New York 7, New York

Dear Leo:

For some time I have been planning a trip to New York to renew our contacts with some of the intergroup relations personnel based there.

I realize that July is not a good time to find people at their desks, but I will be in New York on July 10th. I would like to stay over several days if this would give me an opportunity to meet with some of you.

I would appreciate it if you could let me know as soon as possible if you would be available for consultation at some time July 10th through July 13th.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

June 28, 1961

Mr. Dan Dodson
Human Relations Center
New York University
New York 3, New York

Dear Dan:

For some time I have been planning a trip to New York to renew our contacts with some of the intergroup relations personnel based there.

I realize that July is not a good time to find people at their desks, but I will be in New York on July 10th. I would like to stay over several days if this would give me an opportunity to meet with some of you.

I would appreciate it if you could let me know as soon as possible if you would be available for consultation at some time July 10th through July 13th.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

June 28, 1961

Mr. Harry Fleischman
National Labor Service
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Fleischman:

For some time I have been planning a trip to New York to renew our contacts with some of the intergroup relations personnel based there.

I realize that July is not a good time to find people at their desks, but I will be in New York on July 10th. I would like to stay over several days if this would give me an opportunity to meet with some of you.

I would appreciate it if you could let me know as soon as possible if you would be available for consultation at some time July 10th through July 13th.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

June 28, 1961

Mr. Whitney Young
National Urban League, Inc.
14 East 48th Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Whitney:

For some time I have been planning a trip to New York to renew our contacts with some of the intergroup relations personnel based there.

I realize that July is not a good time to find people at their desks, but I will be in New York on July 10th. I would like to stay over several days if this would give me an opportunity to meet with some of you.

I would appreciate it if you could let me know as soon as possible if you would be available for consultation at some time July 10th through July 13th.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

June 28, 1961

Mr. John Lassoe, Jr.
Executive Secretary
National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials
426 West 58th Street
New York 19, New York

Dear John:

For some time I have been planning a trip to New York to renew our contacts with some of the intergroup relations personnel based there.

I realize that July is not a good time to find people at their desks, but I will be in New York on July 10th. I would like to stay over several days if this would give me an opportunity to meet with some of you.

I would appreciate it if you could let me know as soon as possible if you would be available for consultation at some time July 10th through July 13th.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

June 28, 1961

Miss June Shagaloff
NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc.
10 Columbus Circle
New York 19, New York

Dear Miss Shagaloff:

For some time I have been planning a trip to New York to mmnew our contacts with some of the intergroup relations personnel based there.

I realize that July is not a good time to find people at their desks, but I will be in New York on July 10th. I would like to stay over several days if this would give me an opportunity to meet with some of you.

I would appreciate it if you could let me know as soon as possible if you would be available for consultation at some time July 10th through July 13th.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

June 28, 1961

Mr. Roy Wilkins
Executive Secretary
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Mr. Wilkins:

For some time I have been planning a trip to New York to renew our contacts with some of the intergroup relations personnel based there.

I realize that July is not a good time to find people at their desks, but I will be in New York on July 10th. I would like to stay over several days if this would give me an opportunity to meet with some of you.

I would appreciate it if you could let me know as soon as possible if you would be available for consultation at some time July 10th through July 13th.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

June 28, 1961

Mr. Emanuel Muravchik
Director, Anti-Discrimination Department
Jewish Labor Committee
25 East 78th Street
New York 21, New York

Dear Manny:

For some time I have been planning a trip to New York to renew our contacts with some of the intergroup relations personnel based there.

I realize that July is not a good time to find people at their desks, but I will be in New York on July 10th. I would like to stay over several days if this would give me an opportunity to meet with some of you.

I would appreciate it if you could let me know as soon as possible if you would be available for consultation at some time July 10th through July 13th.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

June 28, 1961

Mr. Gordon Carey
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Gordon:

For some time I have been planning a trip to New York to renew our contacts with some of the intergroup relations personnel based there.

I realize that July is not a good time to find people at their desks, but I will be in New York on July 10th. I would like to stay over several days if this would give me an opportunity to meet with some of you.

I would appreciate it if you could let me know as soon as possible if you would be available for consultation at some time July 10th through July 13th.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

June 28, 1961

Mr. James Farmer
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

For some time I have been planning a trip to New York to renew our contacts with some of the intergroup relations personnel based there.

I realize that July is not a good time to find people at their desks, but I will be in New York on July 10th. I would like to stay over several days if this would give me an opportunity to meet with some of you.

I would appreciate it if you could let me know as soon as possible if you would be available for consultation at some time July 10th through July 13th.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

June 28, 1961

Mr. Leo Pfeffer
Director, Commission on Law and Social Action
American Jewish Congress
15 East 84th Street
New York 28, New York

Dear Mr. Pfeffer:

For some time I have been planning a trip to New York to renew our contacts with some of the intergroup relations personnel based there.

I realize that July is not a good time to find people at their desks, but I will be in New York on July 10th. I would like to stay over several days if this would give me an opportunity to meet with some of you.

I would appreciate it if you could let me know as soon as possible if you would be available for consultation at some time July 10th through July 13th.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

June 28, 1961

Mr. Edwin J. Lukas
Director, National Affairs
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

For some time I have been planning a trip to New York to renew our contacts with some of the intergroup relations personnel based there.

I realize that July is not a good time to find people at their desks, but I will be in New York on July 10th. I would like to stay over several days if this would give me an opportunity to meet with some of you.

I would appreciate it if you could let me know as soon as possible if you would be available for consultation at some time July 10th through July 13th.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

June 28, 1961

Mr. David Danzig
Program Director
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Dave:

For some time I have been planning a trip to New York to renew our contacts with some of the intergroup relations personnel based there.

I realize that July is not a good time to find people at their desks, but I will be in New York on July 10th. I would like to stay over several days if this would give me an opportunity to meet with some of you.

I would appreciate it if you could let me know as soon as possible if you would be available for consultation at some time July 10th through July 13th.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

June 28, 1961

Mr. Patrick Malin
Executive Director
American Civil Liberties Union
170 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Mr. Malin:

For some time I have been planning a trip to New York to renew our contacts with some of the intergroup relations personnel based there.

I realize that July is not a good time to find people at their desks, but I will be in New York on July 10th. I would like to stay over several days if this would give me an opportunity to meet with some of you.

I would appreciate it if you could let me know as soon as possible if you would be available for consultation at some time July 10th through July 13th.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

June 28, 1961

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Program Director
Anti-Defamation League of B'Nai B'Rith
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Cohen:

For some time I have been planning a trip to New York to renew our contacts with some of the intergroup relations personnel based there.

I realize that July is not a good time to find people at their desks, but I will be in New York on July 10th. I would like to stay over several days if this would give me an opportunity to meet with some of you.

I would appreciate it if you could let me know as soon as possible if you would be available for consultation at some time July 10th through July 13th.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

June 29, 1961

Mrs. Lillie Hunter
Bookkeeper
Southern Christian Leadership Conference
208 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Hunter:

We received today your letter of June 23 with the enclosed letter to Dr. King and check payable to the Council. Mr. Rilling is out of the city this week; he will return on Monday, however, and will, I am sure, give the matter his immediate attention.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Administrative Secretary
Field Services
Activities

MM:s

$10.00 Check endorsed and sent to
ACLC 7/3/61
RHA

Misc

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

TWENTY WEST FORTIETH STREET • NEW YORK 18, N. Y. • BRyant 9-1400

June 30, 1961

Dear Mr. Rilling:

Thank you for your letter of June 28th.

Unfortunately our entire executive staff will be away from New York during the period of your visit here.

We will be in attendance at our 52nd Annual Convention being held this year in Philadelphia, Pa., July 10th to 16th.

I am extremely sorry.

Very sincerely yours,

Roy Wilkins

Roy Wilkins,
Executive Secretary.

Mr. Paul M.Rilling
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., NW
Atlanta 3, Ga.

rw/mdj

REMEMBER THESE DATES!

June 19 thru July 1

1961

18th Annual Race Relations Institute

FROM
RACE RELATIONS DEPARTMENT
BOARD OF HOME MISSIONS
CONGREGATIONAL CHRISTIAN CHURCHES
FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

"Nonprofit Organization"
U. S. POSTAGE
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Permit No. 531

TO:

Mr. Harold Fleming
Director, Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E. Room 432
Atlanta, Georgia

Human Values and Public Policy

We invite you to the provocative, informative and helpful discussions of ONE OF THE NATION'S MOST IMPORTANT LEADERSHIP TRAINING INSTITUTES IN RACE RELATIONS . . . .

Teachers, ministers, intergroup relations officials and board members, social workers, labor union members, personnel workers, housewives, college students—this opportunity is provided for your interest in THE NATION'S MOST URGENT AND CRUCIAL DOMESTIC ISSUE.

PLAN NOW to come to the 18th ANNUAL RACE RELATIONS INSTITUTE at FISK UNIVERSITY. Get your school, church, labor union, agency or organization to send a representative.

Twenty-five of the country's top authorities in intergroup relations will serve as lecturers and consultants.

A special clinic on RELIGION AND RACE will feature these sessions, under leadership of the *Department of Racial and Cultural Relations* of the National Council of Churches.

THE PLACE: Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee.

Sessions are in air-conditioned Robert E. Park Hall. Housing and dining facilities are provided on the University campus.

THE COST: $80.00 for room, tuition and board.

A limited number of partial and full scholarships are available.

"An immensely refreshing experience" which you will enjoy with 100 participants from 30 states in exploring the racial problems of housing, employment, education, religion and other fields. THREE SEMESTER HOURS of academic credit in either sociology or education may be earned.

18th Annual Race Relations Institute

A joint Project of the Race Relations Agencies of the CONGREGATIONAL CHRISTIAN CHURCHES, THE UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST AND FISK UNIVERSITY.
In Cooperation with: Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, *National Council of Churches of Christ.*

June 19 thru July 1

APPLY AND WRITE TO:

Dr. Herman H. Long
Race Relations Department
Board of Home Missions
Congregational Christian Churches
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Rev. Galen Weaver
Council for Christian Social Action
United Church of Christ
287 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dr. J. Osca Lee
Department of Racial and Cultural Relations
National Council of Churches
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, New York

Rev. Chester L. Marcus
Council for Christian Social Action
2969 W. 25th Street
Cleveland 13, Ohio

☐ Please send me an application for admission to the Eighteenth Annual Institute of Race Relations.

NAME.....

STREET.....

CITY.....ZONE.....STATE.....

☐ Also please send an application and information to:

NAME.....

STREET.....

CITY.....ZONE.....STATE.....

RACE RELATIONS DEPARTMENT
AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION
FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

July 3, 1961

Mr. Lewis H. Deer
5355 University
Indianapolis 19, Indiana

Dear Lewis:

In the South, NCCJ seems to concentrate more on matters of interfaith concern than on other aspects of intergroup relations. In Virginia, NCCJ has sponsored some useful interracial conferences at the high school level. It is my understanding that the Florida office has made some useful contributions in the area of workshops. In the North, the organization has sometimes been in the forefront of the effort to resolve racial problems.

I am afraid that in general I share your impression of the organization in the South.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR:mm

Lewis H. Deer
5355 University
Indianapolis 19, Indiana

June 27, 1961

Dear Paul,

Southern parochialism will be offended. I was born in Pittsburgh Pennsylvania. I can't even claim "the southside" of Pittsburgh — it was the West side!

A few weeks ago Gordon Lovejoy and I were together at the Minister's Institute at Brite College of the Bible, Ft. Worth. From several sessions of informal "shop talk" I learned that NCCJ either has or is about to have several openings in the southeast. Being more reserved than usual, I did not indicate any personal interest in job possibilities. Frankly, I'm not impressed with what I've seen of NCCJ. Gordon himself did an excellent job of lecturing at the Institute so my impression of NCCJ is not based on his competence. It is based on other NCCJ staff I've met across the South and on what seems to be a total lack of even an educational program. If you can correct my impression by pointing out areas in which NCCJ has done a job, I'd appreciate it.

Sincerely
Lewis

July 3, 1961

Mrs. Dorothy S. Bauman
Executive Director
National Council for the Panel of Americans
33 East 68th Street
New York 21, New York

Dear Dorothy:

Thank you for the materials. I am moving immediately to explore possibilities with the people on the various campuses. I will keep you informed.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

cc: Dr. Kenneth Morland

NATIONAL COUNCIL
FOR THE
PANEL OF AMERICANS
33 East 68th Street, New York 21, New York • REgent 4-2254

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Mrs. Dorothy S. Bauman
Executive Director
Marian Hargrave
Associate Director

June 26, 1961

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
Room 201 - 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Kenneth Morland wrote that you would be willing to investigate the possibilities of interest in an intercollegiate Panel in Atlanta. How fine! Material is being sent you under separate cover.

We have moved in quite a different direction in the past two years since we last met, and I look forward to having a chance to discuss this with you in the fall, either in New York or Atlanta. Ken has done such a superb job in Lynchburg, as well as at our Midwest Conference and in New York, that I am sure the Lynchburg Panel would be a stimulating demonstration and explanation, if a group can be drawn together in the fall.

We are closing the office during July and August, but will be back after Labor Day.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Dorothy Bauman

Dorothy S. Bauman
Executive Director

DSB:mf

WHITNEY M. YOUNG, JR.

EIGHTEEN ROBINSON STREET, CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

July
5th
1961

Mr. Paul M. Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Your letter was forwarded to me here in Cambridge as I must complete my study here and am not scheduled to report to New York until August 1.

I regret not being available to see you on your visit to New York as nothing would please me more than to see you, have you see our headquarters, get your thinking on projected Urban League program, and receive first hand what's happening in Atlanta and the South.

Why don't you drop by the office anyway and talk to Joe Allen or Nelson Jackson, who are Associate Directors and who will be my right hand men. Tell them that I suggested that you call.

Hopefully, you will make another visit soon.

Sincerely,

Whitney

Whitney M. Young

WY:my

Misc C

July 12, 1961

Mr. Timothy L. Jenkins
National Affairs Vice President
United States National Student Association
3457 Chestnut Street
Philadelphia 4, Pa.

Dear Mr. Jenkins:

Paul Rilling has asked me to forward you material on Negro voter registration. Under separate cover we are sending SRC's most recently published study in this area, "The Negro and the Ballot in the South," 1959, together with an earlier SRC study, "The Negro Voter in the South." If significant studies in this area have been published more recently, I do not know of them. We are, however, enclosing a few tidbits of information from our research office files which might be useful to you - a copy of state by state registration figures (the latest we have) and several New York Times clips which might be of interest.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Administrative Secretary
Field Services

SEA FOAM B

MMts
enclosures

"U.S. Wins Round on Negro Vote," Times, 4/2/61
"Negro Vote Surge Expected in South," Times, 6/26/61
File copy, Registered Negro Voters

NSA

INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION

UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION

3457 CHESTNUT STREET • PHILADELPHIA 4, PA. • BAring 2-5722 • CABLE, NATSTUD - PHILADELPHIA, PA.

July 13, 1961

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Rilling:

The United States National Student Association wishes to thank you for generously devoting your time and interest to discussions with the West African students when they were in Atlanta.

The students found their meeting with you both interesting and informative.

During their tour, the African students had the opportunity to see large portions of the United States. They visited numerous colleges and universities and talked to students about their own problems and learned much about American society. They also visited many groups particularly interested in African affairs and participated in what we hope were mutually beneficial exchanges of ideas and information. We attempted to give the students a first-hand view of our racial problems, in which they were particularly interested, by arranging for them to visit the South. We hope that they gained insights which will dispel the misinformation and generalizations about this subject which are so prevalent in other parts of the world. We believe that the students profited generally by a greater understanding of American society and that those who met them gained some knowledge of the problems and aspirations of this area of the world with which, for linguistic and other reasons, we have had so little contact.

This tour was sponsored by NSA as a part of its extensive cooperation with other national unions of students. In addition to promoting international awareness on member campuses, NSA sponsors a varied and diverse program of activities with foreign student organizations in all parts of the world. We sincerely hope you will continue to assist us in the future when other foreign student leaders visit our country as guests of NSA.

Sincerely yours,

Frank Crump

FRANK CRUMP
International Affairs Assistant

fourteenth NATIONAL STUDENT CONGRESS
UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN • AUGUST 20 TO AUGUST 30, 1961

ASSOCIATED WITH: American Council on Education • International Student Conference • U. S. Commission for UNESCO • World University Service • Council on Student Travel • Young Adult Council • Nat'l Citizens Committe for UN Day • Nat'l Scholarship Service & Fund for Negro Students

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Southern Human Relations Project
41 Exchange Place, S.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

West Coast Office
2161 Shattuck Avenue
Berkeley, California

•

Educational Travel, Inc.
20 West 38th Street
New York 18, New York

2161 Shattuck Avenue
Berkeley, California

•

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Temple University

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Misc-
Bob Hughes

Fairview -
5 - 3282

July 17, 1961

The Rev. Robert Hughes
57 Sycamore Street
Roslindale 31, Massachusetts

Dear Bob:

Peripatetic Paul Rilling stopped by the office this morning, en route from New York to New Orleans, long enough to ask me to write you this: it would be a fine idea for you to come to Alabama for a few days either during the first or the second week of August to help orient Jimerson to his job, to introduce him around, etc.. We are willing to pay your round trip expenses to Birmingham; the Alabama Council has agreed to take care of your maintenance and your travel within the state. Let us know your reaction.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Administrative Secretary
Field Services

MM:s

P.S. As you can see, the staff has been shuffled around a little. I don't know what the title means.

R U S H AIR * S P E C I A L

Robert Kohler, Nathan Perlmutter, Richard Shapiro, Arthur Levin, Theodore Freedman, and Irwin Schulman

Oscar Cohen

July 20, 1961

SCHOOL CLOSING IN LITTLE ROCK - Draft

Attached herewith is a rough draft of the pamphlet on the consequences of school closing in the Little Rock area which we discussed at our Miami meeting. The format is far from final and we will revise in accordance with the comments we receive from you.

Since we are anxious to publish this as soon as possible, we wonder if you could read the copy and give us your comments as to the material you think should be excluded, additional material included, your ideas on format, etc.

We will probably use three cartoons. Two of them are by Baldy of the Atlanta Constitution. We have used one of them before. It shows a deserted town with the comment, "First we closed our schools and then one thing led to another." The other Baldy shows two beds in a hospital ward. The patient's record on one of the beds is labelled, "Public School Outlook. The other record is labelled, "Business Outlook". This cartoon is captioned, "Roommates". The third cartoon is by Brooks of the Birmingham News and is captioned "In Your Hands". It shows a large hand labelled "A public demanding law and order" holding "Birmingham's Future".

Your comments are urgently required. Please rush these to me within a week.

OC:ms
cc: Alex Miller

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

Of B'nai B'rith

515 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N. Y., PLaza 1-1800

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Organization and Planning
•
ARNOLD FORSTER
General Counsel

JM - may I have your comments please

July 21, 1961

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

When we met in New York we talked about a publication we would be issuing shortly on the consequences of school closing and violence in the South. You said that you and your colleagues would look over the copy and let us have your comments.

I am sending you five copies by airmail-special and a copy of the memorandum we have sent to our colleagues. I need your comments within the next week, if this is possible. May I hear from you.

Sincerely yours,

Oscar Cohen

OC:ms
Enc.

PRV

SUMMER WORKSHOP ANNOUNCEMENT

The Merrill-Palmer Institute would like to call your special attention to the following workshop which will be offered this summer. Because of the interest shown in human relations workshops at Merrill-Palmer during the past two summers and because of apparent community needs in this field, the workshop, "The Role of the Professional Person in the Racially Changing Neighborhood," will be held July 10-21, 1961 at the Institute.

Teachers, principals, visiting teachers, social workers, nurses, community agency personnel, clergymen, and businessmen from many cities in the United States will be among the participants. The workshop will offer two hours' credit and will carry a tuition fee of $45.00. Room and board can be provided at the Institute for $60.00. Scholarships are available.

The emphasis of the workshop is on helping the professional person play a positive role in biracial settings as he relates to the community, his clients, and families in his neighborhood. The aims of the workshop are to bring together pertinent knowledge concerning race, urban change, and community organization and to encourage participants to learn more about their own attitudes, values, and professional skills so as to increase their effectiveness in biracial communities. Among the other topics to be pursued will be neighborhood organization to facilitate change, the role of housing in the biracial community, the schools, churches, police power and other institutions of importance to neighborhood change, and similar interests. The development of individual philosophies concerning the relationship of the professional person to race relations will be stressed. The full resources of the Metropolitan Detroit area will be available to supplement the contributions of the Merrill-Palmer workshop staff, and consultants from the Detroit area will bring the latest in facts and experiences, and use will be made of materials and data gathered from Detroit families.

Applications for the workshop are currently being accepted. Interested persons should write immediately to Dr. Richard K. Kerckhoff, Workshop Leader, The Merrill-Palmer Institute, 71 East Ferry Avenue, Detroit 2, Michigan.

File cc

Cohen

Criticism of Oscar Cohn manuscript: JAM July 27, 1961

The pamphlet should justify why it is only dealing with one cost--mainly economic. It should take cognizance of the fact that there are other costs as well, eg.,psychological, political.

Secondly, economic costs of desegregation in addition to including these costs ~~bourne~~ borne by the total community by disruption in the normal process of industry (attraction of new companies, dislocation of ~~ik~~ labor force, etc.) should also take into account the total with-drawal of economic purshasing on the part of the Negro community from economic activity. And, indeed, as in the case of Atlanta, the transfer of this financial resource to the areas outside the city.

Third, is in the organization of the materials presented. The pamphlet could be strengthened if the pamphlet dealt with the economic cost of opposition and not just simply the economic costs of school closing. In either event, the data presented ought to make some effort towards comparability between the communities involved (e.g., the first case dealt with Little Rock. The order of development of the findings there start with the change in the attraction of new plants to the city, attitudes of businessmen towards the school crisis, mobility of families affected by the school crisis, reactions of citizens in different professions towards the school closing, and press comments.). It would seem to me that this same order should be represented in the case of New Orleans, Atlanta, and so on. One needs only to look at New Orleans to see that the structure is quite different than that of Little Rock.

Even though Alabama is treated with respect to the Freedom Rides, nothing is offered on the economic effect brought about by the sit-ins.

On page 6, the last paragraph starting with "319 faculty members" and ending with top paragraph on page 7: this has no ~~xxxxxx~~ relelance to the aims of the pamphlet. The faculty members simply called for law and order. If this has economic implications than these should be drawn out.

We are sending along a bibliography of some additional items which we hope will be of help. Included also is a thermafax of a senate hearing of the situation in Nashville during the hearings. It might be well to ~~look at a publication currently in process of~~ issuance by the Council called, "Some Aspects of costs of the...." (The Dewey manuscript; I have ~~asked PR to ask LWD if it is OK to send this. MA~~); manuscript by C. Vann Woodward; Norman Thomas' letter in Wall Street Journal.

File cc-

COMMENTS ON THE COHEN MANUSCRIPT

EDITORIAL COMMENT:

(Page 11 and elsewhere) The writer is not consistent in his reference to the newspapers: E.g. Atlanta Journal, Atlanta "Constitution", Atlanta Constitution.

(Page 10) James V. Carmichael was one of a group of "key leaders" who spoke at a state-wide press conference held at the State Capitol on March 16, 1961. This was not the Governor's Conference on Trade and Commerce, but more in the nature of a briefing session on the Conference held for the benefit of the Press. The quote from the newspaper was from the Atlanta Journal.

The Conference was held May 21-24, 1961.

(Page 30) Frantz - not Feantz - was one of the de-segregated schools in New Orleans.

MY OPINION:

If this pamphlet is designed to be used as a source of opinions, facts, and statistics compiled in one paper for easy accessibility by persons desiring information furnished in such a form, then the paper is, I suppose, useful. If, however, it is designed to challenge the reader with the stark, realistic picture of the economic disaster that can and does follow violent resistance to court de-segregation orders, here, I think, it fails in its purpose. I was interested in the topic of the pamphlet, but the presentation of the material soon dulled the keen edge of that interest.

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Report L-22: Memorandum of the Fowler Commission on Race Relations (Florida), December 9, 1960.

Report L-26: Address by General Lucius D. Clay to the Governor's Conference on Trade and Commerce, July 25, 1961.

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PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

Misc

July 28, 1961

Miss Sandra Cason
Students for A Democratic Society
112 East 19th Street
New York 3, N. Y.

Dear Miss Cason:

Paul Rilling has asked me to send you materials dealing with the question of voter registration, as requested in your letter of July 8. Several SRC publications are being sent to you under separate cover, along with newsclips which may be of interest. The 1959 Report of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights is another source you may wish to consult (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C. - Part Two, Voting). To our knowledge, there have been no more recent reports of a comprehensive nature.

In regard to the specific questions you raise, I would suggest that you write Mr. Edward King, of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), 197½ Auburn Avenue, Atlanta, Georgia. It is my understanding that SNCC is thinking very much along the lines you are interested in, and currently has investigations underway. SNCC's first efforts in this area were last November; a call was issued for demonstrations and stand-ins at registration places and polls on election day, and in a number of Southern cities there were such activities, accompanied by sympathy demonstrations in many areas outside of the South. In Atlanta, the local student organization, The Committee on the Appeal for Human Rights, has been conducting a door-to-door campaign during the current summer to stimulate an increase in Negro voter registration. One of the clips we are sending you concerns NAACP registration efforts; unfortunately we have no information on the Highlander and SCLC programs.

I am sorry we are unable to provide you with further information.

Sincerely,

Marge Mandersen, Administrativ
Se

~~Enclosed~~
Under Separate cover;

List of registered Negro voters in Southern states
"The Negro Voter in the South"
"The Negro and the Ballot in the South"
Newsclips: Negro Vote Gains Cited by NAACP, Const., 7/10/61
Negro Vote Surge Expected in South, Times, 6/26/61
Negroes Amass Power at Polls, Chat. Times, 9/18/60
U.S. Wins Round on Negro Vote, Times, 4/2/61

SNCC

Misc

112 E. 19
New York 3, N.Y.
July 8, 1961

Mr. Paul Rilling
SRC
5 Forsyth St. NW
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Paul:

In the midst of a chaotic visit to the NSA office I am trying to sit down long enough to get a few letters written. I am working in New York on a volunteer basis with the Students for a Democratic Society trying to help develop a civil rights program. SDS is the student branch of the League for Industrial Democracy and is currently being run by Al Haber, a friend of mine, with the help of Tom Hayden, whom you met in Atlanta in January when I was there.

Part of what we are investigating is the whole question of voter registration. Some reports indicate that the Southern students will be turning to this area next year; I am not sure how reliable this is since it's certainly not in the minutes or probably very many people's thinking yet, but we are interested in beginning to lay the groundwork for such a program and in playing a major role in Northern support in the event that students there do turn to it.

I am sure that somewhere in the SRC publications there is material on this question. We would like anything you have (sent to me c/o LID at the above address. Also, if you could suggest other groups which would 1) have information we should secure, 2) are thinking along these lines, 3) know individuals who should be consulted, please send this information along also.

If you have the time and the information to fill me in on the general thinking of the Southern groups who would be concerned with this I would appreciate that also. For instance, is the NAACP planning to act, is the Highlander program at all effective, are any student groups working on registration, what has SCLC done, etc.

Thank you for your time and the material. Look forward to hearing from you.

Casey

Sandra Cason

PS Will probably be in Atlanta in September and will drop by. How is married life at this point in the changing of the bachelor?

August 2, 1961

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Anti-Defamation League of B'Nai B'Rith
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Cohen:

I have just noticed that a portion of the commentary from our Research staff on your projected manuscript on consequences of violence, etc., forwarded to you yesterday by Paul Rilling, is misleading as we typed it, and should have been corrected. The last paragraph of the comments by Jim Moss reads in part: "Included also is a thermafax of a senate hearing of the situation in Nashville during the hearings..." It should read: "Included also is a transcript of NBC's White Paper on the Nashville sit-ins, as entered in the Congressional Record by Senator Proxmire."

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Administrative Sec.
Field Services

N. A. A. C. P. LEGAL DEFENSE AND EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.

10 Columbus Circle, New York 19, N. Y.

JUDSON 6-8397

August 2, 1961

Dear Paul:

Just a note to tell you how sorry I am that I was not in New York the week of July 10 and to say, once again, that I hope you will let me know the next time you come to this noisy and dirty city.

My regards to your wife and I hope to see you both soon.

Sincerely,

June

June Shagaloff
Social Science Coordinator

Mr. Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

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LWD

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ARNOLD FORSTER
General Counsel

August 3, 1961

Mr. Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Thank you very much for your letter and comments. Please extend my appreciation to Leslie Dunbar, Mr. Moss and others.

Your comments were very helpful and you will find many of your ideas and corrections incorporated in the finished work.

I should make it clear that we were not trying to write a pamphlet on the economic consequences of resistance in the South, which would analyze the situation. Rather, we were trying to make a point by quoting from sources which would have acceptance in the South. Ideally, we would want to have a publication which would do no more than quote others. It was impossible to put one together on this basis.

We have radically revised the very rough copy which was sent you and I will try to get the revision in your hands very soon. I will be on vacation and I would appreciate if your comments would be sent to Stan Wexler of this office. Since we hope to have the printed publication in Atlanta by September 1st, you can understand that time is an important factor.

All of us are deeply grateful for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Oscar Cohen

OC:gs

August 4, 1961

Dr. Stephen K. Bailey
416 Hillsboro Parkway
Syracuse, New York

Dear Steve:

Congratulations on your new appointment to the Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship and Public Affairs. I seem to be about two jobs behind in keeping track of you. I was not familiar with your work with the Africa-Asia Public Service Fellowship Program.

For the last two years I have been here with the Southern Regional Council. In case you are not familiar with the Council, we are an interracial research and education organization working in the field of race relations.

Regards to your wife.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm
Enclosures

Please send the following literature for distribution to interested persons; list quantity desired:

_____ # recruiting brochures
_____ # director's report
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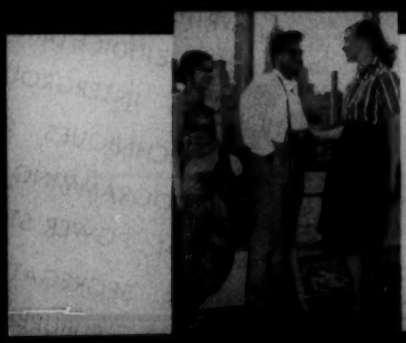

IDENTIFYING SOME OF THE PROBLEMS

Generally, the organized study program centers on the following major areas:

THE HISTORY AND MEANING OF DEMOCRACY. The American heritage. The roles of government, political parties, the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, the individual. The uses of power in a democratic society. Democratic methods and procedures of political action. Civil liberties. Anti-democratic ideologies; their origins and why people are drawn to them . . . the democratic answer to contemporary challenges.

HUMAN RESOURCES. Democracy as a way of seeing people. Obstacles to equality and fulfillment. Causes and effects of prejudice, discrimination, segregation. Intergroup conflict with special reference to current problems.

NATURAL RESOURCES AND THE ECONOMIC SYSTEM. How the productive and distributive systems work; strengths and weaknesses. The economic and moral issues between labor and management, farm and city. Role of government in economic life.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS. Factors making for war and peace. Problems of world organization and functioning of the United Nations. Factors shaping American foreign policy. Problems of emerging nationalism and their effects.

The educational program is planned in cooperation with an able faculty drawn from the universities and professions, with wide experience in public affairs. The faculty lives in the dormitories together with the students, affording ample opportunities for additional exchange of ideas.

Basic information is afforded through lectures, films, field trips, discussions, books and pamphlets, and supplemented through the constructive use of the experience and backgrounds of campers and staff. Discussion groups, forums, role-playing and other techniques of group problem solving are used to clarify the relation of leader and groups. The conflicting interests and practical problems of community participation are studied.

ZENSHIP JUNE 25 – AUGUST 5, 1961

Workshops are focused on practical problems—with the purpose of social analysis, of problem-solving, and developing techniques of constructive action.

THE PROCESS USED

LECTURES. Because of its proximity to urban centers, the Encampment has easy access to a great variety of resource persons and institutions. Academic material becomes alive and meaningful. Staff lectures are supplemented by guest speakers who bring concrete information and viewpoints directly from the very areas of life in which the problems under discussion occur.

DISCUSSION GROUPS. The core experience in each unit of study is the discussion group. Campers meet in small groups under a faculty leader to discuss and interpret the material. Learning is related to the campers' individual backgrounds. Ideas are analyzed and information shared. Above all, the aim is to develop an understanding of conflicting viewpoints so that campers become increasingly capable of critical analysis.

FIELD TRIPS. Field trips for research are planned to assure first-hand observation of problems. Direct contact is made with people and their leaders. Campers see conditions in different social and economic areas of the community; visit housing developments, talk with families and meet with school, church and civic leaders. Trips include visits to neighborhood settlements, human relations agencies, labor union headquarters, migrant farm labor camps, steel plants.

MAJOR PURPOSES OF THE ENCAMPMENT

To promote a deeper understanding of the varied peoples who make up America and a deeper appreciation of the problems they face.

To inspire the individual student, as a result of his personal and educational experiences, to enter more actively and purposefully into the mainstream of his own community's life.

A TYPICAL DAY begins at 7 A.M. Lectures, followed by intensive question and discussion periods, take up the mornings from 9 to 12 noon. Workshops are held after lunch, followed by a recreation period until supper time. In the evenings, there are town meetings, film forums, special programs or other cultural events. Every camper is expected to participate fully in the life of the Encampment—work duties, social and recreational programs, and community government.

Field trips are held one day each week. Free time is available on weekends for the individual pursuit of cultural and recreational activities both on and off campus. Religious services of all faiths are conducted at nearby houses of worship.

WORKSHOPS. Campers are encouraged to select a problem of immediate interest and concern. Then, either individually or in small groups, they spend time on research, reading and reporting. Typical workshops explore such problems as: segregation and integration, farm surplus, labor and management relations, juvenile delinquency, international relations, mediation of strikes, political action, civil liberties, community relations, migrant labor, housing, sit-ins, church-state relations, and American Indian tribal problems.

FORUMS. Special case studies and findings of projects conducted by workshop groups are often reported to the entire Encampment. In many instances, these are reported in panel and socio-drama form. Campers learn techniques, solve problems and discover new methods of presenting their findings effectively.

RECREATION. Recreational activities are conducted by campers under the guidance of an expert staff. They contribute to health by involving campers in outdoor and indoor physical activities—sports, games, dancing, swimming—enriching the personal development of the individual and opening up the world of the arts. Talents of campers are utilized in programming recreational and social activities. The cultural riches of the urban centers—theatres, concerts, museums—are drawn upon.

CAMPER WELFARE. While campers are given freedom commensurate with their maturity, their physical and emotional welfare are at all times a close concern of highly qualified members of the staff.

What Encampers Say:

". . . Because I went to the Encampment some very remarkable things happened to me . . . I won a scholarship to the Chicago University to study labor and management. . . ."

". . . For us all, the Encampment awakened new ideas, brought out problems of which we had hitherto been ignorant."

". . . It remains for me one of the most gratifying experiences of my life—a kind of living recollection of the extraordinary beauty of which human society is capable."

". . . We were not indoctrinated but enlightened."

. . . I learned to respect people whose ideas were opposed to mine. . . ."

". . . We all became each other's teachers as well as pupils.

EDUCATIONAL POLICY COMMITTEE . . . Outstanding
include: Dr. Dan W. Dodson, Director, Center for Human
berg, Professor of History, Sarah Lawrence College; Dr.
and Dr. Goodwin Watson of Teachers College, Columbia

WHAT IS THE ENCAMPMENT FOR CITIZENSHIP?

It is a non-profit, non-sectarian, non-political educational organization inaugurated in 1946 under the auspices of the American Ethical Union.

The Bureau of Applied Social Research of Columbia University has called it a "rare and successful experiment in democratic education."

WHO CAN APPLY?

Any person between the ages of 18 and 23. Participation is limited to 100 students each at the New York and California Encampments and 80 students at the Puerto Rico Encampment.

COLLEGE CREDIT

An increasing number of colleges grant academic credit for Encampment attendance or for special projects undertaken with faculty approval. Exploration should be made early by the student with his college supervisor if he is interested in obtaining such credit. A special memorandum can be sent by the Encampment for faculty consideration.

". . . It has given me what history, government and civics courses had failed to give me—a real feeling of how a nation works: how things get done and who does them; who decides what ought to be done and why; just how our government is organized. . . . How very much more politically adequate I now feel."

". . . They offered me the most unforgettable and valuable experience of my life, and they made me proud of being what I am . . . a Puerto Rican in culture, and also a proud citizen of the United States . . . and a friend of the world."

". . . The intellectual gains have been enormous for us all, scholars or manual workers."

". . . you learn that you need not hate all people of a particular kind because some of them hate you. . . . I can honestly say that I have grown during the past six weeks to an extent that I would have believed impossible before."

ing educators help to shape the Encampments' programs. These an Relations, N.Y.U. School of Education; Dr. Bert Loewen- r. Arthur L. Swift, Jr., Dean, New School for Social Research; bia University.

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Wherever possible, attempts will be made to assist interested students in finding post-Encampment employment.

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(a partial list)

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American Veterans Committee
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
Arrow, Inc.
Association of American Indian Affairs
International Ladies Garment Workers Union
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
National Ethical Youth Organization
National Farmers Union
National Federation of Settlements
National Urban League
Southern Regional Council
UAW—AFL-CIO

LOCAL COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS

Commission on Human Relations—City of Milwaukee, Wisconsin
Commission on Human Relations—City of Pittsburgh, Pa.
Council on Human Relations—Cleveland, O.
Florida Council on Human Relations—Miami, Fla.
4-H Clubs—Minnesota and Wisconsin
Future Farmers of America—Wisconsin
Los Angeles County Committee on Human Relations—Los Angeles, Cal.
Louisiana Council on Human Relations—New Orleans, La.
Mayor's Commission on Group Relations—Newark, N. J.
Mayor's Friendly Relations Committee—Cincinnati, O.
Montana Farmers Union
United Neighborhood Houses, New York, N. Y.
Wisconsin Youth Committee

GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

Commonwealth of Puerto Rico—Migration and Labor Division
Netherlands Office for Foreign Student Relations
New York State Dep't. of Welfare—Buffalo, N. Y.
Office du Tourisme Universitaire—Paris, France
U. S. Department of Interior—Bureau of Indian Affairs

EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Antioch College—Yellow Springs, O.
Brooklyn College—Brooklyn, N. Y.
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City College of New York
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Assoc. Member of Young Adult Council of the National Social Welfare Assembly

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824 Tusculum Boulevard
Greeneville, Tennessee
August 9, 1961

Dear People:

I have engaged in a sort of desultory correspondence and conversation with the members of this committee (which is the committee I appointed at the request of the steering committee to discuss the future of the Southern Inter-Agency Conference) throughout the summer and have learned two things--that it is impossible to schedule a meeting in the summer, and that summer is now gone.

It will be necessary for the steering committee to meet prior to the next meeting (September 20-21) and it is best for this steering committee to meet the afternoon of September 19 in order that the agenda can be mimeographed. So the way I see it the steering committee will meet at two o'clock on September 19 - and the committee to discuss the future will meet at nine o'clock at the SRC offices on September 20. This will give us several hours to discuss ways of embalming or resurrecting the Southern Inter-Agency Conference. If there are those who have violent objections, speak now.

The following questions have been submitted by the steering committee to our committee:

1. Should SIA meetings be continued? Why?
2. What is the purpose of such consultations? If the meetings are continued, how can they be more effectively structured to obtain this purpose?
3. Should SIA affiliate itself or relate itself to NAIRO? Should it consider disbanding and channel clearing house efforts through the appropriate regional departments of NAIRO?

Will you ponder these deep questions and appear September 20 with the answers?

Sincerely,

Jean Russell

SECOND DRAFT

PROPOSED CURRICULUM

FOURTH SOUTHERN STUDENT HUMAN RELATIONS SEMINAR

August 1-18, 1961

University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin

TUESDAY, AUGUST 1

Afternoon: Registration and assignment of rooms

Supper and informal evening session for introduction of Seminar Participants and Personnel

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 2

9:30 A.M. (All morning sessions will begin at 9:30)
Discussion of the Fourth Seminar--its purposes and what each participant expects; background of the Southern Project and previous Seminars.

1:30 P.M. (All afternoon sessions will begin at 1:30)

TOPIC: The Meaning of Human Relations

CONSIDERATIONS: Intergroup relations as a specific aspect of human relations; the difference between race relations and human relations; intergroup relations as a science and a developing vocational field

PERSONNEL: Dr. Hans Spiegel, Director, Community Tensions Center, Springfield College

3:30 P.M. Reading Period (Each afternoon from 3:30 until supper, participants shall be required to spend time reading on assigned materials or on the book that they have chosen to read during the Seminar. They shall be asked to hand in a brief reading report each morning, giving the number of pages that they have read and a short summary of the content.)

THURSDAY, AUGUST 3

Both morning and afternoon sessions shall be devoted to a continuation of the discussion with Dr. Spiegel. (Possible film on education and human relations)

FRIDAY, AUGUST 4

Morning: TOPIC: The Changing South

CONSIDERATIONS: The history of the South and various interpretations; the effects of industrialization; changing patterns in race relations; factors affecting Southern attitudes; patterns in different regions of the South; arguments for and against racial practices in the South.

PERSONNEL: Dr. James Silver, Department of History, University of Mississippi

Afternoon: Continuation of discussion with Dr. Silver

Evening: Film: "Face of the South"

SATURDAY, AUGUST 5

Morning: Continuation of discussion with Dr. Silver

FREE TIME UNTIL MONDAY MORNING

MONDAY, AUGUST 7

Morning: TOPIC: The Negro in America

CONSIDERATIONS: History of the Negro in the U. S.; the Negro community; misconceptions about the Negro; effects of segregation; the NAACP and the struggle for equal rights

Afternoon: TOPIC: The Negro Community in the South

CONSIDERATIONS: Effects of changes in the South on the Negro community; on attitudes toward Negroes; Negro leadership and new forces that are emerging; the impact of the sit-in movement and concerted efforts in the South

TUESDAY, AUGUST 8

Morning: TOPIC: Race and Prejudice

CONSIDERATIONS: The nature of race; racial prejudice; sociological effects of segregation.

Afternoon: TOPIC: Race and Prejudice

CONSIDERATIONS: Psychological aspects of prejudice and discrimination; effects on individuals

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 9

Morning: Open session--Evaluation of Seminar thus far and time for discussion of what participants desire.

Afternoon: Session with Sterling Brown on the aesthetics of human relations (Pending)

THURSDAY, AUGUST 10

Morning: TOPIC: The Federal Government and Civil Rights

CONSIDERATIONS: The Federal Government and States' Rights; Involvement of the new administration--attempts and needs; Committee on Employment, etc.

PERSONNEL: Mr. Harold Fleming, Director, Potomac Institute, Washington, D. C.

Afternoon: TOPIC: The Southern Press and Public Opinion

CONSIDERATIONS: The role of the Southern press; general attitudes of Southern editors; the influence of their newspapers on public opinion; the Negro press

PERSONNEL: Mr. Fleming

FRIDAY, AUGUST 11

Morning: TOPIC: Supreme Court Decisions and Legal Aspects of Desegregation

CONSIDERATIONS: Legal History of segregation; the constitution and bases for court decision; effects and implementation; retaliatory action by Southern state governments

PERSONNEL: Mr. Paul Rilling, Field Director, Southern Regional Council

Afternoon: TOPIC: Public School Desegregation

CONSIDERATIONS: Compliance with the Supreme Court decision in various sections of the South; effects of and problems in desegregation in public schools; study of communities that have desegregated successfully.

PERSONNEL: Mr. Rilling

Evening: Film: "A Question of Chairs"

SATURDAY, AUGUST 12

Morning: TOPIC: Desegregation in Higher Education

CONSIDERATIONS: History of college desegregation; reaction of students, faculty, administration and community; problem areas and power structure involved, i.e., state legislatures, Board of Regents, etc.

PERSONNEL: Mr. Rilling

FREE TIME UNTIL MONDAY MORNING

MONDAY, AUGUST 14

Morning: TOPIC: Southern Politics: Precinct to Party

CONSIDERATIONS: Ward politics; the grass roots; the decision-makers; the absence of the two-party system in the South; the role of the South in the national parties; the manipulation by Southern politicians; the different vested interests and possibilities for coalitions

PERSONNEL: Dr. Vivian Henderson, Professor of Economics, Fisk University

Afternoon: TOPIC: Economics--Labor and the South

CONSIDERATIONS: Industrialization; relation between labor and the civil rights movement; the status of unions and the Southern attitudes toward them.

PERSONNEL: Dr. Henderson

TUESDAY, AUGUST 15

Morning: TOPIC: Economics--Employment Practices in the South

CONSIDERATIONS: Federal employment; employment in industry; professions and public services

PERSONNE: Dr. Henderson

Afternoon: Continuation of discussion with Dr. Henderson (Possible film, "Burden of Truth")

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 15

Morning: TOPIC: The Moral and Ethical Aspects of Race Relations

CONSIDERATIONS: Race and the Bible; race and the churches

PERSONNEL: Reverend Will D. Campbell

Afternoon: Open Session--possible panel on campus and community human relations programming

Evening: Film Strip--Rumor Clinic

THURSDAY, AUGUST 17

Morning: TOPIC: Anti-Semitism in the South

CONSIDERATIONS: History of Anti-Semitism; relation between growth of Anti-Semitism and progress in integration; recent incidents and reactions; role of ADL

PERSONNEL: Mr. Arthur Levin, Director, Southeastern Office, Anti-Defamation League

Afternoon: TOPIC: The White Resistance and Hate Groups

CONSIDERATIONS: The John Birch Society, the Citizens' Councils and the Klan; the Black Muslims; the threats from the left and tactics of different groups. Also description of some agencies working in human relations.

PERSONNEL: Mr. Levin

Evening: Film, "Anti-Semitism in America"

FRIDAY, AUGUST 18

Morning: Summary of Seminar and final evaluation--discussion of final evaluation papers of participants. (Also, Book Reports due on this date)

SATURDAY OR SUNDAY

Session with national officers of NSA for history and purposes of the Association. Also a session for Congress orientation and choice of workshops and legislative committees for the Congress.

ADDITIONAL NOTES ON SEMINAR CURRICULUM

1. This is a tentative program and subject to some changes. Parts of the Curriculum may be re-fashioned to cover subjects suggested by the participants, and at some point there will be included a discussion of the student movement in the South.

2. In preparation for the Seminar, each participant will have received a copy of the following:

   (1) The Southerner as American by Charles Grier Sellers (ed.)
   (2) The Strange Career of Jim Crow by C. Vann Woodward
   (3) The May and June issues of Southern School News
   (4) The College Student and the Changing South, NSA publication.

3. Additional reading assignment will be made each day to provide background for the following day's discussion. (Each student will receive a packet of assigned reading materials)

4. A library with as much resource material as possible will be available for the participants and students will have access to University library facilities.

5. At the beginning of the Seminar, each participant will be asked to choose a book from the Bibliography prepared for the Seminar, to be read during the Seminar. A written report on this book will be handed in on the closing day.

6. The Seminar will officially be over on August 18, but the majority of the participants will remain to attend the 14th National Student Congress, through August 30. During the Seminar, participants will choose the workshops and legislative committees that they will attend during the Congress, and plans will be made so that Seminar participants will go to the different NSA regional meetings to explain the purposes and program of the Human Relations Seminar.

7. The Seminar group will also meet, if possible with the students attend the NSA International Relations Seminar and with students under the Foreign Student Leadership Project, to discuss the international implications of race relations in the South.

Misc

UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION

3457 CHESTNUT STREET • PHILADELPHIA 4, PA. • BAring 2-1106 • CABLE, NATSTUD - PHILADELPHIA, PA.

July 24, 1961

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul,

This letter is to give you final information on the Seminar in Madison. Plans are progressing well, and I have enclosed a list of the participants and a copy of the final curriculum.

I presume that you will be flying to Madison on the evening of August 10th, but I shall need to know your exact arrival time so that we can pick you up at the airport. We will, of course, make arrangements to get you back to the airport on Saturday afternoon or whatever time you have to leave. You are of course welcome to stay with us and enjoy the beer in the University Student Union and the swimming and sailing at the nearby lakes.

The Seminar will be held at Chamberlin Hall at the University and you can be contacted through the University phone number, AL 5-3311 c/o Southern Student Human Relations Seminar.

I hope that this letter will answer any questions that you might have. I shall be leaving Atlanta on Sunday, so be sure to let me know your travel plans before that time. We are looking forward to having you with us again.

Sincerely,

Connie

Constance Curry
Seminar Director

CC:cl

Enclosures 2

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Financial Advisory Board
RUTH HAGY BROD

Misc

July 10, 1961

Mr. Timothy Jenkins
National Affairs Vice President
United States National Student Association
3457 Chestnut Street
Philadelphia 4, Pa.

Dear Tim:

Thank you for the outline of the program for the coming Student Leadership Seminar. I regret that the time factor did not make it possible for me to be more involved in the preparation of the program, not because I wish to further add to my own duties, but because of the somewhat awkward role that I have been assigned by Vernon Eagle.

I do feel that the program is a sound one which provides the sort of broad exposure to the processes of social change which would be most helpful to student leaders. I have the following general comments on the program itself:

(1) It seems to me that the program is somewhat over-structured and too tight and rather too academic. I would question the value of the standardized tests in leadership and human relations unless they have a particular program purpose during the Seminar. I would see little purpose in giving the participants final examinations on subject matter. I think these more formal devices are not too useful in an informal small group seminar operation.

(2) I think there is some danger that some of the topics and presentations will be somewhat over-technical for some of those participating. Some of the most effective student leaders have been rather unsophisticated about this total process. This is simply to urge caution so that the more technical speakers may be warned of the need to move in a fairly basic way.

(3) I hope that there will be some sessions where discussion will be specifically focused on the student demonstration as a tool for social change with attention given to the varying points of view concerning the tactics involved, timing, et cetera. I realize that this will be implicit throughout the Seminar and that we do not want primarily a training seminar for sit-in leaders. Somewhere near the end of the Seminar, however, several sessions of this sort would seem to me to be most useful.

(4) You have approximately twenty-one resource persons scheduled. I would emphasize here the experience of the annual Southern Students Seminar and of similar efforts pointing toward the advisability of using a smaller number of persons and involving each person more deeply. A large number of resource persons both adds to the cost and to the danger of overlap and repetition by speakers who have not heard each other,without improving the leadership of the seminar. I would urge that you consider having only about two resource persons in each of your major "A" or "B" categories, and that an effort be made to provide some divergence of approach or viewpoint between these two persons.

(5) I would tend to question the value of spending five days on follow-up research and the preparation of chapters for final report. There would, of course, be some educational value in this kind of activity, but I think the major value of the Seminar will be in contributing to the viewpoints of the students involved and that preparation of an exhaustive final report would be of minimal value and that the report itself would be unlikely to serve a long-range purpose. At least, such reports rarely do.

Concerning the suggested resource persons; I am assuming that these will function primarily in a seminar fashion. Let me list persons who seem to me to be of particular value in this kind of seminar. Where my list omits some names contained in yours this indicates that I am either unfamiliar with the persons or that I do not consider them as capable as others named.

For number I-A, Individual Behavior--Values - Herman Long, Arthur Levin, Marion Wright, Ruby Hurley, Will Campbell

I-B, Social-Psychological Factors - Kenneth Clark, Gordon Allport, Franklin Frazier, David Riesman, Whitney Young

II-A, Group Behavior, Community - Hans Speigel, James Silver, Thomas Pettigrew, Will Campbell, Martin King, Vivian Henderson, Ben Segal, Alex Miller, Eric Lincoln, Art Levin

II-B, Government - Henry Moon, Robert Harris, John Doar, Avon Williams, George Barrett, Reed Sarratt, James Woods, Donald Strong (University of Alabama), Ben Muse

III, Communications - As is.

The conference plans look fine. Best wishes for a successful and exciting seminar.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

Dictated but not read by Mr. Rilling

UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION

3457 CHESTNUT STREET • PHILADELPHIA 4, PA. • BAring 2-1106 • CABLE, NATSTUD - PHILADELPHIA, PA.

June 27, 1961

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Paul,

This letter is to confirm our telephone conversation of last week on your participation in the Fourth Southern Student Human Relations Seminar. As you know, it will be held be held this year from August 1-20 at the University of Wisconsin in Madison. There will be nineteen students attending this year.

The curriculum is quite similar to last year's except, as I mentioned to you, there will be fewer resource persons who will be covering more subjects. We would like you to begin at the 9:30 session on Friday, August 11th with THE SUPREME COURT DECISION AND LEGAL ASPECTS OF DESEGREGATION. Some of the considerations which George Barrett covered were: the legal history of segregation, the Constitution and bases for court decision, effects and implementation, and retaliatory action by Southern state governments. At the Friday afternoon session we would like you to do PUBLIC SCHOOL DESEGREGATION and at the Saturday morning session we would like you to do DESEGREGATION IN HIGHER EDUCATION. Since you did both of the latter topics so well last year, I don't feel that it's necessary to make any suggestions for considerations under these two topics.

As you know, there will be assigned reading each night in preparation for the discussion the following day. When you return to Atlanta I would like to talk to you to get any suggestions on what would be suitable reading for your topics.

I presume that you will be flying to Madison sometime on Thursday. I do hope that you can get there early enough to see Harold Fleming, who will be speaking to the Seminar at the Thursday morning and afternoon sessions.

Thank you very much for your continuing willingness to come to the Seminar. As I told you last year, the only way you'll get out of being invited is to start being a failure at the Seminar. Let me hear from you on the above questions.

Sincerely,

Connie

Constance Curry, Director
Southern Project

/cl

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SPECIAL SOUTHERN STUDENT LEADERSHIP SEMINAR

AGENDA

Central topic: UNDERSTANDING THE NATURE OF SOCIAL CHANGE

Sunday, July 30.
1-3 - Registration
6-8 - Orientation and testing

I. UNDERSTANDING THE THEORIES, PRINCIPLES, METHODS AND TECHNIQUES OF INDIVIDUAL BEHAVIOR IN FORMAL AND INFORMAL SITUATIONS.

A. FUNDAMENTAL VALUES INVOLVED IN CIVIL AND HUMAN RIGHTS.

Monday, July 31.
9-12 - Human and civil rights and universal values.
2-5 - Human and civil rights and the Southern scene.

Tuesday, Aug. 1.
9-12 - Human rights and the international situation.
2-5 - Minority and majority group relations.

B. SOCIAL-PSYCHOLOGICAL INFLUENCES

Wednesday, Aug. 2.
9-12 - Learning theories
2-5 - Perception influences

Thursday, Aug. 3.
9-12 - Motivational factors
2-5 - Continued

Friday, Aug. 4.
9-12 - Social status
2-5 - Psychiatric analysis of "sexual taboos"

Saturday, Aug. 5.
9-12 - Research period
2-5 - Review and discussion

Sunday, Aug. 6.
2-6 - Presentation and evaluation of research papers

II. UNDERSTANDING THE THEORIES, PRINCIPLES, METHODS AND TECHNIQUES OF GROUP BEHAVIOR IN FORMAL AND INFORMAL SITUATIONS.

A. COMMUNITY SOURCES OF INFLUENCE AND POWER.

Monday, Aug. 7.
9-12 - Leadership and the power structure.
2-5 - Cultural factors

Tuesday, Aug. 8.
9-12 - Civic organizations
2-5 - Churches

Wednesday, Aug. 9.
9-12 - Business and industrialization
2-5 - Labor forces

Thursday, Aug. 10.
9-12 - Economic forces
2-5 - Groups to the right and left

B. GOVERNMENT SOURCES OF INFLUENCE AND POWER

Friday, Aug. 11.
9-12 - Politics
2-5 - Government action

Saturday, Aug. 12.
9-12 - Law and legislation
2-5 - Schools

Sunday, Aug. 13.
9-12 - Voting
2-6 - Voting

Monday, Aug. 14.
9-12 - Review
2-5 - Research
7-9 - Presentation and evaluation of papers

III. UNDERSTANDING THE THEORIES, PRINCIPLES, METHODS AND TECHNIQUES OF COMMUNICATIONS IN RELATION TO HUMAN AND CIVIL RIGHTS.

A. AUDIENCE ANALYSIS

Tuesday, Aug. 15.
9-12 - Different positions toward issues
2-5 - Causes and justification for these positions

B. AUDIENCE ADJUSTMENT

Wednesday, Aug. 16,
9-12 - Adjustment of communicative symbols to various audiences
2-5 - as above

C. PRINCIPLES AND TYPES OF COMMUNICATIONS

Thursday, Aug. 17.
9-12 - Principles and structure
2-5 - Types and patterns

IV. DEMONSTRATION OF UNDERSTANDING AND INSIGHT

Friday, Aug. 18. - Presentation and evaluation of final research papers.

Saturday, Aug. 19. - Delivery and criticism of speeches and panels.

Sunday, Aug. 20. - Evaluation and review of conference.

V. FOLLOW UP RESEARCH.
PREPARATION OF CHAPTERS FOR FINAL CONFERENCE REPORT.

August 21-26

EXPERTS AND SUGGESTED SUBJECT AREAS

Central topic: UNDERSTANDING THE NATURE OF SOCIAL CHANGE AND RACE RELATIONS

I. INDIVIDUAL BEHAVIOR:

A. VALUES

1. Human and civil rights and universal values - Herman Long
2. Human and civil rights and the Southern scene - Herman Long
3. Human rights and the international situation - Rayford Logan
4. Minority-majority group relations - Arthur Levin

B. SOCIAL*PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS

5. Learning theories - Kenneth B. Clark
6. Perception influences - Kenneth B. Clark

7. Motivational Factors - Gordon W. Allport, Greenfield

8. Social status factors - E. Franklin Frazier, Vance Packard

9. Psychiatric analysis of "sexual taboos" - E. Gregory Moore

II. GROUP BEHAVIOR

A. COMMUNITY

10. Leadership and the power structure - Han Speigel
11. Cultural factors - James Silver, James McByrd, Dabbs

12. Civic organizations - Marvin Rich, Ella Baker
13. Churches - Will Campbell, M.L. King, Jim Lawson, C.T. Vivian

14. Business and industrialization - Les~~ter~~lie Dunbar, Vivian Henderson
15. Labor unions - Floyd Buckerneer, Herbert Hill

16. Economic forces - Vivian Henderson
17. Groups to the right and left - Eric Lincoln, Art Levin, Alexander Miller

B. GOVERNMENT

18. Politics - Ben Muse, Robert Harris, Avery Leiseison, Henry Moon
19. Government Action - John Doar, John Constable, Emitt Dorsey, Clarence Mitchell

20. Law and legislation - Avon Williams, John Constable, William Van Alstyne
21. Schools - John Constable, Reed Sarratt

22. Voting - John Doar, Jim Woods

III. COMMUNICATIONS

23. Different positions - Cleo W. Blackburn,
24. Causes and justification - Randolph

25. Adjustment - Staff and participants
26. as above - as above

27. Principles and structure - Randolph
28. Types and patterns - Randolph

IV. Demonstration and evaluation - Seminar.

RATIONALE FOR CONFERENCE REVISIONS

Two important changes in the structure of the conference are suggested. The suggestions are designed to improve the effectiveness of the conference by providing a sharper understanding of the relationship between the various topics and by providing for additional student participation.

A central topic will be used to focus the various lectures and research. This topic aids in coordinating the various activities, increases the unity of the materials and improves the sense of continuity from one subject to the next.

The central topic is, "Understanding the nature of social change." This topic will be divided into three sub-topics: (1) understanding the nature of group behavior in formal and informal situations, (2) understanding the social-psychology factors that influence individual behavior in the formal and informal situations, and (3) understanding communication factors involved in human behavior. The agenda shows the organization of subjects under the various topics.

To insure that the conference leads to the attainment of understanding in addition to the distribution of information, student participation is increased. Each student will: (1) investigate and write a research paper on one of the subject areas, one area per student, (2) summarize during the evening sessions the lecture in his area, (3) present his paper to the conference for evaluation, (4) give speeches for role situations, (5) participate in panel discussions and interviews, (6) take multi-choice and essay exams over the conference content, and (7) take a group of standardized tests in leadership and human relations.

September 1, 1961

Mr. Vernon Eagle
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, New York

Dear Vernon:

Mrs. Frances Pauley, Executive Director of the Georgia Council on Human Relations, will be in New York the week of September 4 and may call you if you are in town.

Mrs. Pauley is doing a very capable and energetic job in her new position with the Georgia Council. I believe that you would enjoy meeting her and that she will be able to give you an accurate picture of the situation in Georgia.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

Corres Gen

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MRS. LAWRENCE D. STEEFEL
Minneapolis, Minnesota
National Campaign Chairman

New York Office:
345 East 46th Street
New York 17, N. Y.
OXford 7-0248

September 8, 1961

Reverend Leon Smith, Chairman
Georgia Council on Human Relations
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Smith:

Several months ago, in March to be specific, I stopped in Atlanta for two days to visit with our field staff person in order to help me get insight and understanding of the work being done there. During this brief time, I called on several foundations to try to determine if we had mutual areas of concern which they would be willing to help support. From these contacts I was unable to discover any potentials to be followed through on. My approach to them was on the Unitarian Service Committee, Inc.'s total program.

Another facet of my specific responsibilities is to try and secure support from individuals in a financial position to be generous and I have done some of that kind of work in several other communities but when last in Atlanta, did not approach any individuals.

Our fund raising activities in Atlanta are through and with the membership of the United Liberal Church--Unitarian Universalist. We make available to them information on all of our projects seeking support for the total program. However, should they elect to put emphasis on a particular project that is their right and we try to provide them with necessary and appropriate informational materials.

I am not sure whether I have spoken adequately and clearly to questions that are in your mind and if not, I will certainly try to clarify any points that may be obscure.

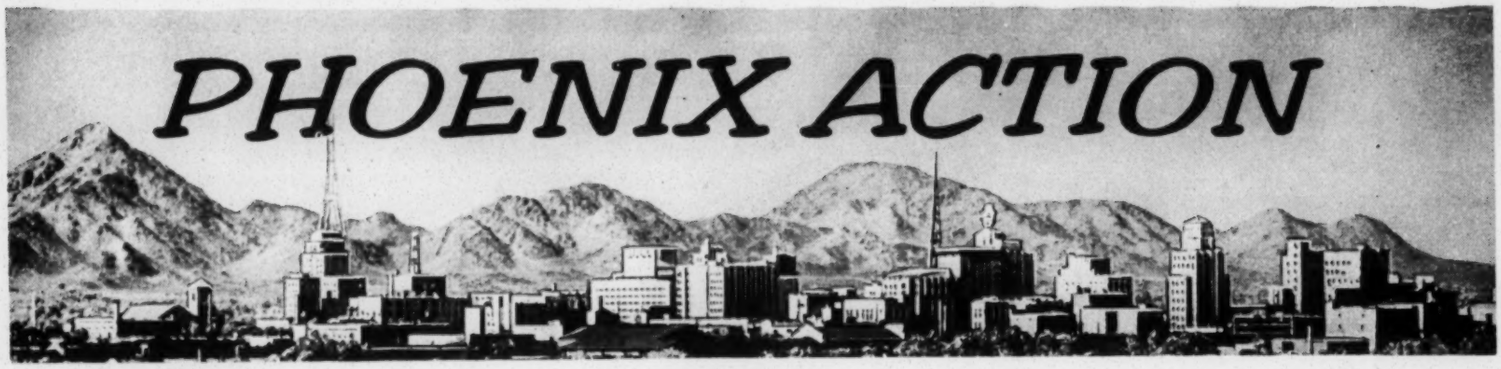
Most sincerely yours,

Harold J. Bejcek

Harold J. Bejcek
Director
Fund Raising and
Public Relations

HJB:me
cc: Ernest Lent

Programs and financial statements filed under Registration Number VFA-010 with the Advisory Committee on Voluntary Aid of the International Cooperation Admin.



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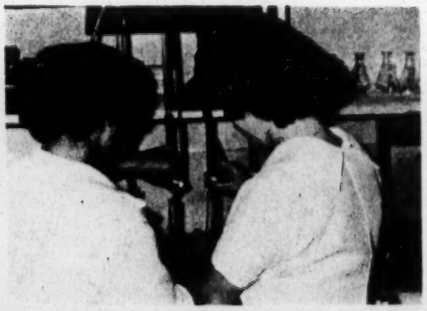
GIVE THEM A DREAM



Last spring, a group of honor roll students toured a development of model homes in the $13,000 price range. Several in the group had never been in a home with indoor toilet facilities. Others in this same above-average group lived within 12 blocks of Van Buren Street yet had never been north of this dividing line.

These were bright students — students with the capabilities of going to college and becoming useful citizens. Yet, when they were quizzed about college plans, over half of them did not know what a college was.

Impossible, you say, for something like this to happen in Phoenix? Not at all, if you talk to any of the volunteer workers of Careers, Inc., a self-supporting, non-profit organization whose "only aim is to give all talented young people, from all walks of life, a fair and equal chance at a full-fledged career and a fulfilling life."

Careers, Inc., is the brainchild of Robert B. Choate, Jr., a young civil engineer from Boston who believed that some of America's best potential brainpower was being untapped in the lower economic areas where incentive and motivation were almost totally lacking.

He enlisted the aid of such Phoenix civic leaders as Cecil C. Pine, Dr. John R. Kelly, Orville L. Buchanan, Walter A. Biddle, Mrs. Gussie B. Edwards, Elias Schlossberg, Mrs. Grady Gammage and many others. A pilot program was run in the late spring of 1960. Then, in September 1960, the first full year's program was begun.

Some 15 to 20 of the brightest 7th, 8th and 9th grade students were selected from each of ten schools. Career Clubs were organized and officers elected. Meetings were held twice a month featuring guest speakers from various fields. Bus trips were made once a month to businesses, colleges, hospitals, cultural activities and sports events. The objective, always, was to offer them motivation — to make them want to aspire.

This school year, the 10th grade will be added, and the 11th and 12th grades will be included in 1962 and 1963, respectively. The ultimate goal is to have 500 students in organized Career Clubs in the six pre-college grades. Thus, a bright child who participates for the full six years will be exposed to 108 career talks on business, scientific or technical fields.

The parents of these children are included in the program; because, without their interest and cooperation, it is difficult to stimulate the children's ambitions.

In the areas where Careers, Inc., works, drop-outs at the high school level are extremely high due to economic reasons; so a high school scholarship fund is being accumulated for use. Careers, Inc., also administers the Louis Jordan Fund for college students. Two such scholarship loans were made last year.

Last spring, a 19-year-old girl graduated from a Phoenix high school as the valedictorian of her class. She was the daughter of a Mexican wetback who had been shuffled back and forth across the border so many times she had missed three of her first eight years of schooling. She was interested in chemistry and wanted to go to college, so Careers, Inc., arranged for a college entrance exam at Arizona State University. She scored a whopping 122 on her IQ test and, this fall, enters ASU with a special scholarship granted by Careers, Inc. ASU educators say that "the girl has the intelligence to go just as far as she wishes."

"One of our greatest needs is for more Phoenix businesses and industries to open their doors to us," Choate said.

"Put it this way. How can a child with a high mathematical aptitude aspire toward being an engineer unless he can see with his own eyes what an engineer does? If you take that child into a plant and let him hear the chief engineer tell of the opportunities for qualified young men, he gets the idea — but quick!"

In essence, Careers, Inc., has only one goal — to make gifted young people aspire. "Give them a dream," and they will make that dream come true.

YOU TOO CAN HELP !!!!

VOLUNTEER WORKERS, SPEAKERS, AND DONORS ARE CONTINUALLY SOUGHT TO FURTHER THE GOALS OF THIS PRIVATE, NON-PROFIT EFFORT.

PLEASE CONTACT:

CAREERS, INC.
P.O. BOX 2326
PHOENIX, ARIZONA
ALPINE 4-0538

PUBLISHED MONTHLY FOR THE MEMBERSHIP BY THE PHOENIX CHAMBER OF COMMERCE
805 NORTH SECOND STREET, PHOENIX, ARIZONA

Helping Youngsters Brings Happiness To Phoenix Pair

THE ARIZONA REPUBLIC
THE STATE'S GREATEST NEWSPAPER
Phoenix, Tues., Oct. 24, 1961

By MARY LEONHARD

ELI SCHLOSSBERG came West and found the Fountain of Youth.

Turns out it isn't something you drink in.

It's what you give out: interest in the young ones, hope for their future.

Eli and Betty Schlossberg, married 31 years now, left Brooklyn back in 1936 because arthritis was crippling him.

"I don't know what it was, maybe having been sick," Schlossberg said. "But after I came out here, I saw things differently, not just my own life, but what was happening to other people, good and bad things."

SCHLOSSBERG and his wife have lived for the past 20 years in a cottage on the grounds of Arizona State Hospital, where he is a pharmacist. They've traveled a lot and they have an enviable collection of hi-fi records. They enjoy life for themselves, but not just for themselves.

In their early years here, they became volunteer workers for their community, and particularly for its children. They organized a Girl Scout troop at the hospital.

Schlossberg worked for B'nai B'rith, Jewish fraternal order. He took special interest in its vocational service committee, focusing attention on the importance of career selection. His wife worked for the Mental Health Association.

A FEW YEARS back, Schlossberg helped plan a local TV series for young people, "The Future Is You." By this time, he was tabbed. Community organizations knew him as one of those can't-say-no-to-a-telephone-plea types.

So two or three years ago when they were organizing Careers, Inc., Schlossberg got another phone call.

Careers, Inc., was formed by men who wanted to get the kids in Phoenix' "gray area" to dreaming. They aimed to stir the young ones from neighborhoods where aspiration collides with rebuff into striving harder than the kids who have things easy.

THE SCHLOSSBERGS joined them. They took an active part when career clubs were set up in eight elementary schools and two downtown high schools. They encouraged professional-technical people to reveal their philosophies to the bright children chosen for the clubs. They tried to acquaint employers with the training the youngsters were getting.

Meantime, they got acquainted themselves with some shining eyes, smiling young faces that tugged at the hearts of a childless couple.

They took out a young girl who walked most strangely, leaned forward, weaved a little. She had on her first pair of high heels, was starched, brushed and scrubbed to the hilt.

"We kept her with us as long as we could. Took the other kids in our party home first. Oh, she was appealing!" said Mrs. Schlossberg.

They introduced other youngsters to fine music. They had planned an hour and a half recorded program for them, but had to urge them to go home after four hours of repeats and requests for more.

Mrs. Schlossberg cooked what she calls a career lunch. It went so well that she had to slip out to the kitchen and go through the process again, so everybody could have seconds.

They took a carful of eighth graders to a Scottsdale book store and discovered that some of them had not only never been in a book store before, they'd never been to Scottsdale.

THE SCHLOSSBERGS have introduced South Phoenix teenagers to world-prominent actors, using performance tickets donated by Phoenix theaters. Like the career-minded students, they've had their first looks at the inside of major area industrial plants.

They've had a guided tour of the Phoenix FBI office, where it was the girls, not the boys, who welcomed the chance to pose with submachine guns.

They've seen community interest in Careers, Inc., grow. The first few months, it operated out of a post office box. Now its office is in the Arizona Title and Trust Building on N. First Avenue, donated rent-free by the owners. A local bank gave furniture.

Well over 100 people have addressed the career clubs. Members have toured Arizona State University.

THE MAIN idea is to impart to children of promise the simple fact that hard work, applied with imagination, does pay off to get the so-called unmotivated ones to share in the American dream.

"You see a child of natural charm and intelligence and you know he has nothing to hope for in the way of support for a career," said Schlossberg. "You see the potential and you know that, unless special effort is made, that potential will never be realized." (Careers, Inc., scholarships are helping 24 students stay in high school, two in college this year.)

The Schlossbergs are in this work up to their necks, but they got away, a while back, to visit San Diego. In Balboa Park's art museum they were studying a painting. A woman tugged at Schlossberg's sleeve.

"FORGIVE ME, but I had to speak to you," she said. "You're the happiest looking couple I've ever seen. Tell me what gives you so much happiness."

They were embarrassed and they had no answer for her. But they've thought it over.

"It's because we're all involved in hope for the future," says Schlossberg.

COOK UP CAREERS—Susie Quan, 1145 S. 13th Place, and Frank Trujillo of S. Second Place, young Phoenicians chosen to participate in Careers, Inc., program, get something for the inner man as well as food for thought. The 12-year-olds are luncheon guests of Careers, Inc., volunteers, Eli and Betty Schlossberg, 2423 E. Fillmore, who love working with youngsters.

DO YOU SEEK THE HAPPINESS FOUND IN HELPING OTHERS?

YOU CAN HELP CAREERS, INC. IN CHILD WORK, OFFICE WORK, FIELD TRIPS, TELEPHONING, OR FUND RAISING.

CONTACT: MRS. AGNES LABELLE
ROOM 403 ARIZONA TITLE BUILDING
128 N. 1st. AVENUE, PHOENIX
TELEPHONE: ALPINE 4-0538

Ger

Emery Hall
Wilberforce University
Wilberforce, Ohio
October 19, 1961

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Counti1
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I understand that the Council recently published a new report or analysis on the "sit-ins", and I would like very much to have a copy. Should there be a charge for this service, please advise me of the amount and I will be most happy to send same.

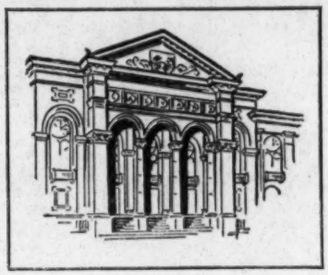
Give my best wishes to Les Dunbar and the staff.

Sincerely,

Edward B. King

Forwarded
10/23/61
MM

CARL G. HOWIE, PH. D., *Minister* · HOWARD F. NEWMAN, TH. D., *Associate* · ROBERT D. NICHOLSON, B. D., *Assistant*



CALVARY PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

JACKSON AND FILLMORE STREETS · SAN FRANCISCO 15, CALIFORNIA

October 26, 1961

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

The Reverend Grant Muse
Church of the Good Shepherd
1823 - 9th Street
Berkeley, California

Dear Grant:

This comes to express the genuine appreciation we all feel for your contribution to our Ambassador knowledge and understanding of the freedom riders through your presentation a week ago Sunday.

I was gratified to learn of your interest in the Southern Regional Council, especially the issue of the New South on the freedom riders. I have found over the period of the past several years that they have made one of the most significant contributions to the field of better race relations in the South.

I am taking the liberty of sending a copy of this letter to Mr. Leslie Dunbar, their relatively new executive director, with the hope that he will in turn share with you some further information on the Southern Regional Council, a copy of the document that was issued this year entitled "The Federal Executive and Civil Rights" and and other documents Mr. Dunbar would feel appropriate for you to have.

Follow-Up

Having served as a pastor in the South and having been raised there, I feel we can never be too grateful for this southern organisation comprised of enlightened southerners working toward better days for their southland in terms of community harmony and individual dignity.

Sincerely yours,

R D Nicholson

Robert D. Nicholson

RDN:cn

cc: Mr. Dunbar ✓

Gen

BETHLEHEM CENTER
1417 CHARLOTTE AVENUE
NASHVILLE 4, TENNESSEE

October 31, 1961

Mr. Paul Rillings
Southern Regional Conference
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Rillings:

Again, I would like to thank you on behalf of our Program Committee for your fine keynote address of last Friday evening. You gave us a clear picture of some of our past and gave us a factual foundation of the present conditions, as well as stimulated us to move forward in helping to attain a stronger society for all. I am sure that many of the conference members have renewed determination to pay the necessary price for progress.

It was a pleasure to get to know you during our few hours together and I hope our paths shall cross again soon. Thank you for coming to help us.

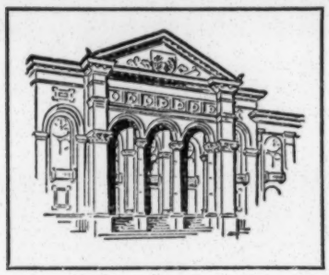
Sincerely yours,

Frederick D. Rogers

Frederick D. Rogers
Executive Director

FDR: hja

CARL G. HOWIE, PH. D., *Minister* • HOWARD F. NEWMAN, TH. D., *Associate* • ROBERT D. NICHOLSON, B. D., *Assistant*



CALVARY PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

JACKSON AND FILLMORE STREETS • SAN FRANCISCO 15, CALIFORNIA

October 31, 1961

ML - f.y.i.
PR - file bundle

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

The September issue of New South just arrived and after having read it let me take this opportunity to express my appreciation to you for your own notes therein, the able work of the editor, Margaret Long, and the continuing fruitful labors of education and reconciliation going on through the Southern Regional Council.

We recently had one of the Bay Area Freedom Riders speak to our single young adult group. One of the things that continually distresses me in my association with ministers and laymen alike who are concerned with the racial picture in the South is their absence of any knowledge of the commendable work the Southern Regional Council does in research, publications, and offering consultative services in the establishment of bi-racial committees in communities across the South.

Wherever such a lack of knowledge exists I hope you will not mind my calling to your attention these persons with the hope of gaining a better understanding of and support for the real ministry you are providing.

Yours sincerely,

Bob Nicholson

Robert D. Nicholson
Minister of Education

RDN:cn

Air Mail

HERB BREUER

teen-agers talk

The Panel of Americans is exactly that: a panel of five young Americans—three of them white (a Protestant, a Roman Catholic, and a Jew) one a Negro and one a member of an ethnic group whose views are either little known, particularly timely, or both—for example, a Puerto Rican now living in New York. There are many Panels of Americans in the United States today. Most are university-sponsored and each has the same objective: to bring together people of varying racial, religious and cultural

EUNICE SANTANA *is twenty years old, a junior majoring in English at City College of New York. Eunice was born in Vega Alta, Puerto Rico, but she has lived in New York since 1950. She plans to become an English teacher.*

LYLE GUTTU *is twenty-four, a graduate of Harvard University, where he majored in history. Lyle was raised in Thief River Falls, Minnesota; he is now a resident of Manhattan, attending Union Theological Seminary. He wants to be either a minister or a teacher. Lyle was the Protestant member of the Panel.*

GERARD (GERRY) WEBER *is twenty-two, a graduate student at Columbia University. Gerry is from Brooklyn, New York. He was a history major at Fordham University, where he did his undergraduate work. He would like a career with the government, particularly in the international field. Gerry was the Roman Catholic member of the Panel.*

PRISCILLA HILLIARD *is twenty, a senior at Hunter College in New York City; her major, too, is history and, like Gerry, Priscilla was also born in Brooklyn, where she still lives. She intends to be an elementary school teacher. Priscilla was the Negro member of the Panel.*

GORDON GENEK *is nineteen, a freshman pre-law student at City College of New York. He was born and raised in the Bronx. Gordon's plans for the future are tentative, but he thinks he would like to be a government lawyer. Gordon was the Jewish Panel member.*

Moderator at the Caldwell High School assembly was Marion Hargrave, national associate director of the Panel of Americans.

And now, at right is a transcript of the question-and-answer period of the Caldwell assembly—a frank discussion of race, religion and prejudice between the Panel of Americans and students like yourselves.

Q. "I'd like to ask Gordon how much allegiance he feels toward Israel. What I mean is, if this country and Israel should ever go to war, which side would he fight on?"

A. (*Gordon*) "I'm an American. I'd be sorry if Israel and the United States were enemies, but naturally, my loyalties would be with my country—the United States."

Q. "Lately in Caldwell, we've had a problem. The farmers in the valley have hired some Puerto Rican workers and now when we walk to town at night, the men say things you don't understand and sometimes they try to stop you. We know that customs are different in Puerto Rico, but even so this flirting presents a big problem. We can't decide if we should try to be polite or run to the nearest policeman or just stay home. I'd like to know how the Panel thinks we should handle this."

A. (*Eunice*) "Well, first of all, you're right about customs being different in Puerto Rico — and in most Latin American countries. Nobody there thinks anything about casual flirting; it's very common and girls understand it's meant as a compliment. But things are different here and it takes a while for newcomers to learn that flirting on the street isn't considered nice. In answer to your question,

about RACE, RELIGION and PREJUDICE

backgrounds so that they may examine their differences and similarities as citizens of the United States. The Panel of Americans appears before an audience to stimulate people to think—to talk openly about subjects that are often considered taboo. All Panel appearances follow the same format: after making clear that they speak as individuals, not as spokesmen for their race, religion or ethnic group, the members give a brief statement about their lives and views, and then the audience participates by asking direct questions. It is not unusual for a Panel to make seventy-five appearances a year, and many Panels have been on radio and television. Recently, Panel of Americans was invited to appear before two hundred junior and senior students of Caldwell High School in Caldwell, New Jersey. And there to record and photograph the assembly was SEVENTEEN. But first, on the opposite page, meet the Panel—five young people who feel that all Americans share an interest in human dignity.

I'd suggest you just ignore the men who flirt. You don't have to be polite to them. And there isn't any reason why you should stay at home. As for calling the police — well, I wouldn't think that would be necessary. As I said before, these men don't know yet that customs are different in the States. They're not dangerous—just confused."

A. (*Lyle*) "I agree with Eunice, but I'd like to add something too. It's true that casual flirting isn't as common here as it is in some other places, but things really aren't *that* different. What I'm getting at is that I think the problem—or at least part of the problem—stems from the fact that Puerto Ricans are new here. And because they come from a different culture, they frighten people a little. Which, in turn, makes people suspicious of them and quick to criticize what they do. My point is, I think what bothers girls most is not the amount of flirting but who's doing it."

MODERATOR: "Are there any comments on that from the audience?"

COMMENT *(from a senior girl):* "Well, I hadn't thought about it that way before, but I can see what Lyle means. I *am* more nervous when a Puerto Rican says something to me than when a local boy does. You know, I'm used to boys here and I'm not afraid to freeze one who acts smart. But with the Puerto Ricans — well, whenever one of them says anything, I'm not sure how to react. I always worry that he might get mad and *really* nasty."

MODERATOR: "Any further comments? No? All right then, to sum up the answer to this particular problem, it seems that the way to handle Puerto Rican men who flirt is by treating them as you treat strangers who flirt — by ignoring them. Now, next question?"

Q. "This is addressed to the whole Panel. If you could be born again, would any of you choose to be born of a different race or religion—so you'd belong to the majority group?"

A. Each member of the Panel replied with a flat 'No.' Priscilla added, "If you had asked me that question when I was younger, there were days when I'd have been tempted to answer 'Yes.' "

Q. "I'd like to ask Gerry and Gordon if they'd marry girls of another religion if the girls agreed to convert to their religions."

A. *(Gerry)* "Well, assuming that I loved the girl, yes, I'd marry her. After all, if she converted, we'd both be of the same religion so that wouldn't be a problem."

A. *(Gordon)* "I agree with Gerry. If a girl I wanted to marry decided to become Jewish, I can't see why religion would be a worry."

Q. "I'm interested in knowing if Gordon and Gerry would marry outside of their religions if the girls refused to convert."

A. *(Gordon)* "I honestly can't answer that question now. For one thing, I don't plan to marry *anybody* for a long time—at least until I finish school—and for another thing, I don't believe people can predict accurately what they'd do in a situation like that. I know I can't. I think you have to be actually faced with the problem to find out how you'd handle it. The only thing I can say definitely is that my religion is very important to me and I know if I *did* fall in love with a girl of another faith, it would mean a big problem to me."

A. *(Gerry)* "I go along with everything Gordon said. The only thing I want to add is that I don't believe a couple can be happy unless they solve any religious difficulties they may have. I don't necessarily mean that I think one person has to convert to the other person's faith; I just mean that I don't believe a marriage can succeed if two people disagree about something as basic as religion."

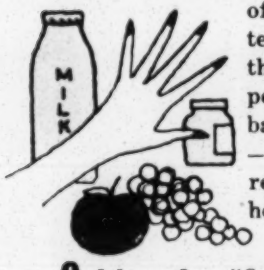
Q. "I'd like to ask whether any member of the Panel would consider *(continued on page 182)*

POINTERS FROM PENNY

BY PENNY PATTERSON | *Dorothy Gray Teen Beauty Counselor*

Q. ***My finger nails just don't seem to grow. And even when they do, they break off so easily. What can I do? Marilyn K., Montrose, Dela.***

A. Many things! Make sure your daily diet includes 3 big glasses of milk, lots of fruit and fresh vegetables, high protein meats. Keep your nails properly shaped (file them with the grain, in the direction they grow). Use petroleum jelly under nails and around cuticles, bathe fingers in white iodine and warm water. And – try polish to help keep nails hard. Taking gelatin regularly, in either pill or powder form, may be helpful.



Q. ***I have fine, "fly-away" hair. It just seems to droop on hot, moist, or windy days. I know I should have a permanent but I'm afraid of that awful "crimped-curl" look. Doris L., Orchard Park, R.I.***

A. Here's a suggested solution! Ogilvie Home Permanent by Dorothy Gray . . . it's perfect for fine hair like yours (works beautifully for *all* types of hair, including dyed or bleached!) thanks to a special Creme Waving Lotion that lets *you* control the waving action. The Kit also includes a Pre-Perm conditioner that puts hair in top shape to "take" a perm . . . plus a new Creme Neutralizer that conditions your hair as it curls. Try it. It's so easy to use, so dependable (created by Ogilvie Sisters, leading hair care specialists for over 50 years!). P.S. Buy the Ogilvie Home Permanent Kit now, and get a *free* bottle of marvelous Highlights Shampoo (your choice of formula!).

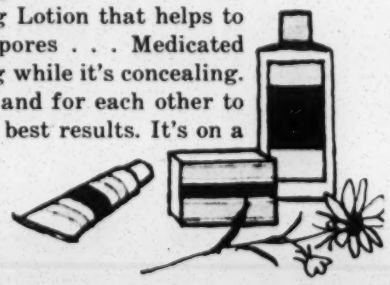
Q. ***I like to wear a make-up base, but most bases seem to make my skin break out in tiny bumps . . . and the medicated make-ups are too dry for my skin. Is there anything that will help me?***

Ellen Mc., Easton, Pa.

A. Try new Velvet*een* Medicated Make-up! Dorothy Gray has created it especially for teen-age complexions, and it may be *the* answer to your problems. Neither too heavy or too drying, it's a marvelous balance of mild medication and light, smooth creaminess. Velvet*een* comes in two heavenly formulas: a Foundation . . . for a flawless, natural-looking finish . . . and pressed-powder Compact . . . for a lovely matte finish. Use it daily (it works like a beauty treatment!) for perfect, glowing coverage (it doesn't look, feel, or smell medicated!) Comes in five flattering shades.

Q. ***No matter what I use on my face, my skin still has blemishes or looks splotchy. And extra make-up on bad spots doesn't help either. I'm about to give up! Mary Jo B., Lexington, Ky.***

A. Sounds as if you've been working your complexion overtime putting things "on" instead of taking most of it off! Let's try thorough *cleansing and stimulating* instead. SCRUB SET by Dorothy Gray (made especially for teenagers) is a true "complexion course!" It has Scrub Soap with Oatmeal that gently works out dirt and stale make-up . . . Medicated Refining Lotion that helps to clear by bracing skin and refining pores . . . Medicated Blemish Cream that speeds up healing while it's concealing. Each SCRUB SET product works with and for each other to work for you! Use this SET daily for best results. It's on a special introductory offer now—$2.00.



. . . RELIGION AND PREJUDICE *continued from page 113*

marrying anyone of another race."

A. *(Priscilla)* "I'm glad someone has raised that question. It's important because, particularly in the South, that's the big qualm many people have about integration—that it'll result in intermarriage. Therefore, even if we don't agree, I think it's good to talk openly about the subject. Both integration and intermarriage present many problems and I feel that the more people talk intelligently—and, yes, the more they pray too—the closer we'll come to solving all the problems involved. As to whether I personally would marry someone of another race, I wouldn't know that until I was faced with the question. But I have dated members of other races and I've found that when you get to know people, they're all pretty much the same. Break down the barrier of prejudice and you see that most people have similar feelings, similar likes and dislikes, similar *everything*."

MODERATOR: "Before other members of the Panel give their views on intermarriage, does anyone in the audience wish to comment on Priscilla's remarks?"

COMMENT *(from a junior girl)*: "Well, suppose Priscilla were in love with a white man and she did want to marry him; wouldn't she worry about the children they might have? I mean, the children of interracial marriages aren't either white or Negro and they're usually despised by both groups."

A. *(Lyle)* "I know that comment was directed to Priscilla, but if nobody minds I'd like to answer it. What I want to say is this: I'm white myself and if I'm able to love and accept a wife who's black, why shouldn't other people be willing to accept my child?"

A. *(Gerry)* "I think people *should* accept the children of interracial marriages. But let's be realistic; most people frown on both the marriages and the children. This is still a big problem. I'd say that couples who intermarry racially have to be twice as strong and twice as mature as other couples. They have to be real pioneers."

A. *(Gordon)* "It seems to me this is a subject you just can't reach any conclusion on. So much depends on the two people involved—where they live, what kind of life they want, the attitude within their particular community, all those things and more. It's a complicated problem and there isn't any one pat answer to solve it."

MODERATOR: "All right, are there any last comments from the audience before we move on to another question?"

COMMENT *(from a senior girl)*: "I'd just like to say that I agree with Priscilla—with what she said about all people being a lot the same when you get to know them. I think that's true. And for that reason, I believe racial intermarriage is probably inevitable. It's bound to happen more and more as the races begin mingling."

Q. "We were talking about the Freedom Riders in our history class last week, and I'd like to ask Priscilla what she thinks of them; in particular, if she believes that all the riots they've provoked can really help to make things better in the South."

A. *(Priscilla)* "Well, first, I think it's important to remember that the aim of the Freedom Riders isn't to provoke riots; it's to exercise their rights as citizens of the United States. Unfortunately, when a Negro tries to exercise his rights in most sections of the South, there are some people who'll do almost anything to stop him. I don't believe you can blame the riots on the Freedom Riders—not unless you believe that to ask to be treated like a human being is just provocation for beatings and setting fire to a bus—all the things that have happened so far. But to answer what I think you're really trying to ask me—do I believe that this kind of trouble can help the Negroes' cause—I say yes. I think it accomplishes two things. First, it forces a lot of Southern moderates to see that they can't just sit on the sidelines during this segregation struggle. You know, it makes them realize that if they don't step in, the mobs will take over completely and then *everyone* will lose. And second, trouble like this makes the Negroes see that they've got to be determined if they're going to win even the most basic rights. Don't misunderstand, I'm not glad there was trouble, but I do think people on both sides have profited from what's happened."

Q. "But what about the North—this is directed to Priscilla too—isn't there as much racial discrimination here as there is in the South?"

A. *(Priscilla)* "No, I don't think so. There's a lot of discrimination in the North, of course, but that's been improving lately too. Or I guess what I mean is, I think the situation is getting better everywhere—South *and* North—because it's being forced into the open. Remember, right after his inauguration, President Kennedy said something to the effect that our economy might get worse before it got better? Well, I believe that theory applies to race relations too. On the surface, it may seem that things are worse, but at least now we're headed in the right direction. And eventually things *will* get better."

MODERATOR: "Before we take another question from the audience, Gerry has requested that he be allowed to ask you something. All right? All right, go ahead, Gerry."

Q. *(Gerry)* "Well, while we've been talking about integration and racial problems around the rest of the country, I've been wondering what the situation is in Caldwell—right here in school, in fact. For instance, I notice that most of the Negro students are sitting with other Negroes. Is this just coincidence or did it happen by choice or what?"

MODERATOR: "Would anyone in the audience care to answer Gerry?"

A. *(from a Negro girl, a junior)* "Well, about the seating arrangement, that's accidental. The room was overcrowded and Mr. Thompson, our principal, had to move everybody around and this is how it happened to end up. Usually, Negroes and whites sit together without anybody thinking about it. I'd say race relations in Caldwell—and here in school—are pretty good. I've lived in Caldwell for a long time and I've never had any bad problems; most of the white

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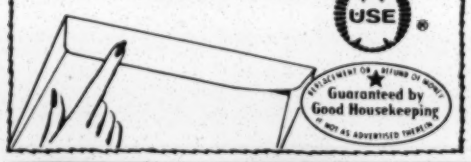

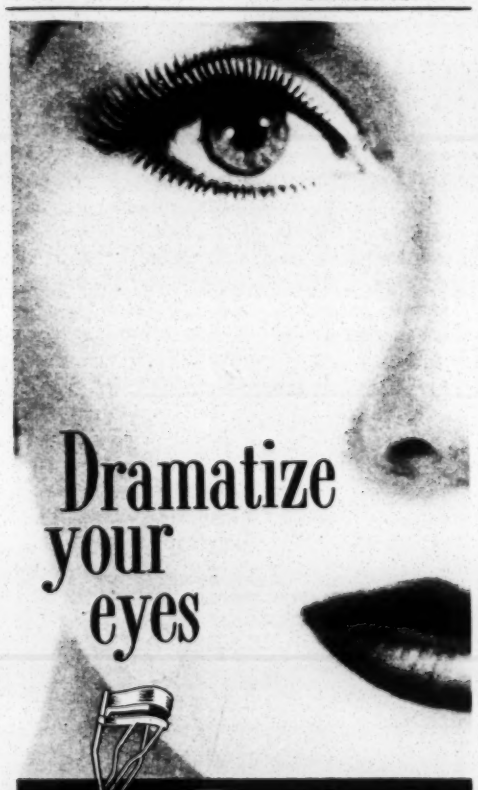

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kids are nice to the Negro kids. But there is prejudice and that's a fact. For instance, there are a lot of clubs and things that Negroes can't join just because they're Negroes. That's how it is."

MODERATOR: "Would anyone in the audience care to comment on this?"

COMMENT *(from a senior girl)*: "I don't think Hilda's right about there being prejudice here. I mean—well, there's separation among the white students too. People travel in different cliques whether they're white or Negro and nobody gets asked everywhere or belongs to everything. Even if the school were all-white, there would still be this kind of separation. It's natural."

COMMENT *(from a junior girl)*: "I agree that nobody gets asked everywhere or belongs to everything, but I think Hilda's right about there being prejudice in school. We've never talked about it or admitted it until now, but in our hearts we all know it exists."

COMMENT *(from a junior boy)*: "I just wanted to say that I used to be prejudiced against Negroes—before I knew any. Then, in the fourth grade, I was transferred to a school where there were Negro students and I haven't had any prejudice at all since—because I got to know Negroes, understand? In a way, I was lucky. I was young when I was transferred to that school. I think when you're young you're a lot better able to see people the way they really are—not the way you've been *told* they are."

COMMENT *(from a senior girl)*: "I'm a member of the Student Council here at Caldwell and while I know I can't speak for the whole Council, I'm positive the other members feel as I do. I *know* I'm not prejudiced against Negroes. And if the Negro students in school would come out for the clubs and things they want to join, I'm sure they wouldn't find any prejudice. It may be that because the Negroes are in the minority here, they think prejudice exists when it actually doesn't."

COMMENT *(from a Negro girl, a senior)*: "I've been around white people all my life and from what I've seen—especially in the South—prejudice starts with older people. I think if parents would leave their children alone, there almost wouldn't be any prejudice problem. Usually it's the older people who act as if being colored is the same as being dirt—being just nothing, you know? And they shouldn't do that; it's wrong. But I do want to say that as a Negro in this school, I've been very happy; the white kids have always treated me as if I were one of them. As a matter of fact, I think that bringing more colored people into schools and colleges is one of the best ways of ending prejudice. It gives all of us a chance to start knowing each other."

MODERATOR: "We've heard comments from two Negro girls, now what about the Negro fellows? Would any of you like to say something? No? All right, then let's take a new question from the floor."

Q. "This is to the white members of the Panel. How would they feel if they were married and living in a nice suburb like Caldwell and a Negro or a Puerto Rican family tried to move into the neighborhood? Wouldn't they be upset about their property values going down? And if that *(continued on page 184)*

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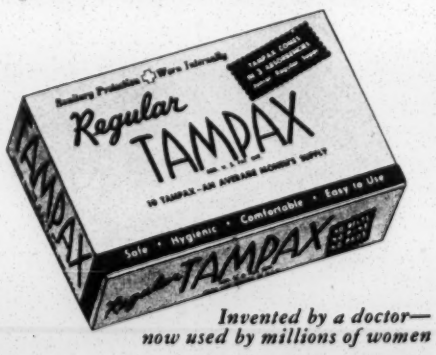

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didn't bother them, how would they cope with the pressure their neighbors would put on them?"

A. *(Gordon)* "Well, first, I want to say that it's a mistake to assume that property values fall automatically when a neighborhood stops being all-white. I know that's what a lot of people believe, but it isn't always true. If you're interested, read the study UCLA did on the subject—it shows that when Negroes moved into an all-white neighborhood somewhere in California, the property values *didn't* go down. So that's my answer to your first question—I wouldn't worry about my property because I don't believe that real estate always depreciates when Negroes—or Puerto Ricans or Jews or Mexicans—move into a neighborhood. Now, as for the second question, I guess if my neighbors put pressure on me, I'd do exactly what I'm doing now: I'd talk to them. I'd try to make them see that living with members of a minority group isn't anything to be afraid of."

A. *(Lyle)* "I think Gordon put his finger on the root of the whole problem just then: It's fear—not dislike—that makes people show prejudice toward minority groups. And it's such a vicious circle. People are taught to be afraid of minorities so they avoid knowing them and because they don't know them, they never learn there's nothing to be afraid of."

COMMENT *(from a senior girl)*: "Recently, something happened in our neighborhood that I'd like to mention. I live in a section of town that's considered nice, and not long ago a rumor was going around that Elston Howard, the Negro ballplayer, was trying to buy a house there. Well, I'd never heard of him then, but the only reaction I had was, 'Good; maybe now I can get into Yankee Stadium free!' But that wasn't how other people around us reacted—especially the older people. Some of them came to my father and tried to get him to contribute money so they could buy the house before Elston Howard could! It was just like that movie *Raisin in the Sun*. Well, anyway, as it turned out, no one bought the house—maybe the rumor wasn't even true—but I still can't see why the idea of a Negro in the neighborhood bothered people. I wouldn't have minded living next to Negroes. And—I'm proud to say—neither would my parents."

MODERATOR: "Thank you for telling us that story. And I imagine if Elston Howard heard it—whether he had wanted the house or not—he'd thank you too. Now, next question from the floor?"

Q. "I wonder if Gerry as a Catholic and Gordon as a Jew can tell me why they think so many people are prejudiced against Catholics and Jews."

A. *(Gerry)* "Well, if you mean can I give a valid reason for this prejudice, the answer's no. Of course I've seen and felt the prejudice—I've been called a Black Papist a couple of times and I've heard Jews called kikes, a lot of things like that—but people never have rational reasons for prejudice. For instance, under the first amendment to the Constitution the right of any religion to set up its own educational system is guaranteed—yet some people dislike Catholics simply because the Catholic Church has chosen to exercise this right. To hear these people talk, you'd think Catholic education was subversive—and that Catholic parents *had* to send their children to parochial schools. And believe me, you can talk yourself blue trying to explain the truth, but with most bigots, it's hopeless. Their feelings are irrational and 'mere facts' won't change them."

A. *(Gordon)* "As a Jew, the most common excuse for anti-Semitism I've heard is the old routine about Jews-and-money. And as Gerry said, most bigots don't want to be bothered with facts. Yes, for a long time—even before the Middle Ages—Jews *were* associated with money. But not because they worshiped the almighty dollar, but because they were discriminated against. You see, for centuries in both the Middle East and Europe, Jews were forbidden by *law* to own property or hold office or even to become citizens. During one period in most of Europe—around the eleventh century, I think—all professions were closed to Jews. Believe it or not, in those days handling money was considered a dirty, undignified job. And because Jews were discriminated against, they got the dirty job. In other words, the current association between Jews and money has a historical basis, but bigoted people distort—or don't know—the facts. Jews aren't money-mad; they got involved with banking and commerce because they *had* to."

Q. "I'd like to ask Gerry why it is that so many Catholics have prejudice toward Jews. I mean—well, Christ was a Jew, so if a Catholic is against Jews isn't that the same as being against Christ?"

A. *(Gerry)* "Well, first, I have to say I'm not aware that 'so many' Catholics *are* prejudiced against Jews. And second, I wonder if your question isn't a way of asking if I blame the Jews for Christ's death; usually, that's what people are trying to say when they ask about Catholics' prejudice toward Jews. If that is what you mean—and if it isn't, maybe somebody else in the audience is interested—this is my answer: Throughout my whole Catholic education, from elementary school through college, I was taught that the reason for Christ's death was a moral one; that insofar as we're all sinners, we're each of us the cause of His death. I wasn't ever taught that Jews are Christ-killers—and neither, by the way, were any of my friends who attended other Catholic schools. Maybe there are schools that stress *how* Christ died, but the schools I know stress *why* He died."

Q. "This is for Lyle. I was wondering if he could tell us how to handle parents if they object to our wanting to know people of another race or religion. I guess what I'm trying to say is, how do you stop parents from being prejudiced?"

A. *(Lyle)* "I wish I could answer that, but I can't. From what I've seen, there's very little you can do to change prejudiced parents. Talking—*not* arguing—is one thing to try, of course, but if your folks are dead set against your having friends of a different race or religion, you probably won't get very far. You'll just have to wait until you're older and more on your own—and even then, it isn't always easy. For instance, I know lots of people from the Middle West who are in college now in the East; and though they have some very good friends of another faith or another race, they know they can't ever invite those friends to visit back home. It's too bad, but well, that's how it is. You have to try to follow that prayer—you know the one I mean: 'God grant me the strength to change those things I can change, the courage to accept those things I cannot change—and the wisdom to know the difference.'"

Q. "I have a question for Priscilla. I'd like to know if she feels any ties with the people of Africa—or with Africa itself."

COMMENT *(from a junior boy, a foreign exchange student)*: "Excuse me for interrupting, but before Priscilla answers that, may I ask a question of the girl who asked it?"

MODERATOR: "Yes, of course. That's the point of this assembly—to encourage you to question yourselves and others."

Q. "Well, I happen to know that the girl who asked Priscilla about Africa is of German descent. So I'd like to know if *she* feels any ties with Germans or Germany."

A. "No, no, I don't. My grandparents came from Germany, but I'm an American."

COMMENT *(from the same boy)*: "That's my point exactly! I mean, Priscilla's an American, too, so what made you wonder if she'd feel any bond with Africans?"

MODERATOR: "Suppose we let Priscilla answer the question now and we'll see how she *does* feel."

A. *(Priscilla)* "Well, I do feel certain ties with African Negroes, but because they're Negroes, not because they're African. Like the Negroes here, they've just begun to fight to be treated as human beings, and I guess you could say I'm in sympathy with them. However, lately I've met some African exchange students, and if I ever doubted that my roots are in America, I know it for *sure* now. Don't misunderstand; we get along fine, but our cultures and our backgrounds—even our problems—are worlds apart. I have much more in common with any American—even a white supremacist American!"

Q. "This is directed to Eunice: Can she explain why so many Puerto Ricans seem to have trouble—or get into trouble—when they come up to the States."

A. *(Eunice)* "That's a big, hard question to try to answer briefly, but I'll do the best I can. First, at least from what I've seen and experienced myself, there's the problem of color. You see, in Puerto Rico, there honestly isn't any color line; black or white or in between, if a man can afford it, he's welcome in any hotel or restaurant on the island. So it comes as a shock when a Puerto Rican finds out that there *is* discrimination in the States. As a matter of fact, life for a newly arrived Puerto Rican is a whole series of shocks. For instance, he's always considered himself an American, but it isn't long before he realizes that almost no one here does. You'd be surprised, in fact, at how many people actually don't know that Puerto Ricans *are* Americans. And then there's the shock of finding people so—so impatient and suspicious. Lots of times, a Puerto Rican gets yelled at or maybe ignored because his English is poor. And, even worse, almost nobody except other Puerto Ricans seems to trust him; his boss, his American co-worker, even the police look at him—and talk to him—

as if he's an escaped convict. He's come here with a lot of big dreams and, at least at first, nothing's the way he thought it would be. His kids go to the overcrowded, rat-infested schools, he lives in a dirty slum, no one seems to like him or accept him. So he turns bitter—and if he stays bitter he may get into trouble. It depends on the man, I guess. Some Puerto Ricans give up and go back home, some stay and cause trouble, some stay and become good citizens. I love the States, but I do have to say this: life is hard at first for Puerto Ricans who come here. Very hard."

A. *(Gordon)* "I'd like to add one thing to what Eunice said. You know, the United States is supposed to be a haven for immigrants—what's that line on the Statue of Liberty—'Give me your tired, your hungry and your poor'—but it isn't a haven. The truth is, we have a shameful history of discriminating against *all* newcomers who arrive in numbers. When the Irish started coming over, we gave them a bad time—and then it was the Italians, then the Jews and now the Puerto Ricans. It's a real pity. I mean, if the United States won't welcome new citizens, what country will?"

Q. "I'd like to ask Priscilla how she feels about the Black Muslems—I think that's their name—the group of Negroes that advocates black nationalism."

A. *(Priscilla)* "I don't agree with them at all. I guess I understand why they feel the way they do—as a reaction against white supremacy—but I'm opposed to everything they stand for. I feel that black nationalism is just as bad as white nationalism."

MODERATOR: "Unfortunately, time has run out, but I would like to take a minute to thank you for being a wonderful audience. You've talked frankly and thoughtfully about things that aren't easy to discuss. And we hope you'll keep on talking about them because you—the young people—are the only ones who can end prejudice finally. Some of you may feel that the problem is your parents' fault, but very soon the responsibility will be yours alone. Again, thank you for sharing your thoughts with us. We appreciate being invited here—and we hope that when you enter college, many of you will decide to accept *our* invitation: join the Panel of Americans!"

THE END

DEAR DIARY *continued from page 126*

"by accident" and she saved the day by giving me some suntan lotion for my shoulders. Without it I would have been really cooked. Bless her cute blond head. While she was rubbing in the suntan lotion, she asked me to a big party graduation night. The situation was too cosy to refuse. Anyhow, who wants to?

June 5 Well, we graduated tonight. Rah. The proceedings were just what I expected — anticlimactic pomp. I'm just not a guy who can get excited over ceremonies. This year we were very well-behaved. Not like last year when four of the honorary junior ushers played a surreptitious game of bridge clear through the program. The only thing about the ceremony that really bothered me was Jenny's speech. I think she missed the point of the graduation theme, which was the quotation: "I do not choose to be a common man. It's my right to be uncommon if I can." Jenny said, in effect, "It's all right to be a nonconformist as long as we all do it together." The idea was an individualistic one, and she tried to twist it to fit a "collectivist" philosophy. . . . The after-grad party was a riot. About 125 of us went to a swimming party at a mansion-type dwelling. Lisa is tall and queenly and cuts quite a figure in a swimming suit.

June 7 At last, concrete evidence that I'm out of high school. My wallet no longer bulges with an activity card, a book receipt, a yearbook receipt, gate pass, bus card and all the other cards that allow a high school student to prove he exists. I'm beginning to replace the old cards with new ones though: draft registration, social security—the number grows. I'll have everything in my wallet except money.

July 5 It's too bad about Hemingway. I can't join in the rah-rahing for all his novels, but the way he lived his life was exciting—and the ending is sadly incongruous. If (or when?) I were successful as a writer, I'd probably drape myself in a standard three-button suit and work every day in some air-conditioned push-button box of an office. No, I guess I'm not *that* bad, but compared with Hemingway, I'm just a faceless, plodding Organization Man. Funny thing, though, I think it's the Organization Men and round pegs who make up most of Hemingway's devoted audience. I guess it's like the way I love to talk to guys who've gone to Europe on a tramp steamer or worked their way cross-country in the summer. I'm crazy about trips like that, but I've never made a move to take one. Why?

July 10 I seem to have so much in common with so many girls. I'm going to the same college as Pamela and we love to talk about newspaper reporting and Ahmad Jamal. Lisa and I swim together like two fish in a school and we're both sun worshipers. Judy and I both know sign language. And Debby. Well, she's still the girl I'd most like to listen to Tchaikovsky's Fifth with. What's a guy to do? Maybe next year when I'm a freshman in college, it will be different. Perhaps I'll even discover a Pamela-Lisa-Judy-Debby with whom I'll have *everything* in common. Meanwhile . . . on with the search!

Editor's note: You're eligible to contribute an article (humorous, controversial, whatever) to the It's All Yours section if you're at least thirteen and under twenty. Your name, address and birth date (month and year) and a large, stamped self-addressed envelope should accompany your work. Send contributions to It's All Yours Department, SEVENTEEN, 320 Park Avenue, New York 22, New York

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November 1, 1961

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

We who attended the regional meeting of the National Federation of Settlements are very grateful to you for setting the tine of our meeting. Your speech was very helpful in clarifying many current statistics and positions as well as challenging us to do a more effective work as individuals and as agency workers.

It was a pleasure to meet you and we hope that we will see more of you in Atlanta in the future. Thank you again for being with us.

Sincerely,

Bob Shrider

Robert E. Shrider
Executive Director

RES/w

Ger

November 3, 1961

Mrs. Dorothy S. Bauman
Executive Director
National Council for the
Panel of Americans
33 East 68th Street
New York 21, New York

Dear Mrs. Bauman:

I am sorry that things have been moving slowly here. We have been somewhat occupied with school desegregation and lunch counter desegregation here in Atlanta. There is definite interest in Panel possibilities in Atlanta. The matter is currently under active exploration by the Junior Division of the Atlanta Council on Human Relations, which includes student and staff participation from the various colleges in the area. The group is asking Dr. Eric Lincoln, now at Clark College, to work with them as an advisor on the panel project. As soon as it is clear which individual or individuals will carry the organizing responsibility I will send on their names. In the meantime, Eric and I will continue to press the group for action. I think it is probably just a matter of time.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

cc: Mrs. Eliza Paschall,
Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations

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October 3, 1961

Mr. Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

An article on the Panel is enclosed which is appearing in the current October issue of SEVENTEEN Magazine. As you can see, they hit the issues pretty hard. I can imagine that this would not be possible in the South at this time.

Has anything developed in Atlanta? We are having a Board meeting next week and I would like to be able to explore with them possibilities in the South. Requests for information on the Panel have come from Nashville and Baylor University in Texas. Miami is still a possibility, both at the University and in the city and of course Washington wanted us a couple of years ago.

Do let us know if Atlanta has shown any interest.

Best to you.

Sincerely,

Dorothy

Dorothy S. Bauman
Executive Director

DSB:mf
encl.

November 14, 1961

Miss Annie McIver Rogers
Bethlehem Center
397 Highland Avenue
Spartanburg, S. C.

Dear Miss Rogers:

I am very sorry to be so late in submitting to you an itemized list of my expenses in connection with the conference at Mammoth Cave October 27-28. They were as follows:

Round trip, Atlanta to Nashville and return, 1st Class up, coach back	---	$36.42
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I very much appreciated the opportunity of being with the group on the occasion of its Southeastern Regional Conference.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

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Program Priorities	Miss Jean Cleveland
Public Relations	Mr. Jack McDonald
Social Action	Miss Fern Colborn
Strengthening Family Life	Dr. James W. Gladden

Mrs. Radoslav Tsanoff will be the speaker at the 50th Anniversary Dinner.

Anyone interested in visiting the Cave will have time to do so on Friday afternoon before or after registration. See rate sheet for information.

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☐ One Person—Private Bath (Shower)	**6.00**
☐ Two Persons—Twin Beds, Private Bath (Shower)	**8.50**

A weekly reduction of 10% is allowed on Hotel Rooms and Cottages.

SUNSET POINT LODGE —

Each room with tile bath, tub and shower, electric radiant heat, ventilating fan.

☐ Two Persons to a Room	**9.00**
☐ Three Persons to a Room	**11.00**
☐ Four Persons to a Room	**12.00**

COTTAGES (Woodland) — Season: May to October

Cottage Rooms with adjoining or connecting showers

☐ One Person in a Room	**3.25**
☐ Two Persons in a Room	**5.00**
☐ Three Persons in a Room	**6.00**
☐ Four Persons in a Room	**6.50**

Cottage Rooms with private bath (shower)

☐ One Person in a Room	**4.00**
☐ Two Persons in a Room	**5.50**
☐ Three Persons in a Room	**7.00**

☐ Extra Cots or Crib in Any Room Accommodations **1.50**
(No housekeeping facilities available)

Reservations are void after 6:00 P.M. A deposit equal to your first night's lodging required if arrival will be later.

Mammoth Cave Hotel
Mammoth Cave, Kentucky

Reservation Clerk:

Please reserve the accommodations checked. I will arrive

.....19..... and depart .....19.....

There will be.....Persons in my party. We will arrive

about .....A. M.....P. M.

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

CITY ..... STATE .....

PLEASE PRINT

(See Reverse Side for Cave Trip Schedule)

PR6-61

MAMMOTH CAVE NATIONAL PARK

is under the administration of the National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior. All communications regarding Cave Trips should be addressed to the Superintendent, Mammoth Cave National Park, Mammoth Cave, Kentucky.

CAVE TRIP INFORMATION

SUMMER TRIPS — 8:30 A.M. to 5 P.M. C.D.T.

FROZEN NIAGARA	(1½ hrs.)	$1.80 a person
HISTORIC	(1½ hrs.)	1.50 a person
ECHO RIVER	(3 hrs.)	1.50 a person
SCENIC	(4½ hrs.)	2.30 a person
ALL DAY	(7 hrs.)	2.80 a person

WINTER TRIPS — 9 A.M. to 4 P.M. C.S.T.

CRYSTAL LAKE	(1½ hrs.)	$1.80 a person
MAMMOTH DOME	(2 hrs.)	1.50 a person
SCENIC	(4½ hrs.)	2.30 a person

(Food service is available in the Snowball Room on the SCENIC and ALL-DAY TRIPS)

Above rates are for adults and children 12 years of age and older. There is no charge for children under 12 years of age, when accompanied by an adult on the Echo River, Mammoth Dome and Historic Trips.

(Cave trips are subject to change by order of the National Park Service, U. S. Dept. of the Interior.)

ORGANIZED EDUCATIONAL GROUPS

Organized elementary and high school groups, when accompanied by an adult, are admitted free to either the Echo River, Mammoth Dome or Historic Trips. For any other trips they pay the adult fee.

Cave Temperature Is 54 Degrees,
And a Light Wrap Is Recommended

(HOTEL RATES ON REVERSE SIDE)

National Federation of Settlements and Neighborhood Centers

226 WEST FORTY-SEVENTH STREET • NEW YORK 36, N.Y. • CIRCLE 5-4422

Carl Lauterbach
President

Margaret E. Berry
Executive Director

Bethlehem Center
397 Highland Ave.
Spartanburg,S.C.
September 22,1961

Mr.Paul Rillings
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta,Ga.

Dear Mr.Rillings:

We are very glad that you are to be at the Southeastern Regional Conference of the National Federation of Settlements and Neighborhood Centers, and that you are to make the Keynote Address. Enclosed you will find a tentative program and other announcements about the meeting at Mammoth Cave on October 27 and 28. No doubt you have been told that your expenses will be paid by the Conference.Please let me know the place and hour of your arrival,if you would like someone to meet you. Would you like for me to make your hotel reservation? I will appreciate it if you will send me a copy of your address by October 15.

I am looking forward with pleasure to meeting you at Mammoth Cave.

Sincerely,

Annie McIver Rogers

(Miss)Annie McIver Rogers
Coordinator for The Southeastern
Regional Conference of the N.F.S. and N.C.

Tentative Program

Mammoth Cave Hotel - October 27 and 28, 1961

October 27

1:00 P.M. .. Registration

3:00 P.M. .. Trip through Mammoth Cave
(make your own arrangements)

6:00 P.M. .. Dinner (each person on his own)

7:00-8:00 P.M. .. Opening Session
Mr. Paul Rillings-Speaker

8:30 P.M. .. Social Hour

October 28

8:30-10:00 A.M. .. First Session of Workshop

10:00-10:30 A.M. .. Break

10:30-12:00 Noon .. Second Session of Workshop

12:00 .. Lunch

2:00-3:30 P.M. .. Final Session of Workshops

6:00-8:00 P.M. .. 50th Anniversary Dinner
Mrs. Radoslav Tsanoff-Speaker

8:15-9:15 P.M. .. Closing Session

Reports

Organization of S.E. Area

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF SETTLEMENTS AND NEIGHBORHOOD CENTERS

Southeasteastern Regional Conference

OCTOBER 27 and 28, 1961 MAMMOTH CAVE, KENTUCKY OCTOBER 27 and 28, 1961

ATTENTION ALL INTERESTED IN HELPING DEVELOP A NATION OF NEIGHBORS

CONFERENCE THEME: Neighborhood Goals Today and Tomorrow

KEYNOTE SPEAKER: Mr. Paul Rillings of the SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

PRE-CONFERENCE REGISTRATION DESIRED

One of the highlights of the Conference will be the dinner on Saturday night featuring the 50th Anniversary of the National Federation of Settlements. The price of this dinner is $2.00. This $2.00 is included in the registration fee.

Registration fee in advance	$12.00	(includes Saturday dinner)
Registration at Conference	13.00	(includes Saturday dinner)
Student fee in advance	3.00	(includes Saturday dinner)
Student fee at Conference	4.00	(includes Saturday dinner)

ALL MEETINGS WILL BE HELD AT THE MAMMOTH CAVE HOTEL.

Those attending the Conference will make their own room reservations.

A rate sheet for rooms at the hotel, the lodge and other places is enclosed. A suggestion: Don't wait too late to make your reservation.

We are fortunate to be able to announce to you these specialists who have been secured to conduct workshops on five subjects as follows:

Multiple Problem Family	Dr. William Moynihan
Program Priorities	Miss Jean Cleveland
Public Relations	Mr. Jack McDonald
Social Action	Miss Fern Colborn
Strengthening Family Life	Dr. James W. Gladden

Mrs. Radoslav Tsanoff will be the speaker at the 50th Anniversary Dinner.

Anyone interested in visiting the Cave will have time to do so on Friday afternoon before or after registration. See rate sheet for information.

Please send your registration fee at once to:

Miss Helen Mandlebaum
Wesley House
801 E. Washington
Louisville, Kentucky

Make checks payable to:

The National Federation of Settlements, Inc.

October 20, 1961

Mr. Robert E. Shrider
Executive Director
Bethlehem Community Center
9 McDonough Boulevard, S.E.
Atlanta 15, Georgia

Dear Mr. Shrider:

Paul Rilling has asked me to send you his travel schedule in connection with your coming meeting in Mammoth Cave, Kentucky. He will fly from Atlanta to Nashville, and then come to Cave City by Greyhound Bus, leaving Nashville at 1:45 P.M. Friday, October 27, and arriving in Cave City, Kentucky at 4:08 P.M.. Unfortunately he will be unable to remain with you during your Saturday sessions, since he has another engagement in Atlanta that evening. He will return to Nashville Saturday morning by Greyhound Bus leaving Cave City at 10:05 A.M., and fly from Nashville to Atlanta.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Administrative Secretary
Field Services

October 20, 1961

Miss Annie McIver Rogers
Bethlehem Center
397 Highland Avenue
Spartanburg, S. C.

Dear Miss Rogers:

Paul Rilling has asked me to send you his travel schedule to and from the coming Federation of Settlements and Neighborhood Centers meeting, so that arrangements for meeting him may be made. He will fly from Atlanta to Nashville and then come to Cave City by Greyhound Bus, leaving Nashville at 1:45 P.M. Friday, October 27, and arriving in Cave City, Kentucky at 4:08 P.M.. He will return to Nashville the following morning by way of a Greyhound Bus leaving Cave City at 10:05 A.M..

Mr. Rilling also asked me to send you the enclosed letter from the Mammoth Cave Hotel and to let you know that the described accommodations will be quite agreeable to him. We assume that you will wish to reply to Mr. Feagan, indicating which person you will want to share the twin bed cottage with Mr. Rilling.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Administrative Secretary
Field Services

Enc.

Bethlehem Center

397 HIGHLAND AVE.

Spartanburg, S. C.

October 2,1961

Mr.Paul Rillings
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta,Ga.

Dear Mr.Rillings:

Mr.F.D.Rogers,Chairman of the Program Committee for the Southeastern Regional Conference of the National Federation of Settlements and N.C., has just sent me the program to be mimeographed. You are listed as the Keynote Speaker, but he does not give me the title for your address. I will appreciate it if you will give me this title on the enclosed postal card. Time is passing, so I will appreciate an immediate reply.

We are looking forward with pleasure to having you at our meeting.

Sincerely,

Annie McIver Rogers

(Miss)Annie McIver Rogers
Coordinator for the Southeastern
Regional Conference of the National
Federation of Settlements and N.C.

Rogers +
Local man
PR's schedule
send Rogers
program letter
happy to show
Rec'd

July 3, 1961

Mr. Robert E. Shrider
Executive Director
Bethlehem Community Center
9 McDonough Boulevard, S.E.
Atlanta 15, Georgia

Dear Mr. Shrider:

I am looking forward to being with you at your conference October 27th. I am a little apprehensive about the broad focus of the subject you have assigned to me, but I will do my best to deal with it. We appreciate the opportunity of meeting with people from throughout the area who are carrying on the important work of community centers and neighborhood houses.

I expect I will want to talk with you in more detail when I come to the preparation of my talk. I will call or write you at that time.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

BETHLEHEM COMMUNITY CENTER

9 MC DONOUGH BOULEVARD, S. E.
ATLANTA 15, GEORGIA

MARKET 2-0919

June 28, 1961

Mr. Paul Rilling
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Rilling:

In a telephone conversation with Miss Sarah Miller earlier this month, she stated that you would be available to be our keynote speaker at the Southeastern Federation of Settlements Conference, October 27,28, 1961, at Mammoth Cave, Kentucky. I am writing to confirm this appointment with you. We will be able to pay travel, hotel and meals, but our budget is so limited that it does not provide for an honorarium. Miss Miller indicated that this would not be necessary; expenses would be sufficient.

We would like for your address to focus upon the Social and Economical Problems of the Southeastern Region. We will be relating this to our community centers and neighborhood houses in the four workshops, which will be held the following day: 1) Methods of Strengthening Family Life, 2) How Can Community Centers Work With Multiple Problem Families, 3) How To Establish Program Priorities, 4) What Is The Role Of The Community Center In Social Action? This key-note address would be held at 7:30 P. M., Friday, October 27. You would have about one hour for your presentation. We would like very much for you to be with us for the sessions on Saturday as well. A program will be sent you in the near future.

If there are further questions you have, please feel free to call me at the above number. I would be glad to talk further with you about the conference.

I am looking forward to meeting you. We are delighted to have Mrs. Tilly as a member of our Board of Directors here at Bethlehem Community Center.

Sincerely,

Robert E. Shrider

Robert E. Shrider
Executive Director

cc: Frederick D. Rogers, Program Committee Chm.

November 14, 1961

Miss Peggy Anderson
616 South Bristol Lane
Arlington Heights, Illinois

Dear Miss Anderson:

In reply to your letter of November 1, I am enclosing a list of those organizations with Southern regional programs in which I think you might be most interested. For a more complete listing, I would urge you to order from the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials, Room 209, 426 West 58th St., New York 19, New York, their latest director of intergroup relations agencies. The NAIRO directory will give you some idea of the program and purposes of the agencies it lists, as well as addresses and staff directors.

We are taking the liberty of applying the mailing costs you sent us toward purchase of a selection of our literature, which is being sent to you under separate cover.

Best wishes in your efforts to obtain suitable work in connection with integration in the South.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Administrative Secretary
Field Services

P.S. It might be helpful for you to write NAIRO's Executive Secretary, Mr. John V. P. Lassoe, Jr., about your desire to work in this area, outlining your academic background and employment experience. NAIRO is likely to be aware of any professional openings which exist and can, perhaps, on the basis of your particular qualifications, direct you to suitable human relations agencies.

Gen Corres

November 1, 1961

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

Mrs. Edwina Smith of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference suggested that I might contact you for possible assistance.

I am a college graduate and am very much interested in working on some phase of integration in the south. Could you supply me with some information on various groups or organizations to which I might apply?

I enclose mailing cost, and I am very grateful for any suggestions you may have.

Sincerely yours,

(Miss) Peggy Anderson

(Miss) Peggy Anderson
616 South Bristol Lane
Arlington Heights, Illinois

4,00 cash
RHA 11/15/61

Ans. 11/14 MM
Materials
sent " MM

Gen

November 20, 1961

Mr. Hyman H. Bookbinder
Special Assistant to the Secretary
U. S. Department of Commerce
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Bookbinder:

The existence of a Ku Klux Klan sign on Route 11 in Tuscaloosa, Alabama has recently been reported to us by a source in that state. It is in Tuscaloosa, he states, "on Route 11, the Birmingham highway, just opposite the eastern entrance to the Highlands. It is outside the grounds of the Partlow hospital, which puts it on the north side of the highway, and it is grouped among some civic club welcoming signs."

You may also be interested in the enclosed clipping, from the Tri-Cities Daily, Sheffield, Alabama.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm
Enc.

cc: Mr. Charles Wittenstein

Misc

November 27, 1961

Superintendent of Documents
U.S. Government Printing Office
Washington 25, D. C.

Gentlemen:

Please send us one (1) copy of the 1961 Commission on Civil Rights Report on Voting, Book 1, and bill us for charges. If billing is not permitted, please let us know the charges for a single copy at your earliest convenience, so that we may forward you the proper amount.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Administrative Secretary
Field Services

November 27, 1961

Mr. Marshall Bragdon
Executive Director
The Mayor's Friendly Relations Committee
105 City Hall
Cincinnati 2, Ohio

Dear Marsh:

Alvin Wesley did somewhat confuse the Gallup Poll figures I used in my San Francisco speech. The correct figures are as follows: in 1954, 24% of Southerners indicated that they favored desegregation; 71% opposed; 5% were undecided. In 1961 the totals were: 24% in favor; 69% opposed; 7% were undecided. The other figures that Wesley cited came from other Gallup Polls asking the question whether the people queried felt that desegregation would inevitably occur. It was this figure which showed a rise from an affirmative figure of 45% in 1957 to 76% in 1961. The point I was emphasizing, of course, was the significant increase of fatalism or realism and the rather dramatic failure of efforts to change the opinions or desires of Southerners. Yours is one of several queries which indicate that my point was not clearly stated.

If you have need of them, I believe we can send you photostats of the Gallup Poll clippings.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

City of Cincinnati

THE MAYOR'S FRIENDLY RELATIONS COMMITTEE
105 CITY HALL
CINCINNATI 2, OHIO
GA 1-5700, LINE 238

MAYOR WALTON H. BACHRACH
HONORARY CHAIRMAN
ARTHUR F. HULL, JR.
CHAIRMAN

MARSHALL BRAGDON
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
MRS. VIRGINIA J. COFFEY
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
ALVIN E. WESLEY
COMMUNITY RELATIONS REPRESENTATIVE
MRS. AMRIZENE C. HARRIS
OFFICE SECRETARY

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EDWARD H. SUNDERMAN
D. ROSSMAN TURPEAU
REV. LAWRENCE WALTER
ROBERT I. WESTHEIMER

November 21, 1961

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Our man Alvin Wesley in his notes on your presentation, in the "Report from the South" session at NAIRO's Conference, enters one of your points thus:

"In 1954, 24% of Southerners were in favor of desegregation; 45% in 1957; 76% in 1961." When I asked him about it he added that you said you were quoting Gallup.

Are these figures correct as given? Or are there any qualifications to the term, "in favor of desegregation"?

Our local papers do not carry Gallup regularly, hence my question. The rise of percentages seems so steep, I wonder if Al's notes got the whole item.

It was good to see you in the Episcopal rathskellar and elsewhere around the Whitcomb.

Cordially,

Marshall

Marshall Bragdon
Executive Director

MB/ah

Misc.

PRN
please

BANK STREET COLLEGE OF EDUCATION
69 BANK STREET, NEW YORK 14, N. Y. CHELSEA 3-4903

November 28, 1961

Mr. Lesley W. Dunbar
Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Dr. James A. Dombrowski suggested that I write to you for suggestions about a summer institute for Negro and white teachers here at Bank Street College. A foundation is interested in supporting such an institute if it can be truly interracial. Our first problem is to ascertain whether enough white teachers would participate to acheive this composition.

I am enclosing copies of the letters which we are sending to our Southern Alumnae and the superintendents of all Southern and border state school systems which have integrated, and to any other people who have connections that would enable them to recruit teachers for the institute.

From your work in the field of human relations, you may be in a position to suggest interested people to us. For example, can you name any superintendent, principal or teacher who might care to participate in the institute described in the attached letters? Do you know anyone who could contact such people? Lastly, in your opinion is such an institute feasible or possible in these times? We would appreciate any information you may offer as soon as possible. We must inform the foundation early in December as to whether an interracial composition for the seminar is feasible.

Thank you very much for any help you may give. I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely yours,

Martha Stodt

(Mrs.) Martha Stodt
Secretary of Admissions

MS:c

BANK STREET COLLEGE OF EDUCATION

69 BANK STREET, NEW YORK 14, N. Y. CHELSEA 3-4903

For the first time in the history of the United States there is a strong and growing feeling among the public that school integration, a process that goes beyond administrative or legal desegration, must not only be permitted but also accelerated. We believe that the mistrust and hostility between Negro and white teachers in the South is due primarily to lack of experience in facing together their common problems. With this conviction, Bank Street College proposes to offer a summer institute in which Negro and white teachers can freely discuss integration issues in a carefully designed learning situation.

The program would consist of a seminar in curriculum enrichment, especially geared to an integrating school situation, an elective course in our regular summer session, and a leadership seminar which would be guided by leading educators with outstanding experience in school integration processes. Of underlying importance would be the interaction between the members of this professionally and socially integrated group.

An educational foundation is interested in supporting such an institute, which would conceivably serve as a pilot program at Bank Street College with others to follow in different parts of the country. The tuition costs for the summer institute, as well as travel and living expenses, would be provided by the foundation. It would take place in the month of July and probably part of August, depending on whether it is 4 or 6 weeks in length or duration. The first hurdle which we face is recruitment of teachers who would care enough to involve themselves in this experience. Of particular concern, of course, is the representation of white teachers.

We are writing to you as a person who might offer sources for recruitment. As an alumna you understand Bank Street and presumably have goals which are similar to ours. It seems to us that living and possibly teaching in the South, you may be in a position to know white teachers who would care to become involved in this kind of an institute. It will not begin to accomplish its purposes unless it is truly interracial. Will you think about your personal contacts and notify me immediately if you feel you know someone who might be interested, or can suggest educators or leaders whom we might approach directly for suggestions? Please notify us immediately because the foundation which would support the institute wishes to know by December 1st whether this institute would be feasible as an interracial project.

Thank you for whatever cooperation you may be able to give.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Martha Stodt
Secretary of Admissions

BANK STREET COLLEGE OF EDUCATION

69 BANK STREET, NEW YORK 14, N. Y. CHELSEA 3-4903

Dear Sir:

We are writing to you as the superintendent of a school district which has desegregated. As a graduate school which exists only to train teachers for the elementary schools, Bank Street College of Education is concerned with the process of integration as it affects our children, schools and society. We believe that the problems inherent in integration could be relieved if Negro and white teachers would look at them together.

With this conviction, Bank Street College proposes to offer a summer institute in which Negro and white teachers can freely discuss integration issues in a carefully designed learning situation. The program would consist of a seminar in curriculum enrichment, especially geared to an integrating school situation, an elective course in our regular summer session, and a leadership seminar which would be guided by leading educators with outstanding experience in school integration processes. Of underlying importance would be the interaction between the members of this professionally and socially integrated group.

An educational foundation is interested in supporting such an institute, which would conceivably serve as a pilot program at Bank Street College with others to follow in different parts of the country. The tuition costs for the summer institute, as well as travel and living expenses, would be provided by the foundation. It would take place in the month of July and probably part of August, depending on whether it is 4 or 6 weeks in length or duration. The first hurdle which we face is recruitment of teachers who would care enough to involve themselves in this experience. Of particular concern, of course, is the representation of white teachers.

It seems to us that you may be in a position to know of a few white teachers, even one, who would care to participate in this institute. All expenses would be paid and as we are an accredited institution, graduate credit for the institute should be granted. We are seeking Negro teachers, too, but before the grant will be made and the institute set up, we must be certain of an interracial composition.

We must report our prospects to the foundation in early December. Will you please let me know as soon as possible whether you think any teachers in your system would be interested in this institute. This would not commit you but it would enable us to estimate the feasibility of this undertaking.

Thank you very much for your attention.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Charlotte B. Winsor
Director
Division of Teacher Education

Gen
Misc

November 30, 1961

Miss Clara Rodriguez
St. Joseph's College for Women
245 Clinton Avenue
Brooklyn 5, N.Y.

Dear Miss Rodriguez:

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee was organized by representatives of student protest movements in various parts of the South. It was established at the height of the sit-in activity and has played the role of maintaining communication between local student groups and providing channels for consultation and planning among these groups.

More recently SNCC has been moving into the field of program and action in its own name. The committee is now organized in two divisions, a direct action division and a voter registration division. A number of young people working for the committee have been recently engaged in voter registration activity in several Mississippi counties. You have probably noted some publicity surrounding their activity in McComb, Mississippi. The committee now has some 10 or so young people working full time on a maintenance and expense basis. It played an active role in support of the Freedom Rides and many of its members were directly involved.

The SNCC staff operates under the authority of an executive committee on which the various local groups are represented. The current chairman is Charles McDew, formerly a student at South Carolina State College and the leader of the protest movement in Orangeburg. Serving as executive director of SNCC is Mr. James Foreman. Both men work out of the Atlanta office.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

November, 1961, CAREERS, INC. NEWSLETTER

CITATION BY THE GOVERNOR!

Have you heard our big news? On November 13, 1961, Governor Paul Fannin conferred on the volunteers behind CAREERS, INC., a "Citation Of Merit And Recognition" in acknowledgment of their efforts and work in our child-motivating program. TV and the local newspapers noted the event. This was indeed a thrilling event and one of which we are most proud.

November is also the month of our annual meeting and the election of Board members and officers. Our new slate of officers is an impressive one with Eli Schlossberg, President; Dr. John Kelly, 1st Vice-President; Eugene Marin, 2nd Vice-President; Mrs. Gussie Edwards, Secretary; Walter Biddle, Treasurer and Lester Goldberg, Assistant Treasurer.

New members added to our Board include Mr. Lester Goldberg of the Valley National Bank, Mrs. Grace-Gil Olivarez, Women's Director of Radio Station KIFN, Mr. Cecil Goff, President of the Postal Workers Union, Dr. Jack Elias of the Child Development Center, and Mrs. Virginia Ullman. Welcome to all new members and, of course, we are happy to say that Orville Buchanan, Robert Choate, Louis McClennen, Harold Tarr, Alfred Thomas and Morrison Warren have consented to serve on the Board again this year.

As for the children themselves, it has been a busy month! Since our last NEWSLETTER, the Career clubs have heard an additional 12 speakers from the field of chemistry, engineering, law, nursing, secretarial and the theater. Visits were made to the Arizona State Health Laboratories, the U.S. Attorney's office where the Career Club of Sierra Vista were introduced to Mr. Carl Muecke; the minor surgery department of the Arizona State Hospital was also visited.

Career Club students have attended cultural events, including a chamber music concert, the symphony, the ballet, Carlos Montoya, "High Button Shoes, and another group is presently preparing to attend the performance of "Peter Pan". To the groups who sponsor these events, we are deeply grateful for the gift of tickets for our children. These wonderfully generous members of our community are making it possible for some 300 youngsters to enjoy the truly fine and worthwhile cultural events which come to the Valley, and which they might not otherwise have the opportunity of attending.

A big event which certainly cannot be overlooked is the football game at ASU which was attended by a group of some 200 Career students. Seven buses were used to take the children to the game, return them to their schools and car pools were then organized to drive each child to his individual home. It was a blustery, windy night, weather-wise, but it was also band night and with Mr. Guy Taylor conducting the 21 bands, the thrill and excitement of the occasion were enough to keep everyone warm and happy. A wonderful time was had by all.

Our tour for the month was a visit to the Baird Sunbeam bakery. Mr. Baird had a very fine tour organized, complete with brochures, data concerning job situations, wages, fringe benefits, the economic effect of this industry on the community, production of bread, etc., and guides posted along the way to explain the processes which we were witnessing. Each child, as well as the adult chaperones, were presented with a loaf of "no holes" bread and a package of sweet rolls to take home. Our sincere thanks to Mr. Baird and his staff who did such a wonderful job of handling over 200 people.

A fund raising program was started in October and as a result generous donations were received from, among others, the Phoenix newspapers, Senator Barry Goldwater, Lee Ackerman, the Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, the Tolleson Women's Club, the Arcadia Women's Club. Many generous contributions were made by private citizens from all walks of life. To all our benefactors, our sincere thanks.

Christmas is fast approaching and we will have more news for our readers by then. Look for our next NEWSLETTER!

Agnes L. Labelle
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Misc

UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY
WASHINGTON

December 4, 1961

Dear Mr. Rilling:

Thank you for your letter of the 30th. It is always terribly difficult to straighten out these quarter truths at a thirty-five hundred mile distance.

Sincerely yours,

William C. Gausmann

William C. Gausmann
Advisor on Labor and Minorities Affairs

Mr. Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Misc

Careers, Inc.

A non-profit educational enterprise
P. O. BOX 2326
PHOENIX, ARIZONA

December 6, 1961

Mr. Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Rilling:

I am pleased to submit a description of our local efforts to help motivate and raise levels of aspirations among children of low economic groups.

Careers, Inc. has been in operation for about two and a half years. We now serve 300 youngsters in eleven elementary and two high schools in what is known as South Phoenix. We form Career Clubs in the schools and we expose the children to a variety of career possibilities by inviting in people of many different professions. We also plan field trips to industries in the Valley and we have a complete program of cultural activties which includes attendance at concerts, theater performances, art exhibits and other like activities.

We work closely with the schools but our program essentially is an out-of school project. Due to the extremely conservative nature of our community we have felt it most important to involve as many segments of the community as possible in the operation and the financing of the program. We have gained wide acceptance in the community and even received a citation from the Governor last month.

I am enclosing our brochure and other descriptive materials. If you have any further questions about our program please feel free to write to us.

Sincerely yours,

Bob Choate

Robert B. Choate, Jr.

"Through knowledge, not out of ignorance"

Misc

December 7, 1961

Mr. Edwin J. Lukas
Director, National Affairs
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

We would appreciate any information that you may have concerning the policies, if any, of the Hilton Hotels, the Sheraton chain, or the Hotel Corporation of America concerning the reception of guests belonging to minority racial groups. Hotels belonging to these groups are the targets of efforts to desegregate hotel facilities in several Southern communities, and it would be helpful to know of any practices or policy statements on the national level by these companies.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm
cc: Mr. Charles Wittenstein
Atlanta Area Office, American Jewish Committee

Misc

December 7, 1961

Dr. John A. Morsell
Assistant to the Executive Secretary
NAACP
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear John:

We would appreciate any information that you may have concerning the policies, if any, of the Hilton Hotels, the Sheraton chain, or the Hotel Corporation of America concerning the reception of guests belonging to minority racial groups. Hotels belonging to these groups are the targets of efforts to desegregate hotel facilities in several Southern communities, and it would be helpful to know of any practices or policy statements on the national level by these companies.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm
cc: Mrs. Ruby Hurley, Atlanta

December 7, 1961

Mr. Gordon Carey
CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, N.Y.

Dear Gordon:

We would appreciate any information that you may have concerning the policies, if any, of the Hilton Hotels, the Sheraton chain, or the Hotel Corporation of America concerning the reception of guests belonging to minority racial groups. Hotels belonging to these groups are the targets of efforts to desegregate hotel facilities in several Southern communities, and it would be helpful to know of any practices or policy statements on the national level by these companies.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

Misc

December 7, 1961

Mr. Harold Braverman
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
315 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Braverman;

We would appreciate any information that you may have concerning the policies, if any, of the Hilton Hotels, the Sheraton chain, or the Hotel Corporation of America concerning the reception of guests belonging to minority racial groups. Hotels belonging to these groups are the targets of efforts to desegregate hotel facilities in several Southern communities, and it would be helpful to know of any practices or policy statements on the national level by these companies.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm
cc: Mr. Art Levin, Atlanta

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

Of B'nai B'rith

515 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N. Y., PLaza 1-1800

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December 8, 1961

Mr. Paul M. Rilling
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Rilling:

I am responding to your letter of December 7 in which you requested information concerning the policies and practices of the Hilton Hotels, the Sheraton Chain and the Hotel Corporation of America in connection with "the reception of guests belonging to minority racial groups."

Our activity on the problem of discrimination by hotels has been concentrated on the practice of religious discrimination and I can tell you that, in that context, we have never had any cause for concern with these chains or their units. Unfortunately, we do not have sufficient information on their policies or practices with regard to the acceptance of Negro guests (which, I assume, is your primary interest) to enable us to offer you a judgment. I do wish we could be more helpful and shall remember your interest in the future.

With best wishes.

Cordially yours,

Harold Braverman

HB:ghw

Harold Braverman, Director
National Discriminations Dept.

cc: Arthur Levin

Misc

December 11, 1961

Mr. James W. Davis
Commission on Civil Rights
726 Jackson Place, N.W.
Washington 5, D. C.

Dear Mr. Davis:

On checking over the names we have available from the old Mississippi Council, I do not feel that the list would be of much value to you. Several have left the state and several are deceased. Several would not by sympathetic to us or to you at this time. Among the more effective leaders of the old Council were Msgr. Joseph B. Brunini, Auxiliary Bishop of the Catholic Diocese (address: 123 North West Street, Jackson), and Rabbi Charles Mantinband, who served as the last chairman of the Council (address: 808 Mamie Street, Hattiesburg). Both are now members of our board, as are Dr. A.D. Beittel, president of Tougaloo College, Tougaloo, Mississippi, and Hodding Carter.

The last Executive Director of the Mississippi Council was Mrs. R.S. Lyells, 1116 Montgomery Avenue, Jackson. Currently involved in new efforts to establish lines of communication are Mr. Power Hearn, white businessman of Jackson (2810 North State Street); the Rev. Murray Cox, who is known to you as chairman of the Mississippi Advisory Committee; and Dr. Ernst Borinski, Chairman of the Division of Social Sciences at Tougaloo College. Useful Negro contacts involved in current activities are: Mr. Aaron Henry, State Chairman of the NAACP (636 Page Street, Clarkesdale); the Rev. C. P. Payne, 1302 - 20th St., Meridian; and Dr. D. I. Horn, Jr., President of Mary Holmes Junior College, West Point, Mississippi.

I believe that if you work through these people you will uncover other leads that will help you. If you find that you need other contacts, we will see what we can do.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

Misc

December 11, 1961

Mr. Cornelius A. Wood, Jr.
1018 Dupont Circle Building
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Mr. Wood:

I am finally getting around to responding to your letter of October 11, 1960, suggesting that we get together sometime when I'm in Washington. I will be in Washington for a meeting January 11 and 12, and will be available sometime Thursday morning, January 11, if that will be convenient to you.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

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POUGHKEEPSIE, N. Y.

October 11, 1960
Dict. October 10

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Rilling:

As stated when we met in Frogmore, I am much impressed with the calibre of your work as compiler of the recent human relations study.

Penn faces a number of important questions about which I would like your opinion, so I do hope you will not forget to give me advance notice of a Washington trip, so that we may talk further.

Appreciatively yours,

Cornelius A. Wood, Jr.

Cornelius A. Wood, Jr.
Secretary

caw/es

Misc.

a national organization with affiliated local groups working

to abolish racial discrimination by direct, nonviolent methods

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COrtlandt 7-6270

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December 12, 1961

Mr. Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I will see what I can do about discrimination on the policies of the Shelton Hotels, the Sheraton chain and the Hotel Corporation of America. As soon as I get this information I will have it forwarded to you.

Do you have any objection to three of us attending the next inter-agency council meeting in Washington?

Sincerely

Gordon R. Carey

Gordon R. Carey
Field Director

GRC/mm

Misc.

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

December 15, 1961

Mr. Paul M. Rilling
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Rilling:

Thank you for your information and remarks about the members of the former Mississippi Council on Human Relations. They have proved most helpful. In the near future I hope to take advantage of Mr. Moss' kind offer to make available material in the Council's files. As soon as our detailed lines of study and specific subject areas have been definitely determined, I will submit a list of topics to Mr. Moss.

Sincerely,

James W. Davis

James W. Davis
Staff Attorney

Misc

December 19, 1961

Mr. Harry Fleischman
165 East 56th Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Harry:

It looks as though I will be able to attend the next meeting of the Mass Media Committee January 10. I look forward to seeing you and to sitting in with the group.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

Misc

VIA AIR MAIL
December 19, 1961

Mr. Bill Cowan
American Foundation for Continuing Education
300 East 46th Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Bill:

I think you might consider, as Miami coordinator, Mrs. Blake King. Mrs. King is a faculty wife at Miami, a Florida native, 31 years of age, holds a B.A. in psychology from Miami and is now working on an M.A.. Her experience includes two years as education director of housing for the city of Baltimore and several years as administrative secretary for the Dade County Council on Community Relations, which is part of our network. I don't have her address or phone number, but she should not be hard to locate through the University.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

M. SC

December 19, 1961

Mrs. Martha Stodt
Bank Street College of Education
69 Bank Street
New York 14, New York

Dear Mrs. Stodt;

Leslie Dunbar has asked me to respond to your letter of November 28 concerning a proposed summer institute for teachers at Bank Street College.

You ask if such a seminar is feasible or possible. So far as the South is concerned, I believe that it would not be possible to hold an interracial teachers' seminar of any considerable size. I believe that it would be possible to secure a large number of Negro teachers and a small number of white teachers from the South for such a purpose. I would expect that a number of teachers could be secured from the border states but probably only three or four white teachers below Maryland, Delaware and Oklahoma.

I believe that we could help in contacting some teachers. Let me know if prospects for the institute are positive and we will do what we can.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

Misc

December 19, 1961
(Dictated December 15)
VIA AIR MAIL

Dr. Robert Palmer
603 Eastern Parkway
Brooklyn 16, New York

Dear Dr. Palmer:

We hope you will excuse our delay in responding to your request for information about the organization of the Southern Regional Council. We are enclosing a number of documents which we believe will give you a fairly clear picture of how we were organized and how we operate.

As you can see, we are responsible to a board which is known as the Council. We are not a membership organization. Under the board, the staff consists of an executive director, a director of field activities, a director of information, a director of research, a director of women's work, a secretary-treasurer, an executive assistant, and the normal number of stenographers, research assistants, and so forth.

If you need any other information, feel free to let me know.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

Enclosures
PR:mm

Misc -

December 20, 1961

Mr. Cornelius A. Wood, Jr.
1018 Dupont Circle Building
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Mr. Wood:

I will call you when I reach Washington. You probably will not be able to reach me earlier in the week. I will be in New York. You could reach me in Washington through the Potomac Institute, 1501 18th Street, N.W., Washington, D. C..

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

Misc

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York 22, N. Y. • PLaza 1-4000 • Cable Wishcom, New York

December 21, 1961

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Rilling:

Mr. Lukas has asked me to reply to your letter of December 7 with respect to the guest policies of certain hotels.

None of these hotel companies have policies that would be applicable to the problem you raise so far as we have been able to ascertain.

Sincerely yours,

Lawrence Bloomgarden

Lawrence Bloomgarden

LB:rd

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NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
TWENTY WEST FORTIETH STREET • NEW YORK 18, N. Y. • BRyant 9-1400

January 5, 1962

Mr. Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

In answer to your letter of December 7 so far as we know hotels in the Hilton, Sheraton and Hotel Corp. of America chains are guided pretty much by local custom in their practice towards minority accommodations. Except where local practices are discriminatory, all of these chains uniformly extend the same hospitality to Negro and white guests.

My recollection is that the old Statler group, now absorbed by Hilton, tended to be the bell-wether in the gradual collapse of restrictive policies in Northern and Western communities.

We do not have any record here of policy statements by any of these companies at the national level.

Sincerely yours,

John A. Morsell
Assistant to the
Executive Secretary

JAM:crn

Misc.

January 31, 1962

Mr. Aubrey N. Brown, Jr.
Presbyterian Outlook
312 East Main Street
Richmond 19, Virginia

Dear Aubrey:

Thank you for the plug in the December 18 issue. We have received a considerable number of inquiries asking for advice and help along the lines of your editorial. This kind of interpretation and cooperation by periodicals such as yours does more to inform people than anything we could do.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

INTERNATIONAL VOLUNTARY SERVICE

American Group of Service Civil International
CHICAGO AREA: % BOB & CAROL GAEBLER
1311 MADISON PARK, CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

Project Report - January 1962

Picture a large wooden parrish house next to a church in a heavily populated low-income area of Chicago's south-side Negro community. The building is used as a playschool after school hours by the neighborhood children. Inside, the walls are painted a uniform dull green and are discolored with soot and grime.

Saturday morning at nine the first volunteers arrive. Paint, brushes, buckets, soap, drop cloths, ladders are brought out and made ready. Some walls are to be painted white, but one wall in each room will be painted a bright color and must have a primer coat early enough to dry adequately. All must be washed and rinsed first.

Neighborhood children arrive and begin asking what they can do. The older ones get buckets and sponges. The younger ones get crayons and coloring books and are told that the one who draws the best picture will get an apple. Volunteers bring their children and everyone takes turns looking after them, (one of the children is a three month old baby!).

The janitor is sceptical at first. Soon, he is busy washing walls and sweeping up debris side by side with the rest of us. A friend of his comes by to chat and stays to work. Liz Levy arrives with Jakob Schweizer and Jakob Gallusser who took part in the recent SCI Iceland project. A couple from New Zealand, studying in Chicago, arrives. Mrs. Curtis, mother of two girls helping us, comes to share part of our lunch but can't stay. P. T. Thomas, the assistant minister, comes but can't stay because his children are ill. He is Indian and worked with Max Parker at an SCI camp at Assam, India, in 1950.

In total, 17 adults come to work, with five visitors, not to mention more kids than we could keep track of. Four couples, two with children; ten men and seven women; nine with previous workcamp experience and eight without; two Swiss and two New Zealanders; only six SCI-IVS members, the rest from the community or other parts of Chicago.

The project ends on time at 5:00 p.m. with four rooms painted and the kitchen washed, completed as planned. Then we have a potluck supper prepared by the women volunteers. Some of the neighborhood kids eat with us. Reverand Gandy joins us later, tells us his hopes for the church and the community, and joins in the singing after supper. The party breaks up at 10:00 p.m. and we go home.

We regret not having more adults participating from the immediate area. But the playschool belongs essentially to the kids, and they came. No one on the IVS mailing list outside of Chicago came and we were sad at that, but there will be other opportunities. We think the feeling of the project was summed up by those who said, "When will we have another?" Our answer: "Show us a job worth doing and we'll give you a date."

INTERNATIONAL VOLUNTARY SERVICE

American Group of Service Civil International
CHICAGO AREA: % BOB & CAROL GAEBLER
1311 MADISON PARK, CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

Barry Davis
Zoology Dept
Univ. of Miami
Coral Gables 46, Fla.

Project Report - March 11, 1961

A tornado struck the south side of Chicago about five o'clock in the evening on Saturday, March 4, 1961, killing one person, injuring about 70, and doing several million dollars worth of damage to private homes and buildings over an area of several square miles.

City officials acted quickly to clear public roads of debris and to eliminate dangers of fires, food spoilage, and cave-ins. But the job of clearing debris from private property was left for private citizens and for whatever community organizations might assume this chore in each neighborhood.

The local council of the American Friends Service Committee had been planning one of its regular weekend workcamps and expected about 20 volunteers to appear the following weekend to work with underpriviledged families on the west side. After news of the tornado a quick decision was made to divert these volunteers to the disaster area on the south side.

The IVS representative in Chicago arranged with the AFSC and with local community councils to have other volunteers, not part of the AFSC weekend workcamp, make up an additional team. AFSC agreed to furnish arm bands to be worn by volunteers as a precaution against being confused with vandals and looters who had caused some problems in the disaster area.

The following Saturday morning 21 volunteers and two leaders from AFSC were joined by three volunteers from IVS and three from the Christian Home Movement. The volunteers were then divided into teams of three and four and transported to streets where damage was heavy and morale was low.

Work consisted in clearing rubble from between houses and near buildings where it constituted a fire hazard. In one home a section of a roof was precariously attached and volunteers exercised their engineering talents to lower it to the ground where it could do no damage. Lunch was provided by AFSC and refreshments were furnished by several neighbors.

Major change in morale of home owners was noted in every case where help was given. Initially, there was an attitude of skepticism and discouragement. This was expressed toward the volunteers in the form of puzzlement and fear that we might do damage. One neighbor was observed to be very tense and mumbling to himself and making derogatory remarks about his neighbor. After our volunteers had worked with him for two hours he appeared more relaxed and was speaking optimistically of the work to be done. Two other neighbors were arguing bitterly about a tree belonging to one which had fallen on the other's property and done some damage. The guilt and bitterness was evident. The IVS team moved in and began working with both neighbors, and shortly it was noticed that they were talking together of ways to clear larger pieces of debris which required joint effort.

By three o'clock in the afternoon all of the work needed by families which had asked for help from local community councils was completed. Positive reactions to our efforts were unanimous. IVS stands ready to give similar help, if needed, to the limit of our time, manpower, and funds.

Misc

February 8, 1962

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Vice-President
The Potomac Institute, Inc.
1501 - 18th Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Harold;

We have learned that Bill Williams has told the Florida Council he wishes to leave his present position sometime within the next 6 or 8 months or so. He is interested in finding another position in the human relations field. We would appreciate it if you would find him one.

Although Bill has had some difficulties with the administrative and fund raising aspects of his state position, he has some very real program skills that could be effectively utilized by someone somewhere who can guarantee the salary.

I keep reading that the federal government is going to add hundreds of specialists in intergroup relations. Well??

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

Misc

Bank Street College of Education

69 Bank Street, New York 14, N. Y.
Telephone: Chelsea 3-4903

February 8, 1962

Mr. Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Rilling:

In December you wrote to us offering your opinion of the prospects for our proposed Summer Institute for Educators in Integrating Schools. You will be interested to know that we have had a great deal of positive response, although you are correct in assuming that most of it would come from Border states. The states which have shown a marked interest are North Carolina, Delaware, Maryland, Tennessee, Kentucky, Missouri, Oklahoma, and Texas. We have decided to select four communities and draw the participants from those communities only in order to have more effect upon a given school district. Our four first choices at present are Chapel Hill, North Carolina; Louisville, Kentucky; St. Louis, Missouri; and El Paso, Texas. We are currently involved in visiting these communities and interviewing officials and applicants for the Institute.

The grant for the Institute has been made by the Dean Langmuir Foundation and it will provide for 30 participants. We expect to use a number of Southern educators as staff consultants.

We are enclosing a few copies of the description of the Summer Institute. At the moment I do not have any specific request to make of you; we seem to have far more applicants than we can possibly accept. Hopefully this program will expand into other communities in the future, and perhaps we can call upon you then for guidance.

Thank you for your interest.

Sincerely yours,
Martha Stodt
(Mrs.) Martha Stodt
Program Coordinator
Summer Institute for Educators
in Integrating Schools

MS:tc
encls.

MTSL

February 19, 1962

Mr. Kenneth Watson, Executive Director
Religion and Labor Council of America
2000 K Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Kenneth:

I met last Friday with the directors of state Human Relations Councils, which cooperates with the Southern Regional Council, to discuss with them how they can best cooperate with the labor movement in the South on race relations. Among my suggestions were that they cooperate with COPE (AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education) on the voter registration drive and also with Fellowships of the Religion and Labor Council in their areas. This would give them access to labor people in a more friendly atmosphere. Enclosed is a thermofax of their state and regional officials.

The man in charge of working with these groups from the Atlanta office of the Southern Regional Council is Paul M. Rilling, Director of Field Activities. Would it be possible for you to send Rilling a list of Religion and Labor Fellowships in the Southern states, plus key contacts in areas where we do not yet have Fellowships? I think we can utilize this as a means both to build up Religion and Labor Fellowships, and striking an effective blow for better race relations.

With all best wishes.

Cordially yours,

Harry Fleischman

eak
encl.

MISC

February 19, 1962

Mr. George Guernsey, Assistant Director
Department of Education
AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear George:

Would you please send 20 copies of the booklet listing organizations affiliated with the AFL-CIO to Paul M. Rilling, Director of Field Activities, Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Atlanta, Georgia.

I met last Friday with the state directors of Human Relations Councils which cooperate with the Southern Regional Council, and they are anxious to work with the labor movement both on the projected voter registration drive and on problems of race relations.

Would you please also send me two copies of the above booklet. Thanks. Thanks, too, for the clip of the Washington States Labor News item on "Operation Abolition" - ugh!

All the best.

Fraternally yours,

Harry Fleischman

eak

Misc

Memorandum

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

SOUTHEASTERN REGIONAL OFFICE

To: Paul Rilling

Date: February 20, 1962

From: Richard Ramsay RR (bg)

Subject:

Thanks for the election schedule. The closing of registration books for primary elections seems kind of early in regards to a summer project. My regional college committee approved the project pending location of a suitable site or sites. I am awaiting more reaction from Jean Fairfax and our national office. In the meantime, we are proceeding to find suitable places to have the project.

I have been having some very good responses from students already.

Misc

AMERICAN FOUNDATION FOR CONTINUING EDUCATION

300 East 46th Street • New York 17, New York • YUkon 6-1975

February 20, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

The pressure of circumstances has completely obliterated normal office routine these past few weeks, and I have just realized that I never thanked you for sending Mrs. Blake King's name on to us for Miami.

Scott Fletcher interviewed her and said she was perfect for the coordinator's job. Unfortunately, however, she was so tied up in other activities that she couldn't take it on. So we have hired another woman and will hold Mrs. King in reserve.

One of these days I'll find an excuse to stop off in Atlanta. Till then, best wishes.

Sincerely,

Bill

William W. Cowan
Executive Associate

WWC:ss

Misc

RELIGION AND LABOR COUNCIL OF AMERICA

2000 K STREET N.W. • WASHINGTON 6, D.C.

Staff
Rev. Kenneth Watson, Th.D.
Director
Rev. Clair M. Cook, Th.D.
Education Director
Matthew K. Clarke, M.A.
Program Director

February 21, 1962

Paul M. Rilling
Southern Regional Conference
3 Forsyth Street, N.W., Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Rilling:

Harry Fleischman has asked me to send you a list of the local Religion and Labor fellowship groups in the Southern States.

I am most happy to do this, and will enclose same with this note. However, one word of caution. I am not sure the list is up-to-date. I have been in the process of getting at an accurate list, but as yet have been unable to get it as complete as I would like it.

Please keep in touch with our office, and keep us informed about your work. We will be glad to cooperate in any way we can.

Most cordially,

Ken Watson
Kenneth Watson
Executive Director

KW:lc
oeiu2 afl-cio

Cc: Harry Fleischman

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A Non-Profit Educational Corporation Supported by Memberships

M morandum Memorandum Memorandum

From: The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

To: Southern Student Leaders and Friends

February 23, 1962

Dear Friends,

The enclosed document represents some preliminary thinking on the program of a South-wide Conference on the student protest movement. We are sending it to you for your comments and criticism so that the program may best represent the concerns of the movement.

The Conference will be held April 27-29 at the Interdenominational Theological Center in Atlanta. We are planning on inviting 100 representatives of the student movement for whom we hope to provide financial assistance, plus observers and invited guests and others who may come at their own expense. Thus it will be a fairly sizeable gathering.

We are late in planning for the Conference and hope to make the program final at an Executive Committee meeting during the week of March 4. Please send in your comments and criticism by that date.

Sincerely yours,

Jim Monsonis

Jim Monsonis

CONFERENCE PROSPECTUS

INTRODUCTION

The need for a Conference at this time rest upon the following presuppositions and understandings generally shared:

1) A south-wide Conference is necessary to give added drive, understanding, and sense of movement to the student protest movement.
2) Knowledge gained in specific situations and thoughts on the long range goals and future of the student movement should be communicated and shared.
3) Without abdicating its emergent role as a programming agency, SNCC needs to deepen and extend its relation to local centers of action in South and North. It must become in a more realistic way <u>their</u> coordinating committee.
4) At the October, 1960, Atlanta Conference where SNCC took some permanent shape, a mandate was given to hold such a Conference during the next year.

It seems then that we have two primary purposes for the Conference: educative and organizational.

<u>Education</u>. We do not need to educate as to the nature of inequality, but as to what has been done and what can be done. Most students have seen only a small part of the fight--the Conference must communicate a sense of participation in a movement with many facets and programs; a movement which has a high degree of autonomy and freedom but nevertheless is united in aims and principles of action (e.g., non-violence). Perspectives need to be sharpened and defined, and in addition we must impart a good deal about practice and technique that others have learned through bitter experience.

Persons also need to be educated to what SNCC is--in practice as well as theory--and explore their own relationship to it.

<u>Organization</u>. In the process hopefully we will begin to see more clearly the movement called SNCC: its relation to individual students and groups, its principles of operation and goals, the function of its staff, its future. While not necessarily the responsibility of all conference participants, it should be a discussion by a representative group: perhaps not to make plans in detail, but to discuss in organizational terms its meaning and significance.

Questions have been raised as to whether the Conference ought to emerge with a specific direction for an action project. This has not been included in the suggested outline as follows; not for reasons of opposition but due to uncertainty as to how th schedule such discussion. One possible suggestion: leave it up to the workshops. If a specific project emerges with urgency it could then be presented to the Conference Sunday in extra-ordinary session.

The Conference might look something like this.

"New Directions in the Student Protest Movement"

Friday Afternoon and Evening--Registration

Friday Evening: Opening Rally.
-mass meeting type of beginning
-Greetings
-Singing
-One major rally-type speaker: "Desegregation: The Moral Aspect" emphasizing the meaning of the non-violent approach to social change.

Saturday Mroning: 1) Report on SNCC. Its work during the past year, changes, staff, program, finances. In the manner of a report to the constituency.
-Questions, briefly. Discussion of the future of SNCC to be held until Workshop time.
2) New Developments Elsewhere. Brief summary reports:
a. Southern Student Freedom Fund.
b. Northern Student Movement Coordinating Committee.
c. The Voter Registration Project.
d. Others?

Saturday Afternoon: 1) 1:30. "Desegregation: the Legal Aspect."
-Civil liberties
-Omnibus suits and citizen action
-legal rights for the layman
-legal procedures
-voter registration (briefly)
2) 4:00 Workshops.
a. Voter registration. Practical program and techniques. Two sessions?
b. Legal problems and possibilities. Continuation in depth of talk.
c. Community Mobilization. Organization of a Community movement.
d. The Future of SNCC. Emphasis on organization and policy.
e. Academic Freedom and the Protest Movement. Student rights to protest, etc.
f. The White Student and the Protest Movement.
g. Equal Employment and the Student Movement. The role of the student movement in the field of employmant.
h. The Meaning of Nonviolence. Way of life? Tactic? The possible role of violence?

Saturday Evening: 1) Workshops (continued to 9:30 or 10:00)
2) Recreation.

Sunday Morning: 11:00 Closing Session
"Desegregation: the Political Aspect"
-the political effects of voting
-effects of achievment of recognition of equality.
-some vision of what the nation might be like when the Negro plays his full role in the socio-political life of the nation.

Conference to end by 12:30.

Notes on documents:

1) Reports from the workshops might be collected Saturday and mimeographed Saturday evening and Sunday morning, and distributed at the end of the morning session.

2) If each area represented at the Conference brings a written report on Friday, these could be collected and distributed at the end of the Conference.

3) Should the Workshops have working papers prepared beforehand? Prepared by the leadership or other persons?

M 3c Gen

February 27, 1962

Mr. Edwin T. Randall
Friendly World Broadcasting
122 North Providence Road
Wallingford, Pa.

Dear Ed:

We look forward to your visit here March 26. And we look forward to working with you on this new and challenging approach,

We are not convinced on the limitation to Alabama. That was simply an idea for thought and discussion.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

Misc
Gen

February 28, 1962

Dr. Kenneth Watson
Executive Director
Religion and Labor Council of America
2000 K Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Dr. Watson;

Thank you for your letter of February 21 and its enclosed list of local Religion and Labor fellowship groups in Southern states. We are passing this information on to directors of Councils on Human Relations in thoestates in which contact has not already been made between the two groups.

We appreciate very much your offer of cooperation.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR;mm

Misc

March 1, 1962

Mr. George Culberson
Executive Director
Mayor's Commission on
Human Relations
518 City County Building
Pittsburgh 19, Pennsylvania

Dear George:

Congratulations on your new position. Harold Fleming has given me some understanding of the nature of the duties, and I believe it will be an important pioneer position in terms of other government departments. They were lucky to get you.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Billing
Director of Field Services

PMB/mr

Misc

March 9, 1962

Mr. Marvin Rich
Community Relations Director
Congress of Racial Equality
39 Park Row
New York 38, N.Y.

Dear Marvin:

I'm afraid the Voter Education project has not gotten off the ground. We are still waiting for an advisory ruling from the Internal Revenue Service, without which the foundation funds are not available. We had expected to hear long before now.

We have spoken to several newsmen about the Huntsville situation and suggested that this merits better coverage. We are considering a study on Baton Rouge and will make a decision on this within the next week, I guess. We will let you know.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

a national organization with affiliated local groups working

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PR

February 22, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul Rilling:

How about sending one of your itinerant newsmen to Huntsville, Alabama. There's a real story there. Demonstrations have been going on since January 3rd. Forty-nine arrests and a lot of acquittals. In fact, fourteen were acquitted on charges of picketing and were then re-arrested on charges of conspiracy.

Judge Walter Jones has issued a state-wide injunction against CORE but I believe that action by the local group will probably go on.

And how about doing a study on Baton Rouge?

Has the voter education project really gotten off the ground yet? I'd be very much interested in knowing. We are going ahead with our efforts in South Carolina but the rest is pretty much dependent upon support. The South Carolina situation does look good though and the office in Sumter is functioning effectively.

Sincerely yours,

Marvin Rich

Marvin Rich
Community Relations Director

MR/jb

Thanks
Number to
Couple about
this

Misc.

March 16, 1962

Mr. John V. P. Lassoe, Jr.
NAIRO
Room 209
426 W. 58th Street
New York 19, New York

Dear John:

The Florida Council on Human Relations will be looking for a new director some 6 to 9 months from now. Do you have any suggestions?

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director,
Field Activities

PR:mm

Misc -

March 16, 1962

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Vice President
Potomac Institute
1501 - 18th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Harold;

The Florida Council on Human Relations will be looking for a new director some 6 to 9 months from now. Do you have any suggestions?

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

Misc

Harold C. Fleming
to Paul Rilling

March 21, 1962

Dear Paul,

As I suspected, I can't make the next interagency meeting, being committed to Pittsburgh on those dates. But I am relieved to learn that I haven't been ousted from membership.

As for the Florida Council spot, I have no helpful suggestions. Everybody I know is coming to Washington.

But who knows? Maybe in six to nine months, I will be a candidate for the job myself.

Regards,

Harold

BANK STREET COLLEGE OF EDUCATION
69 Bank Street, New York 14, N.Y.

Report No. 3 March 1962

INTEGRATING SCHOOLS: PROBLEMS AND PROMISE

It would be comforting if the physical and legal existence of integrated classrooms could, by itself, end the educational inadequacies which are implicit in segregation. The evidence to date plainly refuses us such easy satisfaction. It is clear that desegregation of a school is but a first step towards attaining an educational climate of mutual understanding and cooperation. Only thus can learning flourish unthwarted by the estrangements between pupils and between teachers, which have their roots in differences in racial, cultural, and economic backgrounds.

Within the newly integrated school fresh problems make themselves felt almost immediately. Paradoxically these problems are precisely those which integration is designed to overcome, brought into sharp focus within the new social unit which is the desegregated classroom. As teachers and pupils, formerly separated both by law and society, begin to work together, they are still in many ways remote from and strange to one another. This though they sit side by side, share the same playgrounds, eat in the same lunchrooms and exist, nominally at least, as peers within the school.

Today a teacher in an integrated school is faced with both encouraging similarities and bewildering differences between the Negro and the white pupils in her classroom. In a perceptive article in The New York Times Magazine of December 24, 1961, Margaret Anderson, Director of Guidance in the Clinton High School, Clinton, Tennessee, writes: "The Negro child is different because he has problems which are the product of a social order not of his making... he therefore comes to us as an overburdened child...the freedom he has gained creates additional problems he must face." This child enters the integrated classroom, anxious, handicapped by his previous schooling, eager for acceptance.

These tensions can be considerably eased when his teacher is sufficiently skillful to deal with them sensitively. Yet here we encounter a second difficulty, which is the lack of experience in working together among the Negro and white teachers themselves. Among the teachers, as among the pupils, one finds disparate preparation, factors of class and race prejudice. In such a situation the role of the teacher and the effectiveness of the education he can offer are subtly weakened.

Bank Street's New Program for Inter-racial Leaders

What is the remedy? One answer is to establish opportunities for these teachers to learn to know one another, especially to give them experience in

facing their common problems together, to help them develop common aims in an environment in which they can live and work as equal partners.

Bank Street College of Education will this summer take a significant step towards these objectives. It is the Summer Institute for Educators in Integrating Schools, which will offer a six-week program of study at the College in New York City. The Institute will accept 30 student members - 15 Negro, 15 white - each a teacher or administrator from a newly integrating area in the South.

The Summer Institute is made possible by a foundation grant which covers all the basic expenses of those attending: the cost of travel to and from New York, tuition at the College and board and lodging for the entire term, July 2 through August 10, 1962. Special arrangements have been completed with International House for housing the members of the Institute. During the last week of the Institute each participant will spend several days at an inter-racial camp.

Work is now going forward on a careful selection of candidates. References and personal data will be supplemented by interviews with a field representative from Bank Street. Very important consideration will be given to the candidate's motivation for the Institute course and to an estimate of potential service in the home community.

Two steps are being taken by Bank Street to assure that the skills and insights acquired by the Institute members can be applied effectively within the schools to which they will return in the fall. Between five and ten teachers will be enrolled from each of the four school districts represented. As a further bulwark to the practical goals of the Institute, applicants will be accepted only from those areas where the project has the support of the school superintendent and the local Board of Education. Two of these four districts have already been selected.

A Three-Pronged Course of Study

The Summer Institute offers a study program in which Negro and white teachers can explore together the ways in which integration affects their function in the classroom, the school and the community. They will analyze their difficulties and together seek out their solution. Throughout their working hours, the emphasis will be put on enriched classroom experience and excellence in teaching. Especially will the members be helped to discover understanding of their joint aims and to develop methods of cooperation which can be applied practically within the framework of the school systems in the South.

The program is divided into three separate courses of study, and will grant to teachers who wish it eight points of graduate credit.

I. The Human Relations Workshop

Teaching situations are more than usually complex where there is a diversity of cultural, racial and economic backgrounds among

the group. This diversity additionally places extra burdens on the role of the teacher. However, Bank Street believes, and this conviction is documented by years of experience and research, that from this diversity can be gained definite elements of strength.

The members of the group will supply case material from their own concrete experiences in the schools where they are employed. They will ponder human relations factors implicit in the process of desegregation. They will analyze the energies which can be mustered within a group for the better direction of this process. They will study the changes this process brings in the relationships between individuals - pupil and pupil, teacher and teacher, pupil and teacher.

Examination of the groups' own first-hand contact with integration - where it has been successful and less successful - will be supplemented by field trips to multi-racial schools, neighborhood houses and community centers in New York City and its environs.

II. An Elective Course of Graduate Study

The members of the Institute will choose one of a number of subject matter courses to advance their skills in a field of special interest. These courses, which include advanced psychology, the teaching of reading and number skills, and school guidance, are part of the curriculum offered by the Bank Street College of Education to its regularly enrolled summer students. These are an advanced group of pre-service and experienced teachers. In these elective courses Institute members will enjoy constructive group relationships with other superior members of their profession.

III. A Seminar in Curriculum

This is a special course devised exclusively for Institute members. Its aim is to sharpen their abilities and worth as teachers. In this seminar they will study current teaching techniques and become familiar with teaching skills which can reinforce the learning process. They will be shown how to build a curriculum with a content geared to increase mutual acceptance by children with marked differences in socio-economic backgrounds. They will learn how the divergences, the non-similarities among the children of the newly-integrated school can be utilized for an improved curriculum.

Charles Long, Head of Institute Faculty

Dr. Long, who received his doctorate in education from Indiana University, will direct the Institute program. He has spent 15 years in public school teaching and administration; 13 years teaching at the college level in the field of education. His most recent professional activity gives him special insights and knowledge for the Institute objectives. For two years Dr. Long has been an educational consultant in the technical assistance program of the U.S. State Department, first working in Brazil and Morocco and later with the African-European Division of the Office of Education.

Martha Stodt, Secretary of Admissions and Foreign Student Advisor, is in charge of the organization of the Institute. Mrs. Stodt is a native of Alabama. She and her husband demonstrate their belief in integration by running an interracial camp for children each summer. This is the camp which Institute members will visit at the end of their course. Mrs. Stodt is a former psychiatric social worker and before joining the staff of Bank Street College, from which she received her MA in education, taught for five years at the New Lincoln School.

The faculty will include in addition to specialists from the Bank Street staff, educators from Southern school systems and institutions of higher education.

Bank Street's Knowledge of the Changing Urban Neighborhood

Bank Street was chosen to inaugurate this first Summer Institute for interracial leaders because of its special qualifications in the area of social change. With the support of government agencies and foundations, Bank Street has conducted continuing investigations into the problems imposed on education, both public and private, by the integration of various ethnic and socio-economic groups. The College has undertaken extended programs of research and action within the public schools, particularly of New York City, to develop techniques for teaching in communities where social changes are taking place.

Behind these programs is the Bank Street belief in the role of the school as a force for social betterment. The Summer Institute for educational leaders is a timely extension of this Bank Street philosophy expressed by President John H. Niemeyer when he said: "The school is the only agent of society that reaches nearly 100% of the children and their families."

Hastening the Benefits of Integration

Many kinds of good can be expected to flow from the Summer Institute. The participants will develop new skills for a more effective curriculum. Negro teachers will gain confidence in their working relationships with white teachers and children. White teachers will recognize the abilities of their Negro colleagues. They will each in turn influence the attitudes within their schools and communities when they return to the South. The changes noted at the Institute itself and later developed in the schools will lend themselves to publication in professional journals and serve as a guide to colleagues in other parts of the country. The Institute can very well act as a pilot for similar centers of study.

BANK STREET COLLEGE OF EDUCATION 69 Bank Street, New York 14, N. Y. CHelsea 3-4903

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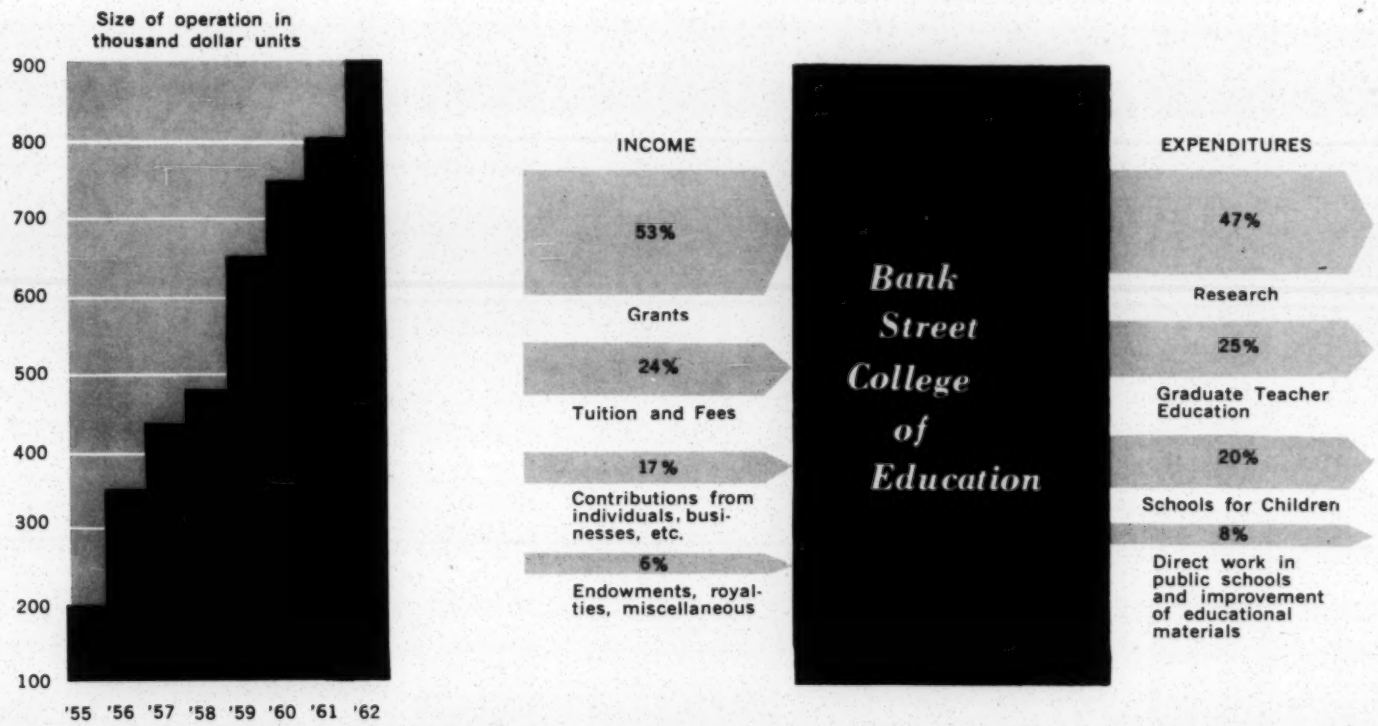

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REPORT

from

BANK STREET COLLEGE OF EDUCATION

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File
Gen

Mine

April 16, 1962

Mr. Lewis Deer
United Christian Missionary Society
Disciples of Christ
222 South Downey Avenue
Indianapolis 7, Indiana

Dear Lewis:

I hope that you are still interested in the possibility of a Southern position. The executive directorship of the Florida Council on Human Relations will be vacant in three or four months, and I have sent your name to the Florida board as one whom we would consider highly qualified for the position. The Florida Council is one of our larger and more challenging groups, with a membership of around 700 and with 8 local units around the state.

Let me know as soon as you can whether you would like to be considered for the position. I think you might really enjoy living in Florida, and helping the Florida Council serve as an increasing force for progress and peaceful change.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

Misc

April 17, 1962

Mr. Emanuel Muravchik, Director
Jewish Labor Committee
25 East 78th Street
New York, New York

Dear Manny:

During the Interagency meeting here recently I talked with Don Slaiman. He said he would definitely see Harold Fleming in person and raise the question of your needs. Neither of us could think of anything more at the moment, although Don thought there might be some hope of money from the labor movement itself.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE

ATRAN CENTER FOR JEWISH CULTURE
25 EAST 78th STREET • NEW YORK 21, N. Y. • LEHIGH 5-3700

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CHARLES ZIMMERMAN
JACOB T. ZUKERMAN

March 26, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Attached is the document that was prepared for submission to a number of foundations. The project on which we have a good chance of getting an allocation from one foundation is the pilot operation listed on pages 3 and 4.

Please remember that this was prepared not for the professionals in the civil rights field, but the professionals in the foundation field.

Please call on me for additional information. Looking forward to hearing from you.

Cordially,

Manny

Emanuel Muravchik

EM:gs
oeiu-153
enclosure

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JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE

25 EAST 78 STREET, NEW YORK 21, N. Y. • LEhigh 5-3700

Memorandum

TO:

FROM: Emanuel Muravchik

DATE:

SUBJECT:

OUTLINE PROPOSAL FOR CIVIL RIGHTS PROGRAM WORKING THROUGH TRADE UNIONS IN THE SOUTH

We are entering a period in which Southern labor leaders can markedly increase their contributions to the achievement of desegregation. Those Southern labor leaders who are sympathetic to civil rights are gradually finding that they are less circumscribed now, in what they are in a position to do in making their influence felt on local and regional developments, than any time since the Supreme Court decision.

Take the city of New Orleans as an example: Only a few years ago when the question of desegregation of schools was first raised by an action of the Catholic Bishop of that diocese, all labor elements were silent. More recently, during the struggle around integration of two public schools, the official labor leadership took a forthright position against closing these schools and opposed the many efforts of the State legislature to defy the Federal government.

Trade union leadership in the South has seen the White Citizens Councils and the KKK recruit support among their rank and file. And yet many Southern trade unions have a long history of integrated membership, albeit with internal disparities. The official position of the AFL-CIO clearly supports fully integrated enjoyment of civil rights. Most Southern labor leaders, however, are acutely conscious that giving these objectives high priority would alienate a substantial portion of their own membership. In an effort to assist Southern labor leaders in applying to their situation to the official AFL-CIO policy, a Southern Advisory Committee to the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department has been organized. It consists of the executive officers of each of the Southern State Labor Councils. The Jewish Labor Committee has been requested to provide staff for this Committee.

There have been encouraging recent developments:

The initiative taken by the Texas and Virignia AFL-CIO in finding completely integrated state convention facilities in states where such accommodations had been virtually without precedent.

The opposition of the trade union movement, not only in New Orleans but in Little Rock, Norfolk and Atlanta, to the closing of schools.

The role of the Tennessee State Labor Council in assisting the Fayette County Negro workers, farmers and small businessmen against whom sanctions were organized by the White Citizens Councils.

The public stand taken by the Louisiana AFL-CIO Council in newspaper ads in defense of its election of an NAACP officer as vice president of the State Council.

The North Carolina AFL-CIO's state convention resolution supporting the lunch counter sit-ins of the Negro students.

These developments support our view that improved potentials for effective trade union action in support of equal rights are present in the Southern situation today. Further evidence of this is given in our having organized, even in the absence of local staff, a committee of a score of Atlanta labor leaders to encourage and plan human rights work in the local labor movement. The usefulness of this group would obviously be markedly improved by continuing on-the-scene staff support.

The following pages outline a plan to lay the groundwork during the coming year for a subsequently expanded five year program. The groundwork would consist of pilot efforts which can determine how best to proceed with more extensive work and which would make it possible to appeal to various sources for broader financial support.

I. Objectives

To plan community and regional programs on the basis of pilot work in selected areas. These programs will deal with labor's part in encouraging Negro registration and voting, with labor's role in assisting the desegregation of schools and access to public accommodations, integration by labor of segregated union locals, and economic action to promote equal employment opportunities.

II. Methods

A twelve month pilot operation will:

A. Ascertain which of the key trade union leadership figures have the inclination to encourage civil rights progress through their own organizations, what limitations their situations impose on them, and which community figures respected by labor (e.g. labor lawyers, pro-labor intellectuals, clergymen, etc.) can be counted on to influence unions to implement labor's civil rights policy.

B. Extend and update information gathered in the study six years ago on the number, proportions and status of the Negro within the larger unions in the South and in the larger regional concentrations of union membership. Identify progress and setbacks since the study, specifically on the number of locals in each category:

1. integrated locals

2. joint Negro-white locals in which Negroes have second class status

3. parallel white and Negro locals with equal status

4. white and Negro locals where the Negro locals have second class status

5. white only (or Negro only) locals in trades or industries where both races are employed

6. locals in industries where only one race is employed

C. Update information in unionized industries on employment discrimination and establish channels whereby these data and the data referred to in point B. above can be periodically checked in areas of change.

D. Ascertain recent positions, positive or negative, taken by trade unions on race questions with indications of the influences which were at work.

III. Means

There will be a full-time director, experienced in labor union problems in the South. In addition, several persons will be given short term assignments in regions and industries they know. The project will require some research and secretarial assistance. The director would be associated with the Southern Advisory Committee to the Civil Rights Department of the AFL-CIO. There will be no publicity.

Patterns of work developed by the Jewish Labor Committee through the Labor Committees for Human Rights in major Northern urban centers will be modified to meet the Southern conditions. During the pilot period, care will obviously be exercised in testing methods of work in order not to risk destroying the effectiveness of pro-civil rights elements through premature action.

IV. Geographic Starts

During the pilot period the work will be based in Atlanta. In addition, however, the director will use Birmingham, New Orleans and either Houston or Dallas-Ft. Worth as focal points. Other industrial centers in which preliminary work should be done in the first year would include: Richmond, Norfolk-Newport News, Winston Salem, Charlotte, Dade County (Miami), Jacksonville, Memphis, Chattanooga, Nashville, Montgomery, Jackson, Little Rock, East Texas oil field area, Charleston, San Antonio.

V. Scale

The preliminary twelve month period will require a budget of about $24,000:

Personnel director	$ 8,000
Consultants and research assistants on spot assignments	6,700
Secretarial assistance	4,000
Travel	3,000
Office. rent, equipment, supplies, printing, telephone, telegraph, postage	1,600
Social security, unemployment insurance, health benefits	700
	$24,000

We anticipate that this preliminary undertaking will lay the groundwork for a five year program which will require $50,000 per year, using a program nucleus of two full time persons and two part time people based in each of the regions where measurable progress appears attainable and where events demand it.

Misc

April 17, 1962

Mr. Saal D. Lesser
Executive Director
Encampment for Citizenship
2 West 64th Street
New York 23, New York

Dear Saal:

We have, as usual, this year sent copies of your prospectus to all of our state directors and have urged them to be on the look out for good potential participants. I am sure that several of them will be approaching you with recommendations.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

Misc

April 17, 1962

Mr. John Hope II
President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity
Washington, D.C.

Dear John:

Bill Williams will be shortly leaving his position as director of the Florida Council on Human Relations. He feels that after seven or eight years it is time for a change but he would like to remain in human relations work rather than return to the Methodist ministry. We would appreciate anything you would do by way of advising Bill concerning future employment. I believe you know him and his work somewhat. My own evaluation is that he is somewhat weak in administration but quite strong in educational skills, negotiation, trouble-shooting, and so forth. He has a disarming approach that makes him quite effective in reaching hostile people and cooling off rough situations.

You are quite missed in these parts, although we are quite proud of your current assignment.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

Misc

April 19, 1962

Mr. Gregory E. Shinert
Executive Director
Missouri Commission on Human Relations
15 North Grand Boulevard
St. Louis 3, Missouri

Dear Mr. Shinert:

Our director, Leslie Dunbar, met you at a conference in Little Rock, Arkansas, some time ago and upon returning expressed the hope that it might be possible at some time to persuade you to consider taking a position in intergroup relations in the Southeast, and in our general organization.

The directorship of the Florida Council on Human Relations will shortly become vacant and we wonder if you might be interested in being considered for the position. The Florida Council is one of ten private biracial state agencies related to the Southern Regional Council. The Florida Council is one of the larger and more promising of these operations with some ten local interracial groups across the state.

If you might be interested I hope you will let me know and enclose biographical data. Les Dunbar sends regards.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:jl
enc. Brochure on Flo. Council.

Misc

April 19, 1962

Mr. Jerry Heilbron
Civil Rights Division
Department of Justice
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Heilbron:

You probably are well aware of the current situation in Albany, Georgia, growing out of the shooting of a Negro by local police last Sunday, April 15. We thought, however, that we should pass on whatever information we have just in case.

According to reports received from Mrs. Frances Pauley, Director of the Georgia Council on Human Relations, who is currently in Albany, tension in the Negro community is very high over this incident and may well spark another explosion.

The following facts concerning the shooting come from two second-hand sources, both Negro. Walter Harris, Negro, of 900 Dorsett Street, Albany, was arrested by police Saturday afternoon, April 14, on suspicion of bootlegging. He was released Saturday evening, either because of lack of evidence or on bond. He was killed Sunday morning by gunfire from three or four policemen. According to a rumor rampant in the Negro community a subsequent autopsy showed broken bones and bashed head, presumably suffered by beating at the hands of the police. There were several eyewitnesses to the shooting, but their identity is not known to us. Negro leaders indicate the incident was reported to the FBI.

Mrs. Pauley will be in Albany for several days and can be reached at the Holiday Inn, in case you should need on-the-spot information during the next few days.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Services

Copy to Mr. Burke Marshall

PMR/mr

Air Mail
Special Delivery

Misc.

a national organization with affiliated local groups working

to abolish racial discrimination by direct, nonviolent methods

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NEW YORK 38, NEW YORK
COrtlandt 7-6270

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Richard Haley
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Carl Rachlin, Esq.
general counsel

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PROGRAM
AND TRAINING
DEPARTMENT
Gordon R. Carey
director
Norman Hill
assistant to the director

April 20, 1962

Mr. Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Rilling:

I'm sorry for the belated reply to your request about the policies of the Hilton Hotels, Sheraton Chain or Hotel Corporation of America. Since your letter we have reorganized our departments, among other things, to foster more efficient operation.

Unfortunately, we do not have information you want. I would suggest that you contact the National Urban League and the civil rights committee of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders International Union, 525 Walnut Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.

I am sorry that we could not be of assistance.

Sincerely,

Norman Hill

Norman Hill
Assistant to the Director
Program Department

NH/ss

Misc

THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

April 23, 1962

Mr. Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear ~~Mr. Rilling~~ Paul:

Thank you for your letter of April 17 in which you gave a rather careful appraisal of the capabilities of Bill Williams. I am happy to know of his availability though we have no openings at this time. However, I will keep this in mind and advise him if anything develops within the range of my knowledge for which he is qaulified.

I appreciate your kind remarks. I too miss our relations at SRC and the many friends which I developed as a result. Please give my very best regards to them.

Sincerely yours,

John

John Hope II
Assistant Executive Director
for Government Employment

Misc

GREGORY E. SHINERT
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
PHONE 5-5726

MISSOURI COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS

Room 234 ROOM 131B STATE CAPITOL BLDG.
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HAYTI

April 25, 1962

Mr. Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Rilling:

I am very appreciative of your letter of April 19 in which you express the hope that I might associate myself in a professional manner with the Florida Council on Human Relations.

I am honored that Leslie Dunbar still remembers me and evidently holds me in such high regard that your organization consider my application for the directorship of the Florida Council on Human Relations.

At the present time I am thoroughly engaged as Director of the Missouri State Commission on Human Rights, and very happy with my work here. However, being an intergroup relations professional, the challenge of working in Florida does interest me. I know it would mean a total reorganization of my present methods -- as well as my family. But professionals in the intergroup relations field should not be beyond the sacrifice they normally demand of others.

Therefore, I will enclose biographical data and would like to know more about the position, its requirements, pay scale, etc., as well as when I would be expected to assume responsibilities.

Please give my best to Les Dunbar and remind him that there is a standing invitation for him to visit any time he is in Missouri.

With kindest personal regards, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

G. E. Shinert

Gregory E. Shinert
Executive Director

GES:hp
Enc.

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

Gregory E. Shinert, Executive Director, Missouri State Commission on Human Rights

Born: Houston, Texas

Educated in Texas public and private schools.

U.S. Air Force--World War II; service in Europe.

Attended University of Notre Dame; received his A.B. degree in Sociology, Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C. --1953.

Teacher's Certificate, University of Omaha, 1955.

Master of Science in Human Relations, St. Louis University, 1958.

Has done graduate work in Social Anthropology, City College, Mexico City.

Taught at Boy's Town, Nebraska--and for three years in Missouri high schools.

Has been active in human relations work, on both the professional and volunteer level since 1945.

Is a member of Pi Gamma Mu Social Science fraternity, Board Member of the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials; Missouri Association for Social Welfare; and was appointed to the Interim Committee of the Governor's Conference on Civil Rights.

Is the author of "The Relationship of Ethnocentrism and Religious Conviction"--Journal of Education Sociology; and several articles on human relations and civil rights in various national publications.

Appointed to the position of Executive Director, Missouri State Commission on Human Rights in July 1958.

Misc

Her Letter under PR Personal

April 27, 1962

Miss Jean Fairfax
National Representative for Southern Programs
American Friends Service Committee
20 S. 12th Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Jean:

I hope the materials we are sending today, under separate cover, will meet your needs. We found, as we got them together, that very few analyses of school desegregation have been done recently. Everyone is busy writing about sit-ins, Freedom Rides -- and like that.

We are sending in bulk the following items:

1. The Face of Desegregation Today, by Les Dunbar, reproduced from the Phi Delta Kappan, January, 1961.

2. The South's New Resistance, which I did for The Progressive in March of 1962.

3. The Turning Point for Desegregation, by G. W. Foster, in the Saturday Review, December 17, 1960.

4. School Desegregation: The First Six Years, Southern Regional Council, May, 1960.

5. The Truth About Washington's Schools, by Erwin Knowl.

6. A Chronology of Principal Cases on Segregation, New South, October, 1959.

7. Academic Achievement and Desegregation, Southern Regional Council Report L-17.

8. The Emotional Aspects of School Desegregation, Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry.

9. Integration: Seven Lean Years, by Alex Bickel, New Republic, September 25, 1961.

10. Action Patterns of School Desegregation, by Wey and Corey.

As far as bibliogrpphy is concerned you will note there is one on the back of School Desegregation: The First Six Years. I would particularly refer your people, fof additional background reading, to Don Shoemaker's With All Deliberate Speed, published by the Southern Education Reporting Service -- a little out of date but still good. Also, the Integrated Classroom, by H. Perry Giles, published by Basic Books, 1959, and particularly section I. Also, Jack Peltason's new book 58 Lonely Men, an excellent overview.

So far as periodicals and pamphlets are concerned -

Margaret Anderson - They're Ready - Are We?, New York Times Magazine, January 14, 1962.

Integrated Parochial Schools, Benjamin Muse, Commonweal, March 9, 1962.

Can We Afford to Close Our Public Schools?, Anti-Defamation League, December, 1959.

Carl F. Hansen's Addendum: A Five Year Report on Desegregation in Washington, D.C., Anti-Defamation League.

Southerners and Schools, a reprint of seven articles by Helen Fuller, from the New Republic, 1959.

Education, Prejudice and Discrimination, by Melvin Tumin, and Paul Barton, American Sociological Review, February, 1958.

Again, let me call your attention to the excellent material in the Education volume of the 1961 report of the Commission on Civil Rights, particularly pages 39-97.

Cheers!

Very truly yours,

Paul Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:jl

LDV
PRV

JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE

ATRAN CENTER FOR JEWISH CULTURE
25 EAST 78th STREET • NEW YORK 21, N. Y. • LEHIGH 5-3700

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CHARLES ZIMMERMAN
JACOB T. ZUKERMAN

May 2, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Messrs. E. T. Kehrer and
Nicholas Bonano
ILGWU Regional Office
1065 Gordon Street, S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul, Al and Nick:

I know that you, Paul, are aware that we may be on the verge of getting a substantial contribution from the Norman Fund toward making possible the opening of the long-projected Southern office. In a meeting they had last week, they posed a number of questions about the project which I have attempted to answer. Now they have said that a couple of their members who reside in Atlanta would like to check with persons there familiar with the plans. I gave them your names, and I believe you will be hearing from someone on this.

Naturally, I don't want to coach you on what to say. I rest peacefully in the confidence that whatever you tell them is likely to help realize this contribution.

I am attaching a copy of the proposal we submitted to them. To some degree its format might seem different from what we had occasionally discussed, but I think the basic content is the same.

Best personal wishes.

Yours,

Manny

Emanuel Muravchik

EM:gs
oeiu-153
cc: Messrs. Kehrer and Bonano

ISIDORE AXELROD, Cleveland
HARRY BERGER, Philadelphia
JOSEPH BERNSTEIN, Detroit
MORRIS BIALIS, Chicago
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NICHOLAS KIRTZMAN, Cleveland
DR. SHMARYA KLEINMAN, Detroit
PHILIP KRAMER, Boston
TEVYA MAISEL, Mexico City
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MICHAEL MERLIN, Atlanta
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BESS TOPOLSKY, Pittsburgh
MEYER WEINTRAUB, Los Angeles
SAM WEISBERG, Cleveland
MAX WOHL, Cleveland
JOSEPH WOLMAN, Baltimore
JOSEPH ZACHARIAS, Mexico City

May 8, 1962

Dear Paul,

I'm sorry not to have written you sooner, but a series of developments were occurring when you first wrote me and I've waited to see how they were headed.

At this point I've decided to stay put for the next year at least. I'm taking on a little different assignment that seems promising. A program in the works for about five years to assist churches with money and counsel in neighborhoods undergoing racial change is now to be given some priority in time and money. As I move into this we are planning to add a person to the staff whose assignment will be "Civil Rights and Civil Liberties."

This is a breakthrough in our program so I'd like to stick around awhile longer and see what can happen.

Thanks for remembering my interest in a Southern Human Relations job.

Sincerely
Lewis

Lewis H. Dow
5355 University
Indianapolis 17, Ind

Misc

May 11, 1962

Peace Corps
Washington 25, D. C.

Gentlemen;

I am filling out some of the items on your questionnaire. I do not feel able to complete all of them and felt it would be well to enclose this letter of explanation.

I have known Miss Hill for approximately two years. My contacts with her have been exclusively concerned with efforts to solve community problems of adjustment in the area of race relations and desegregation. Miss Hill has been one of the key Negro leaders in Asheville and has given constructive and responsible guidance to the process of desegregation. More than any other single person, she was responsible for sustaining the morale of the small Negro community in nearby Yancey County while that community was embroiled in litigation and conflict over school desegregation. She also played the major role in channeling aid and support to the Yancey County Negroes in the period during which they were maintaining their own elementary school. She arranged for the high school students from Yancey to attend the Allen school at a minimal cost.

Miss Hill is in my opinion a superior person who would be a credit to the Peace Corps and to the United States. She is a stable and secure person. She is calm and effectige under stress. She is informed in many areas and fluent in several foreign languages.

You really ought to employ her in a staff capacity rather than using her as a volunteer.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

SUMMARY OF CCD MASS MEDIA COMMITTEE MEETING, MAY 15, 1962

HAVE A NICE SUMMER!

The next meeting of the Mass Media Committee will be held on Wednesday, September 19, 1962, from 11:30 A.M. to 2:00 P.M. at the National Conference of Christians and Jews, 43 West 57th Street, New York City. Since this will be a luncheon meeting, please call Harry Fleischman at PL 1-4000 or write to him at 165 East 56th Street, New York 22 to let him know whether or not you plan to attend.

1. The problem of tokenism was discussed at the meeting. Evidence is mounting that Negro patience is wearing thin. More and more, Negroes are adopting the attitude that token integration is further proof that winning the law suit does not necessarily mean winning the case. As a result, a new wave of militancy is showing itself among Negroes. Where established Negro organizations do not engage in enough mass action, new organizations tend to spring up to carry on such activity.

The white liberal public tends to look on token integration as a great step forward, to view the future with complacency, and to lessen pressure on the power structure for more far-reaching change. This leads to widespread fear among many Negroes, as Louis Lomax points out, that "the white power structure does not intend to do the right thing as far as civil rights are concerned."

There was agreement among the committee that this constitutes a major problem with which the Mass Media Committee should try to cope. Harold Fleming and Leslie Dunbar will be asked to come to the next meeting to report on the current status of desegregation efforts in relation to the problem of tokenism. Following that meeting, we will invite people connected with radio, television and the press to attend some of our meetings to discuss this problem with us. Among those mentioned as possible participants were Lou Harris, Morton Wishengrad, Irving Gitlin and Elmo Roper.

2. Negro and white civil rights leaders testified recently concerning their treatment of police, before courts and in jails. The Committee of Inquiry into the Administration of Justice in the Freedom Struggle, with Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt as chairman, met on Friday and Saturday, May 25-26, 1962 in the Community Room of the Washington Post. Committee members included Roger Baldwin, Tallulah Bankhead, Dr. Kenneth Clark, Harry Golden, Bishop James A. Pike, Judge Justine Wise Polier, A. Philip Randolph, Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., Walter Reuther, William Schnitzler, Telford Taylor, Norman Thomas, Judge J. Waties Waring and James Wechsler.

Testimony indicated that in a significant number of American cities the police, the courts and jails have been and are being used aggressively against the civil rights movement in an attempt to intimidate it, to immobilize leaders, to bankrupt and ban civil rights organizations, and to deter the liberalminded public in these cities from supporting civil rights.

Testimony dealt with both lack of police protection for peaceful demonstrators

and police acquiesence in violence of white racists. Testimony also concerned police violence against peaceful demonstrators in beatings, and the use of tear gas and police dogs. Violent whites, it was revealed, were rarely arrested, while peaceful demonstrators were arrested by the thousands. Testimony was also given regarding the number of Negro students who have lost their right to public education in their states because of their civil rights activities. Witnesses bore testimony concerning brutality in jails.

The Committee may recommend further action in civil rights by private citizens and by the Federal Government.

3. It was noted that frequently, when there have been network programs on controversial subjects, Southern television stations have used other programs to fill in the time. (Attached is some information concerning the airings of TV shows affecting race relations in the South.)

4. "The Intruder" is a new film which unsuccessfully attempts to portray what happens in a scabrous Southern town when a vicious rabble-rouser comes in and tries to block integration in the schools. Here is the New York Times review of the film:

"Some highly explosive material is handled crudely and a bit too clumsily for either conviction or comfort in 'The Intruder' an angry little film turned out by Roger and Gene Corman... It spews so much anti-Negro venom and so many ugly epithets that it makes one squirm with distaste and uneasiness, no matter how happily it comes out. What's more, it is so crudely fashioned from obvious cliches and stereotypes, such as cross-burnings, rabid white supremists and a planted charge of rape against an innocent Negro lad, that it gives one the distrustful feeling that the writer made it up out of all the loose bits of shocking stories of race prejudice he could find lying around... But this must be said for the film: it does break fertile ground in the area of integration that has not yet opened on the screen. And it does so with obvious good intentions and a great deal of raw, arresting power in many of its individual details and in the aspects of several characters...The film is as full of potentials as it is of cankerous bumpkin types, and it is too bad it realizes on only a few of them. But it marks the intrusion of an area that begs to be further explored by dramatists and cinematists with talent. Call it an enterprising try."

5. For the first time in the history of Baton Rouge, Louisiana, the charge of criminal anarchy for participation in anti-segregation activities will come before its courts. Four young civil rights leaders, three Negro and one white, and all members of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), will be tried on this charge. A pamphlet, "It Happened in Baton Rouge -- U.S.A." written by Major Johns and Ronnie Moore, exposes these criminal anarchy cases. The pamphlet is available from CORE, 38 Park Row, New York 38, New York at 10¢ per copy, with reductions on quantity orders.

The case is viewed as significant both by anti-and-pro segregationists since its issue is far broader than the mere guilt or innocence of the four defendants. It opens the question of a state's right to employ extraordinary legal means to enforce segregation by charging with criminal anarchy those who espouse racial views differing from its own. Should the verdict go for the state of Louisiana, it and other diehard segregationist states will have an effective weapon against active integrationists.

The charge against the four anti-segregationists is that they advocated opposition to the state of Louisiana privately and publicly, and that they were members of SNCC, an organization they knew "to advocate, teach and practice opposition to

the government of Louisiana by unlawful means."

Of the four, Robert Zellner, who is white, and Charles McDew, both of Atlanta, will be defended jointly by the American Civil Liberties Union and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Ronnie Moore and Weldon Rougeau, former students at Southern University in Baton Rouge, and officers of the local chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality, will be defended by that organization.

Moore and Rougeau were arrested in January on the Southern University campus where they were demonstrating against the closing of the University because of alleged disruption of its affairs created by wide student participation in anti-segregation activities. McDew and Zellner, officers of the SNCC, were arrested in February when they brought fruit and books to Dion Diamond, a fellow officer of SNCC, in the Baton Rouge jail. The books, "Scottsboro Boys" by Haywood Patterson, "The Ugly American" by Eugene Burdick and William Lederer, and "Eight Men" by Richard Wright, were declared "contrary to Louisiana's policy of segregation of the races."

The students have recently been released from jail on bail. Protest against the use of the criminal anarchy charge to curb integration efforts was voiced by four national Negro leaders, James Farmer of CORE, Roy Wilkins of the NAACP, Whitney Young of the National Urban League, A. Philip Randolph of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, as well as the noted theologian Reinhold Niebuhr. Senator Jacob Javits of New York, in a telegram to Attorney General Kennedy, asked for an investigation of the arrests.

6. Wiley Branton, an attorney who has been involved in civil rights cases for some time, will head the voter registration drive, which will be handled by a special project set up by the Southern Regional Council. The main participating organizations are the NAACP, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Urban League, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and the Congress of Racial Equality. Besides these main organizations, there have been requests from other organizations to participate. Of a total of 6,000,000 Negroes eligible to vote in the Deep South, only 1.3 million were registered in 1961.

One particular problem of the voter registration drive will be to establish sufficient incentives over a long period of time to register voters. It was felt that general apathy may well be the biggest obstacle to be overcome.

The number of Negroes registered to vote in Florida shows an increase of 19,329 over 1960 and now totals 182,456. Significant gains were made in cities and counties where local units of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People conducted registration drives. These included the cities of Tampa, Jacksonville, Miami, Orlando and West Palm Beach, and Pinellas and Lee counties.

The gains were made despite the loss of some 2,000 Negro voters who, forced to move by public developments, failed to register their new addresses. Also there were losses due to failure to vote in at least one major election during a two-year period as required by law.

7. Announcements were made of the screenings of two films: "Picture Of A Negro," available from L. B. Wilson, Inc., 2133 11th Avenue, N.W., Miami, Florida; and "Property Values and Race," available from Council for Civic Unity, 437 Market St., San Francisco, California.

8. "Civil Rights and Minorities," by Paul Hartman, covers five major areas in which discrimination affects members of American minority groups: employment, housing, education, public accommodations and intermarriage. The pamphlet is available from the Anti-Defamation League, 515 Madison Avenue, New York 22, New York at 50¢ per copy.

9. "Prejudice Doesn't Come Naturally," by Margaret H. Bacon. Reprinted from Parent's Magazine. Young people grow up free of the burden of hate when parents practice what they preach about good will. Copies available from the National Conference of Christians and Jews, 43 West 57th Street, New York 19, New York at $2.75 per hundred. Single copy free of charge.

10. "The Civil Rights Story; a Year's Review," by Theodore Leskes, covers the period from October 1, 1960 to September 30, 1961. It highlights: legislation, the provisions of more than 40 civil rights laws enacted by 22 state legislatures during 1961; freedom riders, an account of their activities during this period and resultant legal and administrative decisions; federal civil rights activities, developments in the legislative, executive and judicial branches and recommendations of the Civil Rights Commission regarding higher education, voting, employment, public education, housing and the administration of justice; desegregation of public schools, the status of desegregation in the 17 southern and border states and actions against de facto segregation in the north. Copies are available from the National Labor Service, 165 East 56th Street, New York 22, at 25¢ per copy, $20.00 per hundred.

11. "Prejudice and Discrimination," by Gertrude Noar. This resource unit is a survey designed to provide the teacher with a content outline on the subjects of prejudice and discrimination, the materials needed and the teaching-learning methods which can be used to accomplish both his purposes and the students' goals. Available from the Anti-Defamation League, 515 Madison Avenue, New York 22, at 35¢ per copy, quantity prices on request.

12. "The Negro in America Today," by Ernest Dunbar. Reprinted from the April 10, 1962 issue of Look. It discusses income, employment, housing, progress and problems, schools, segregation, protest, the armed forces and many other problems still facing the Negro community. Available from the Community Relations Service, 165 East 56th Street, New York 22, at 15¢ per copy, $12.50 per hundred.

13. "Teacher Education for Human Relations in the Classroom," published by the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools with the assistance of the ADL. The report indicates that students are not being adequately prepared for their roles as teachers in our democratic society. Copies may be obtained by writing to the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, 5454 South Shore Drive, Chicago 15, Illinois. The cost is 25¢ per copy.

Respectfully submitted

Harry Fleischman

Harry Fleischman, Chairman
Mass Media Committee, CCD

HF/eak
MMCCD, CCD

REPORTS ON TELEVISION "BLACKOUTS" IN SOUTH

	NBC - White Paper No. 2 - Sit In	NBC - Atlanta - 1961	ABC - Walk In My Shoes
ALABAMA			
Birmingham	Not shown-WAPI (Program manager said he knew of at least 25 stations in Alabama which did not show them)	Not shown-WAPI	Not shown-WBRC (Did show to one or two private groups)
Florence	Shown- WOWL	Not shown-WOWL	Not shown-WOWL
ARKANSAS			
Little Rock	Shown	Shown	Shown
Hot Springs	New NBC outlet has policy of carrying all "White Papers." (Apparently it was not operating when "Sit In" was telecast)	Shown	No full-time ABC outlet
El Dorado	Not shown - had no commercial support, respondent states.	Shown	No full-time ABC outlet
GEORGIA			
Atlanta	Shown	Shown	Shown
Augusta	Probably not shown, but cannot document	Not shown	Not shown
Savannah	Shown	Shown	TV people have no record of it; probably not shown
NORTH CAROLINA			
Charlotte		Probably shown	Shown
Greensboro		Shown	Shown
Raleigh		Shown	Shown

-continued-

	NBC - White Paper No. 2 - Sit In	NBC - Atlanta-- 1961	ABC - Walk In My Shoes
SOUTH CAROLINA			
Charleston	Not shown	Not shown	Shown
Columbia	Not shown	Not shown	Not shown
	(Columbia's NBC affiliate WIS cancelled the Martin Luther King vs. James Kilpatrick debate on Protest Movement at the last moment, after advance announcements that it would be shown)		
TENNESSEE			
Memphis	Shown	Shown	Shown
Knoxville	Shown	Shown	Shown
Chattanooga	Shown	Shown	Not shown-WTVC-TV
Nashville	Shown	Shown	Shown
	(Memphis reports there were many protests to "Walk In My Shoes". A CBS Peace Corps program showing Negroes and whites together was not shown in Memphis)		
TEXAS			
Houston	Shown	Shown	Not shown

If you have further information from your community, please send it to Harry Fleischman, Institute of Human Relations, 165 East 56th Street, New York 22, N.Y.

May 22, 1962

Mr. John Binkley
Director of Education
President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear John;

As one who is usually cynical and negative about conferences, I want you to know that I really appreciated the recent Washington conference and felt that it was effective both in tone and content. I think you are to be commended for a worthwhile meeting.

If they are available, could you let me have 6 or 8 copies of the program?

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

American Baptist Jubilee Advance -- Division of Evangelism
JITSUO MORIKAWA, SECRETARY

American Baptist Home Mission Societies • WILLIAM H. RHOADES, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
VALLEY FORGE · PENNSYLVANIA

L D BM
PR
PAV

PAUL L. STAGG
PROGRAM DIRECTOR

May 22, 1962

Mr. Paul Rillings
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Greetings! It was a genuine pleasure to see you and to meet your wife in Washington some weeks ago. It recalled happy memories as well as the emotional tension of the days of "The Battle of Massive Resistance" in the Old Dominion!

I was in Front Royal a few days ago and I had lunch with Edward Bromfield, Editor of the Warren Sentinel. I am sure that you will recall having met him in Front Royal as well as at the meeting in the Unitarian church in Richmond when we organized a state wide committee to save the public schools. As you know Mr. Bromfield was one of the few persons during the really crucial dark hours who was willing "to stand up and be counted". I suppose that he is one of the few remaining liberals who was not purged. However, in many ways he has suffered for the part which he played in the desegregation battle, and he is now facing a real problem of making ends meet financially with his paper. No doubt this is aggravated by the fact that business in general in Front Royal has been hurt. While some of this may be due to the extraneous facts of American viscose cutting down on its working force, his straitened financial circumstances is very closely related to the segregation issue.

Mr. Bromfield confided in me the need for finding another job or else some kind of job that he could carry as a supplement to the Warren Sentinel without giving up the paper. He prefers to keep the paper if possible, and he feels that he might be able to do this if he could pick up some additional remuneration through writing assignments or acting as a consultant in the continuing racial situation. He has intimate experience with the whole racial problem and could be of invaluable help in various ways.

I am writing you to share with you his problem, feeling that you would be definitely interested and would be in a position to know whether there is any opening available for him. For example, would any of the foundations such

as the Potomac Foundation be able to use his services? Washington is very close to Front Royal. Or would there be any openings that the Southern Regional Council might have in which his services could be utilized? Whatever you might be able to do for him I am sure would be greatly appreciated.

If you find time, I am sure that Mr. Bromfield would be encouraged by a letter from you whether you are able to offer any definite suggestion or not along the lines indicated above.

In my present work I have many opportunities to share in the continuing battle for racial justice, and I continue to be interested in the Southern scene and to be eager to do my part wherever and whenever called upon.

My warmest good wishes to you always.

Cordially yours,

Paul

Paul L. Stagg
Program Director

PLS:fm

May 29, 1962

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Vice President
The Potomac Institute
1501 - 18th Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Harold:

I am enclosing a copy of a recent letter concerning Ted Bromfield in Front Royal. He is a good man who might be quite useful for an occasional pamphlet or writing chore. Ben Muse could give you additional fill-in on him. If you have any ideas, they would be appreciated.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm
Enclosure

Misc.

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT AND CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
AUbrey 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

PR

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date June 1, 1962

To: PA ✓ From: ~~PR~~

Subject:

Do you know of people who should be put in touch with these opportunities?

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
INCORPORATED
160 North Fifteenth Street, Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania
LOcust 3-9372

HAROLD EVANS
Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY
Honorary Chairman
CLARENCE E. PICKETT
Executive Secretary Emeritus
COLIN W. BELL
Executive Secretary

May 21, 1962

SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENT

from the American Friends Service Committee

We are urgently seeking candidates for several program interneships in regional locations. Inquiries from college graduates of ability who have accumulated some experience in the community relations or peace education field will be welcomed. Appointments will be made for one year, and the stipend will be about [redacted] $3,500 wage. Material describing two interneships -- one in a Housing Opportunities Program in Chicago, one in a Farm Migrant Labor Program in Northern California is enclosed. Two other interneships are developing in the Merit Employment field, and five in the Peace Education field. Also enclosed is a copy of Working with the American Friends Service Committee, and a copy of An Introduction to the American Friends Service Committee for general information.

Applicants should address inquiries to:

Personnel Department
American Friends Service Committee
160 North 15th Street
Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania

The interneship in the Chicago Housing Opportunities Program should be filled within a month, so inquiries should be sent very promptly for this special assignment.

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
INCORPORATED
160 North Fifteenth Street, Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania
LOcust 3-9372

HENRY J. CADBURY
Honorary Chairman
HAROLD EVANS
Chairman
CLARENCE E. PICKETT
Executive Secretary Emeritus
COLIN W. BELL
Executive Secretary

Dear Paul —

Any people — young or otherwise — come to your mind who might find these internships a good first field experience in intergroup relations?

Barbara Moffett

American Friends Service Committee, Incorporated
Philadelphia 2, Pa.

Proposal

for

Community Relations Interne

in

Chicago Housing Opportunities Program

Brief Outline of AFSC Housing Opportunities Program in the Chicago Metropolitan Area

A program focused on equal housing opportunities got underway in Chicago in 1951, in response to riots in Cicero, Illinois, stemming from the move of a Negro family to a formerly all-white neighborhood. Chicago remains as one of the most challenging northern cities with regard to this concern. Many different projects have been undertaken in Chicago in the last decade, staffed according to the funds and personnel available. Currently, the Chicago effort is midway in a comprehensive program financed by a three-year foundation grant. Directing the program, and responsible for work in city, is Jane Weston, a veteran of AFSC service in many programs. Al Eichholz is the Associate Director, assigned to the suburban outreach of the program. He has been concentrating on work in the northwest suburbs. Nearby, to the east, there have been disturbances in the past (e.g., Deerfield); more recently there have been moves of four Negro families with little or no hostile reaction.

Program goals are to achieve the objective of an open housing market free of discriminatory practices. During the last year and a half, the program has carried out a variety of activities. These have included:

1) Discussions with leading members of the city housing industry with a view to stimulating constructive consideration of the industry's role in perpetuating segregated patterns of residence.

2) Intensive work with individuals in the northwest suburbs to learn about the problems and potentials of the area, encourage expression of individual convictions and pave the way for activities by local citizens.

3) Community relations work in several situations where tensions were actual or anticipated, caused by the move of non-white families to previously all-white neighborhoods.

4) Coordination and cooperation with other human relations agencies (often involving a joint approach to a specific problem) and participation in two organizations dedicated to bringing about freedom of residence (HOME and the United Citizens for Freedom of Residence in Illinois, the latter abbreviated to FOR).

5) Provision of many hundreds of copies of educational materials dealing with matters of property values, fair housing legislation, successful demonstrations of integrated living; speeches and public appearances reaching audiences totalling several hundreds of persons in the city and suburbs.

By the Chicago staff's own assessment, several gains in recent years may be pointed to within the total housing picture. These are, in general, within the area of increased public (and leadership) awareness of the present inequitable housing situation and signs of interest in taking positive steps toward righting the situation. Commitments from a few real estate men, the formation of suburban human relations committees, and a small but increasing number of successful move-ins of a pioneering nature stand as examples.

On the other hand, certain elements remain on the negative side of the balance sheet which challenge the program staff. The failure of efforts to support fair housing legislation at the city or state levels; continuing racial disturbances and provocations to violence, particularly in the city and particularly in the summer time; inadequate coordination, at a consistent level, among human relations agencies and organizations in the metropolitan area -- these are among the negative elements.

A challenge of major importance, to which the Chicago staff would like to be able to devote more attention is what they assess to be the program's insufficient contact with the Negro community. This is due, they feel, to the tendency of whites (or white-dominated human relations groups) to assume that pioneer families would flock automatically to take advantage of new opportunities in housing and to support fair housing legislation. Staff feels the interest exists, but that it requires work to bring about communication at a basic level.

Proposed Work Program for an Interne

In support of the total program, as outlined, Charlotte Meacham, the National Representative for AFSC Housing Programs, and Jane Weston feel that an interne could take on a variety of assignments, having varying degrees of independence, including the following: assist both the city and suburban staff in arranging meetings, conferences and workshops on the subject of equal housing opportunity; accompany staff in their field work in both city and suburbs, so as to gain at first hand a familiarity with the different phases of the program and to be able to participate therefore more effectively in the work; do pertinent research and reading for the program, thus learning how to prepare reports and "fact sheets" in relation to move-ins and how to choose written and visual materials for use in neighborhoods where intensive community relations work may be called for; interview systematically other human relations agencies and perhaps cooperate in one or more of their projects.

To further strengthen the ongoing program, an interne might well give special attention to assisting in work with the Negro community. Staff would have in mind here that a mature interne could begin a round of personal contacts with individuals and leaders in the Negro churches, agencies and social organizations, giving particular attention to exploring attitudes and preferences with regard to housing. Fruitful work could be done at this point with young couples' groups and with church youth groups, for example, to arouse interest, offer information and stimulate participation in new areas of housing opportunity. Action-directed work with women's groups to focus attention on housing as a civil right would be appropriate.

The responsibility for supervision of an interne in this program will lie with Jane Weston, In addition, a small advisory committee will be appointed from the Chicago Housing Committee to advise on the interneship, assuring a good balance and adequate content in the year's assignment.

Several factors give promise that this interneship will be a rewarding one: a growing general recognition that housing discrimination is one of our most serious problems; a growing interest on the part of both private and public agencies in work in this field; the challenge of Chicago itself, which is acknowledged to be one of the most difficult metropolitan areas in which to work; and finally, AFSC's well-organized and well-interpreted program there, which draws for its strength on good resources of committee and staff members. An interne of high qualifications will be called for.

May 1962

American Friends Service Committee, Incorporated
Philadelphia 2, Pa.

Proposal

for

Community Relations Interne

with

Southeastern Region Employment on Merit Program

Brief Outline of AFSC's EOM Program in Southeastern Region

In 1952 the Southeastern regional office (High Point, North Carolina) initiated an employment on merit program. In the beginning months the director focused his efforts almost exclusively on confrontation with policy-making management. The moral and the pragmatic challenges of hiring on merit were presented to executives of a wide variety of corporations, to public officials, and to others in positions of responsibility in employment of personnel.

In an effort to capitalize on non-traditional job opportunities for Negroes which began to appear, a staff member was added in 1953 to seek qualified applicants for these openings. The dearth of qualified pioneers has led to a major concentration by this second member of the staff, as associate secretary of the EOM program, on the problems of raising the vocational aspirations in the Negro community. From 1953 to 1959 the EOM program consisted of two distinct but closely-related thrusts, i.e., confrontation with management and challenge to the Negro community. Due to the loss of the director, and our inability to replace him, the program has been staffed by only the associate.

The primary goals of the program are to promote the principle and practice of non-discriminatory hiring and to encourage minority group members to train for and to seek non-traditional employment. The program has been carried out through a variety of activities. These have included:

1. Employer visits, special emphasis on "equal opportunity employment."

2. Workshops for potential pioneers (clerical, sales, etc.).

3. Public speaking engagements, primarily in junior and senior high schools, to bring about increasing awareness of jobs becoming available, qualifications, etc.

4. A monthly employment newsletter.

5. Efforts to secure non-discrimination in training facilities, e.g., at state-supported Industrial Education Centers.

6. Finding pioneers for specific non-traditional job openings.

7. Conferences for vocational counselors -- to emphasize new trends in employment.

8. Presentation of panels of "pioneers" to high school audiences.

9. Tours through industrial plants for students.

10. Consultation and cooperation with other agencies, civic, and social groups to develop projects dealing with expanding employment opportunities.

11. Assistance to the North Carolina Advisory Committee to the Civil Rights Commission in the development of several studies concerning employment opportunities in North Carolina.

Proposed Work for an Interne

In carrying out the program as outlined above, the staff and EOM Committee feel that an interne would be of value in a variety of assignments. Even though under the supervision of current staff, an interne could have a certain degree of independence in assuming responsibility for:

1. Publishing monthly newsletter.

2. Developing workshops.

3. Finding pioneer applicants; special emphasis on secretarial and clerical applicants.

4. Developing kits and program material for community education in equal employment opportunities.

5. Interpreting AFSC's EOM program to student and community groups.

6. Searching for underemployed persons who are pioneer material.

7. Encouraging applicants for new training programs.

The EOM Committee feels strongly that this should not be considered merely an opportunity to have additional staff to do "leg-work". This is an opportunity to provide a valuable experience for an individual who expects to work in the field of human relations.

American Friends Service Committee, Inc.
Philadelphia, Pa.

Proposal

for

Community Relations Interns

with

California Farm Labor Program

Brief Outline of AFSC Farm Labor Program in California

The Farm Labor Program got underway in the Central Valley of California in 1955. Bard McAllister was appointed as staff. He came to the program with a solid background in rural community development. The people he set about to work with are a portion of some 47,000 seasonal farm laborers who live in 67 small rural settlements -- shack towns -- in Tulare County, second richest farming county in the United States. The program focused for the first several years on two related phenomena: 1) the seasonal farm worker's position as a marginal individual in the society and the economy, and 2) his residence in these unorganized, unserviced, isolated rural settlements.

Staff worked slowly and supportively with a few of these communities, helping the residents organize themselves in response to their needs for basic community services. The four-five year process by which these communities have seen tangible results -- water systems -- and intangible results -- self confidence, and communication among neighbors -- has been described through first-hand knowledge by former interns and national staff member Connie Pennington in the opening pages of her Farm Labor Review of January 13, 1961.

This work has provided the foundation for work which has followed, specifically in the areas of employment and housing.

First, employment. To the farm laborer, this problem is of major importance. His position in the labor market is almost totally unprotected. Seeking a way to open up communication between employer and worker, and to introduce some stabilizing factors into an unstructured work situation by offering dependable labor for dependable wages, the program organized a cooperative work crew a little over a year ago. Responsible for this precedent-setting aspect of the program is Russ Curtis, who came to AFSC with varied experiences in the cooperative movement.

The growth of the farm labor cooperative has been exciting and time consuming. Full-time effort has been required to keep the co-op going -- finding work, negotiating contracts (mostly verbal, although one written contract stands as a major breakthrough), managing the co-op's business affairs. Funds are now being sought to expand the staff working in this part of the program. Relationships with the AFL-CIO organizers among farm workers in California have been good. Increasingly, growers are at least open to discussing the idea of getting better work done in return for offering greater security to the worker.

Second, housing. Seasonal farm workers want decent homes, just as other groups do. But home ownership is rarely within reach of the man whose income is both low and erratic and to whom, seemingly, every avenue of credit for low-cost home ownership is closed. For several years, staff has been talking to farm workers about this problem. Self-help housing has emerged as feasible and of high interest to these families.

Most farm workers, though short on income, have many months of unemployment during off-seasons when they would like to use their time to work on their own houses. Credit at average interest rates, coupled with the guidance of a skilled builder, are the contributions AFSC has wanted to make to get a self-help housing project underway.

Sufficient funds are now in hand to make up what will be a revolving fund (as the families pay off their loans, the money will be used to finance additional homes and eventually, to cover administrative costs) and to pay the salary of a builder/manager. Howard Washburn, an experienced builder in sympathy with the aims of the project, has just joined the staff.

Proposed Work Program for an Interne

The interne would be exposed to the three phases of the program outlined above, all of which are closely interrelated so far as community relations are concerned.

1) Part of his time would be spent in community development activities under Bard McAllister's supervision. At present, this work would be based in the Three Rocks community. Last December, the 42 families -- all Spanish-speaking -- who make up the community, requested help from staff in tackling their problems of housing, water, street paving. Since that time, the county planning commission and board of supervisors have said they would consider variances to California's subdivision act so that these people could establish a near-standard community. They have also said the owner of the land on which Three Rocks residents have settled could sell it off in one parcel to a housing cooperative. The residents are now at work to draw up their articles of incorporation and by-laws.

Citizenship and literacy are problems in Three Rocks. Staff is hopeful that a credit union, a cooperative buying club, and adult education classes will be undertaken by this group.

2) Opportunities for work with the farm labor cooperative phase of the program are almost unlimited. For example, a few weeks ago Russ Curtis met with growers at the annual Citrus Institute to talk about labor relations. This group is engaged in negotiations for contracts with three of the large growers in the area -- one of these is one of the six largest growers in the nation. That same week the co-op got a favorable response from the state on their application for coverage by unemployment insurance. In this unprotected field, this is a breakthrough equal in importance to the written contract with an employer. Finally, during a mid-winter lull the co-op decided to leave home base for eight weeks to harvest lemons in Ventura County. Their experience in this area, where 90% of the work is done by "braceros" (Mexican contract labor), has put them in the position to contribute in a major, first-hand way to discussions of proposed legislation on employment stabilization and the "adverse effect" of the bracero program.

The interne would have an opportunity to work with all phases of the co-op -- from education, recruitment, crew management, to contract negotiations. The crew has been predominantly Mexican-American, but expansion into communities of other ethnic groups is anticipated. As staff wrote on April 6, "At this time last year the co-op was almost begging people to come to work... This week there has been a steady stream of inquiries from workers."

3) With Howard Washburn now on the staff of the self-help housing project as building supervisor, this newest phase of the program will really start moving. There will be many opportunities for community relations work. From the beginning the program has worked with groups of people whose traditions have separated them in housing, schools, and employment. The problems in bringing these people into an integrated housing project will not be minor.

The amount of time an interne would spend in each current phase of the program could be flexible. For example, if his special skills allow him to make a significant contribution to one area, he could stay with it to a logical termination.

Primary supervisory responsibility for the interne would be in the hands of the senior staff member, Bard McAllister, although assignments with the co-op and the housing project, would, of course, put the interne in close relation to Russ Curtis and Howard Washburn. The three program staff meet regularly for lunch on Mondays to discuss the over-all work. The interne would be expected to participate in this weekly consultation. In addition, the interne's work would logically be included among the concerns of the program's local advisory committee. Furthermore, the work programs of NAIRO internes appointed to this program in the past were closely advised by a small committee of individuals drawn from the regional Community Relations Committee. It would be most likely that a similar small committee, functioning as an advisory panel for the interneship, would be appointed in the present instance for just such a specific purpose.

In summary, the interne could gain experience in general community development and organization, collective bargaining processes, self-help and integrated housing. Farm labor staff ask, not immodestly, "Can any other program offer as much?"

May 1962

THE VICE PRESIDENT

WASHINGTON

4 June 1962

Dear Mr. Rilling:

As Chairman of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, I would like to express my appreciation to you personally for your cooperation and participation in helping to make our Community Leaders Conference of May 19 the success it proved to be.

The Committee staff has been instructed to prepare the Conference Report, summarizing the workshop discussions and speeches, as rapidly as possible, a copy of which will be sent to you. The printed report will also contain a roster of all participants in the meeting.

I am hopeful that this meeting will stimulate community leaders to promote the concept of equal opportunity vigorously. I hope also that they will help motivate minority group youth to prepare for and seek the new job opportunities now becoming available to them.

Sincerely,

Lyndon B. Johnson

Mr. Paul Rilling
Director of Field Services
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

THE VICE PRESIDENT

WASHINGTON

4 June 1962

Dear Mr. Rilling:

I just wanted to take this opportunity to express to you personally my deep appreciation for your accepting my invitation to the Community Leaders Conference on May 19.

I am aware that many people came from great distances at considerable personal expense and inconvenience. I know that the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity will be as delighted as I was at this demonstration of your concern and your support for our efforts.

It is our hope that this meeting will stimulate community leaders and those having a direct responsibility for the preparation of our young people to develop motivation for the new job opportunities now becoming available.

Sincerely,

Lyndon B. Johnson

Mr. Paul M. Rilling
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

THE POTOMAC INSTITUTE, INC. WASHINGTON, D. C.

June 5, 1962

Mr. Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Harold bucked to me your letter of May 29 concerning Edward Bromfield in Front Royal.

While we have no writing chores at the moment, I would like to keep his name on file for anything that may come up in the near future. Do you have, or can you obtain any samples of his writing besides the newspaper (such as pamphlets, articles, anything he has produced of even a mimeographed nature on desegregation, etc.)?

In regards to helping him otherwise, I am sure you have thought of the obvious such as serving as a stringer for one of the large northern dailies, free-lancing, etc. Bromfield seems to be the only one in the South who hasn't applied to some or all of the foundations to underwrite a PROJECT -- on which I am sure that Harold will be happy not to help.

Hope all goes well with you all. Best regards.

Cordially,

Art

Arthur J. Levin
Staff Director

AJL:see

June 5, 1962

Mr. Jerry Heilbron
Civil Rights Division
Department of Justice
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Heilbron:

I think we have very little additional information for you on the Harris case in Albany. A major source for the previous report was Mrs. Walter Harris, 900 Dorsett Street, the widow. Other second-hand sources apparently cannot be well identified. C. B. King has been retained as attorney by Mrs. Harris.

The incident took place in a yard at 700 Buck Street. We still have no names of eye witnesses. Your men have probably talked to Mrs. Harris. She reports that her husband had an $80.00 watch and a quantity of cash with him and that these were not returned to her.

I suppose it is of only human interest value, but Mrs. Harris reported to Mrs. Frances Pauley of the Georgia Council on Human Relations, that she was treated in a rather calloused and contemptuous fashion by the police at the hospital. She states that the nurse tried to prevent her seeing the mutilated body of her husband but that a policeman indicated the room and responded to the nurse by saying, "Oh, let her go in and see him," in a fairly ugly tone.

This is all we have. Your staff personnel might also talk with Mr. Slater King, who has been quite interested in the incident and is not economically vulnerable.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

cc. F P

PR:mm

June 6, 1962

Mr. Gilbert Kahn
Personnel Associate
Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds
729 Seventh Avenue
New York 19, New York

Dear Mr. Kahn:

We have worked quite closely for the past several years with Richard Shapiro of the regional ADL office here. For most of the last year Mr. Shapiro has been in fact the regional director because of Arthur Levin's heavy involvement in Washington and, more recently, his resignation from the ADL.

I consider Mr. Shapiro to be one of the most capable persons working in the field of intergroup relations in the South. He has a thorough and sophisticated understanding of the nuances of southern race relations and has established effective working relations with a broad spectrum of organizations working for civil rights. He works energetically and effectively to develop contacts and exploit opportunities. His work in Chattanooga in assisting the school superintendent there to prepare for desegregation next fall was a real breakthrough in this sort of work in the South and was handled with true professional competence.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

CJFWF
COUNCIL OF JEWISH FEDERATIONS AND WELFARE FUNDS, INC.
NATIONAL OFFICE: 729 SEVENTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 19, NEW YORK

TELEPHONE: PLAZA 7-5450

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EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
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June 4, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
5 FOrsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Re: RICHARD M. SHAPIRO

Dear Mr. Rilling:

Your name has been given us by Mr. Shapiro as one familiar with his work. Would you be good enough to give us whatever information you have which might be helpful in an evaluation.

Pertinent information would include a description of job function, performance, personality, working relationships, and any special skills or areas of knowledge and interest. Please include information concerning limitations as well as strengths.

Our personnel files, with the information secured from references, are sent to prospective employers. The fact that a personnel record is maintained, however, does not necessarily mean the individual is currently seeking, or is available, for a change of employment.

Thank you very much for your cooperation; we recognize the time and effort involved in your response to this request.

Sincerely yours,

Gilbert Kahn

GILBERT KAHN KF
Personnel Associate

GK:eb

June 6, 1962

Mr. John Binkley
Director of Education
President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear John;

Could you please send about ten copies each of the Committee's materials, as included in the Conference kit, to our State Councils on Human Relations? Addresses are enclosed.

If it would be easier, I would be happy to have you send the material here for transmission to the State Councils.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm
Enc.

Mis

THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY

WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

June 14, 1962

Mr. Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

We are pleased to assist your Council by providing "Kits" of materials to your State Councils as you requested in your letter of June 6. Ten copies to each of the State Councils you listed have been sent and a sample has been sent to you for your information and your guidance and assistance to your State Councils.

I hope it will prove to be of value and if we can be of further assistance please let us know. In the meantime good luck in your work and I'll have a toast in absentia with you.

Very truly yours,

John

John I. Binkley
Director of Education

June 18, 1962

Mr. Arthur J. Levin
Staff Director
The Potomac Institute, Inc.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Art:

I have no samples of Ted Bromfield's writing. I doubt that he has written anything in the field except for his paper and as stringer for other papers. He has had considerable stringer work as an outgrowth of the Front Royal Crisis in 1958-59.

We have asked him to submit biographical data and copies of any additional materials. We'll keep you informed.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION

3457 CHESTNUT STREET • PHILADELPHIA 4, PA. • BAring 2-1106 • CABLE, NATSTUD - PHILADELPHIA, PA.

July 18, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Place
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Rilling:

On behalf of the officers and staff of the National Student Association, please accept a special invitation to attend the National Student Congress this summer. The Congress will be held at Ohio State University from August 19-30 with the central theme being "Student Community: The Continuing Challenge." The enclosed brochure will give you some idea of the various topics to be discussed.

You will notice that we have changed the format of the Congress this year by eliminating workshops and inserting two-day seminars to take their place. We feel that the seminars will have a much greater impact on the participants than did the abbreviated workshops. Any comments that you might have on this would certainly be appreciated.

You are also invited to attend any of the pre-Congress sessions that might appeal to your interest at any time, from August 15-18.

We make a special appeal to you to attend this Congress as it will be the 15th anniversary of USNSA. In this regard, allow me to quote from a speech given by Dean Miriam A. Sheldon, Dean of Women, University of Illinois, The National Association of Women Deans and Counsellors Meeting in Chicago this April.

> "Perhaps the most controverial organization and the most 'student' is the United States National Student Association which has been a dominant influence on the campus of both member and non-member schools since its inception in 1947. NSA has brought consciousness of common student problems to student government even though awkwardly at times. It has disturbed the status quo by raising issues such as compulsory ROTC, desegregation, in loco parentis.... Its future? It may well be said

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> that NSA must revitalize and unify itself anew. Chester I. Betnard said "The life of an organization depends upon its ability to secure and maintain the personal contribution of energy... necessary to affect its purposes." Whether future generations will give NSA its continued rocket thrust or whether it flames out remains to be seen."

I believe that the message that Dean Sheldon is trying to put across is that after fifteen years NSA must spend some time in introspective analysis in determining the direction in which the Association should move. It would be extremely helpful to have you in attendance at the Congress to serve as a resource person for the Association.

Please consider yourself an honored guest of the Association. All room and board expenses will be borne by NSA during your stay on the university campus. We will look forward to seeing you in Columbus this August.

Sincerely yours,

Edward R. Garvey

Edward R. Garvey
President

ERG:jaf

Enclosure

August 7, 1962

Mr. J. Philip Waring
Executive Secretary
St. Louis Council on Human Relations
200 Municipal Courts Building
St. Louis 3, Mo.

Dear Mr. Waring:

Thank you very much for the materials enclosed with your letter of August 3 and for your offer to share future program materials with SRC and the state Councils on Human Relations. A listing of the cooperating state Councils and their addresses is enclosed.

Your name has been placed on our mailing list.

We are looking forward to receiving future publications of the St. Louis Council on Human Relations.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Administrative Secretary
Field Services

Enc.

St. Louis Council on Human Relations

City of St. Louis

RAYMOND R. TUCKER
MAYOR

200 MUNICIPAL COURTS BUILDING

W. J. DUKES DUFORD
COMMISSIONER

J. PHILIP WARING
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

August 3, 1962

Southern Regional Council
No. 5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

We are expanding our educational program and sharing some of our program materials with sister Human Relations agencies around the country. I note that we do not have a file for the SRC nor any of its many fine state affiliates.

May we share with you copies of our activities reports and the laws we administer.

We would be most appreciative if you would kindly note the names and addresses of your affiliates and forward the same back in the enclosed envelope.

Yours sincerely,

Phil Waring

J. Philip Waring

JPW/sp

P.S. Kindly put me on your mailing list.

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August 7, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

We were unable to float a really expensive study of the South in world affairs and therefore had to do a much more limited job. Attached is one of the chapters of a report in several volumes on the study. It would be most helpful if I could have your candid comments prior to revising it for publication.

Sincerely yours,

Al Hero

Alfred O. Hero
Executive Secretary

AOH:ccc

SUMMER INSTITUTE FOR EDUCATORS IN INTEGRATING SCHOOLS

July 2 - August 10, 1962

BANK STREET COLLEGE OF EDUCATION

New York City

PURPOSE

The process of learning - difficult enough under any conditions - becomes increasingly complex when classrooms mix races, culture patterns, and economic levels. Diversity within a group complicates the role of the teacher. Although it presents problems, such diversity, met with understanding, offers positive, strengthening factors which can be put to constructive use in education.

The problems of classroom integration are by no means underestimated by the faculty of Bank Street College. The Summer Institute will offer informed, objective guidance for a pilot group of Southern teachers, white and Negro together, to work through some of the problems. As the major approach to a solution the Institute will emphasize enriched classroom experience and excellence in teaching. The end purpose is a closer understanding of mutual goals, and development of cooperative methods which, in the framework of Southern school systems, may succeed in giving all children better preparation for their world.

THE OFFER TO SOUTHERN EDUCATORS

What: Six weeks of inter-racial seminar discussions, graduate study, and field observation.

Where: Bank Street College of Education, in the Abingdon Square-Greenwich Village section of New York City; field trips throughout the city and to one or two outlying areas.

How: Under the terms of a project grant from the Dean Langmuir Foundation, the educators selected for the Institute will have all basic expenses paid. These include:

Travel - from city of residence to New York and return
Tuition and fees at Bank Street College
Living costs (board and lodging) for the six-week period.

For Whom: Thirty teachers and school administrators (both white and Negro) from Southern or Border states where school systems have begun to integrate.

SELECTION OF PARTICIPANTS

Response to an initial investigation of interest in the Institute indicates that only a small proportion of applicants can be admitted to the 1962 institute Selection will be based upon recommendations and references, personal interviews, and data supplied by the applicant. Motivation and potential for service in the home community will be important factors.

An effort will be made to form groups of educators from the same school districts so that the benefits of the Institute for individuals and their communities will be reinforced.

THE SUMMER INSTITUTE PROGRAM

The design of the Summer Institute will follow the needs and concerns of participants. Workshops and seminars will be organized so as to give white and Negro educators together an opportunity to analyze the problems and successes of schools in their own communities. Presented in a setting that provides a new perspective, the program will afford participants six weeks of intensive learning experience. Weekends will be left free, with the option of recommended sightseeing and recreation. In addition, every participant will have an opportunity to spend several days at an inter-racial camp on Lake Ontario.

The study program will be divided into the following three courses, for which Bank Street College, a fully accredited graduate school, will give a total of eight points of graduate credit. Applicants who are Master's degree candidates at other institutions should clear with them to determine whether credits may be transferred.

Human Relations Workshop: Members of the Institute will explore together the problems and values of teaching in situations made complex by diversity in the group. The workshop will study human relations factors involved in desegregation, the processes of group dynamics, and change in inter-personal understanding. A considerable proportion of workshop time will be devoted to case material supplied by participants themselves. Educators from Southern, as well as Northern school systems that have made significant progress in integrating their classrooms, will discuss first-hand experiences with the group. Frequent field trips will permit observation and limited participation in summer programs of multi-racial public schools and community centers in New York City and its suburbs.

Content Course - An Elective: The Bank Street College Summer Program of Graduate Studies will offer intensive preparation in subject-matter courses. Every Institute member may elect one course in advanced psychology, teaching of reading or number skills, school guidance, etc., or a workshop in art, music, or writing for children. Content courses will allow Institute members to advance their skills in areas of personal interest and ability. They will offer advantages of group relationship with the regularly enrolled summer students - an advanced group of pre-service and experienced teachers from the New York area.

Curriculum Seminar: A course designed for Institute members will examine current techniques of teaching, and various means of increasing their effectiveness. The Seminar will focus on (1) teaching skills that reinforce the learning process; (2) content and structuring of curriculum to encourage mutual acceptance by children of differing backgrounds; (3) ways to use diversity in the classroom as a curriculum asset.

BANK STREET COLLEGE OF EDUCATION

Bank Street College is a center for advanced study and research, which has experimented for forty-five years with programs to improve the quality of early childhood and elementary school teaching. Its approach is practical as well as scholarly. Techniques are developed and classroom-tested in Bank Street's laboratory School for Children, and its day care center for low-income families. Since 1943 the College has also had the unique advantage of working in the New York City Public Schools, principally those in racially mixed and deprived areas.

A primary concern of Bank Street College in recent years has been the changing urban neighborhood, and its impact on public and private schooling. Major research and action programs have been undertaken by Bank Street College, with the support of Foundations and government sources, on problems related to integrating various racial, ethnic, and socio-economic groups. From these projects have emerged concepts and techniques which can be useful to teachers anywhere in teaching children of heterogeneous backgrounds. It was because of this specialized background that the Dean Langmuir Foundation selected Bank Street College to conduct the Summer Institute for Educators in Integrating Schools.

Misc.

UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST ASSOCIATION

25 Beacon Street, Boston 8, Massachusetts — CApitol 7-3660

August 14, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, Northeast
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul,

I am coordinating a panel discussion on "The Real Bases of Racial Tension" for the IRF-SRL Conference in Springfield, Massachusetts, on August 28th. I would appreciate any materials that you could send me prior to that time. Do you have any recent pamphlets on trends, factual information, reports, etc.? Anything that you have that is free would be appreciated; otherwise please bill the Office of College Centers, Unitarian Universalist Association.

I was delighted to learn of Oren Lewis' decision on the Prince Edward case. We feel quite removed from the situation here, except when Murray's father tells us of the NAACP (?) agitators in Petersburgh.

Murray is teaching in the Brookline High School, and I appear to be back in my same old position, but for another organization.

All good wishes.

Sincerely,

Items forwarded on reverse side — 8/16 WM

Mrs. Murray L. Shapiro
Administrative Assistant
Office of College Centers

DS/lmy

DEPARTMENT OF ADULT PROGRAMS
Royal Cloyd, *Director* G. Robert Hohler, *Information* Orloff W. Miller, *College Centers*
Elizabeth Swayzee, *United Nations* Robert J. Anglin, *News*

The City + the Negro
Student Protest Recapitulation
Albany
~~Odl~~ Employment studies
N.S. - Sept. 1961 through June 1962
The Case for Integration
Publication list

LDV

MM

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CABLES: "Stokesfund"—New York

August 15, 1962

Dr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
Room 210
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Rilling:

I am very sorry that our visit yesterday was so brief. I hope that you and Dr. Patterson, at least, had a chance to exchange some views about the Georgia situation. I hope also that Miss Wood and Mr. Sherman had the chance to establish some kind of new working relationship with the Council apropos African students.

I appreciate Harry Boardman having let me know that you were in town.

Please tell Les Dunbar we would be pleased to have a visit from him too.

With best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Wilton

Wilton S. Dillon

P.S. I am going to try to ring Mrs. Pauley today to pick up again on Hoyt's suggestion that we try to help her find some sources of financing for the Georgia Council.

GREATER ATLANTA
COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

TELEPHONE
525-6469

AUGUST 20, 1962

MISS DORIS BAUMAN
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
PANEL OF AMERICANS
33 E. 68TH STREET
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

DEAR MISS BAUMAN:

THE GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS WOULD LIKE TO BE CONSIDERED AS A SPONSORING AGENCY FOR A PANEL OF AMERICANS' PROGRAM IN ATLANTA.

DR. ERIC LINCOLN OF CLARK COLLEGE WHO HAS WORKED WITH THE ORGANIZATION IN OTHER LOCALITIES HAS AGREED TO ASSIST US.

SINCERELY,

Eliza Paschall

(MRS.) ELIZA PASCHALL
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

EP:PAG
DICTATED BUT NOT SIGNED

August 20, 1962
VIA AIR MAIL

Mr. Jack Willis
"Open End"
WNEW-TV
205 East 67th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Willis:

I understand from Mrs. Frances Pauley, Director of the Georgia Council on Human Relations, that you are considering an "Open End" discussion that would focus on the Albany situation, making use of four local personalities.

Mrs. Pauley and I both feel that the program would be considerably strengthened and given greater objectivity if the discussion could also include one of the Atlanta newsmen who have been involved as analysts and observers. The most obvious choices here would be Eugene Patterson, Editor of the Atlanta Constitution, or Fred Powledge or Pat Watters, both of whom have been covering Albany for the Atlanta Journal. I have not discussed this possibility with any of these gentlemen.

Another possibility would be to use one of the white ministers from Albany who have played a moderate and helpful role. This might prove difficult to arrange but would lend balance to a discussion and would help to convey the impression that the problems in Albany are not simply those of black vs. white. Those I would suggest are the Rev. A. Nelson Daunt of St. Paul's Episcopal Church, the Rev. H. W. Shipps of St. Mark's Episcopal Church, and the Rev. Brooks Ramsey of the First Baptist Church, all of Albany.

I believe one of the newsmen would provide the best

type of balance to the local panelists.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

cc: Mr. Harry Boardman
Mrs. Frances Pauley

August 22, 1962

Miss Faye Bennett
Executive Secretary
National Sharecroppers Fund, Inc.
112 East 19th Street
New York 3, New York

Dear Miss Bennett:

I have just returned from vacation to find your two letters relating to the planned fall conference on the problems and needs of low income farm families. We feel very strongly the need of this conference and are looking forward to it. I plan to be on hand myself, but I'm afraid that my own background is such as to render me of little or no value so far as the conference program is concerned.

I am enclosing a list of directors of state councils on human relations. I believe you have already been in touch with several of them. I think that all would like to come. Miss Kay Jones, Director of the Tennessee Council on Human Relations, not only works in rural areas but has a background of social work that might enable her to be of value on one of the panels.

Mr. James M. Dabbs, President of the Southern Regional Council, Rip Raps Plantation, Mayesville, South Carolina, and author of "The Southern Heritage," is most interested in rural life and comes himself from a rural bakcground. I think he would enjoy being invited and would be a good man for chairman of one of the sessions.

Dr. C. G. Gomillion, of Tuskegee Institute, is also a good man on rural life and would be a good chairman or speaker. Others that might be useful would include Dr. Kenneth Morland, Professor of Sociology at Randolph-Macon Womens College in Lynchburg, Virginia, and author

of several studies on small town southern life; Dr. A. Lee Coleman, Chairman of the Department of Sociology and of Rural Sociology at the University of Kentucky in Lexington; Dr. Lewis Killian, Department of Sociology, Florida State University; Mr. Bill Bagwell, Director of the School Desegregation Program of the American Friends Service Committee, High Point, North Carolina. Dr. Coleman would, I think, be a good man to do the speech on "Why Rural Development?." Mr. Bagwell has worked extensively in rural areas of North Carolina on the problem of school desegregation.

We will pass on additional ideas to you as we get them. We are looking forward to the meeting.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **PAUL RILLING**

August 22, 1962

LWD ✓

Any other suggestions?

PR

August 22, 1962

Mrs. Murray L. Shapiro
Administrative Assistant
Office of College Centers
Unitarian Universalist Association
25 Beacon Street
Boston 8, Massachusetts

Dear Dorothy:

In my absence my secretary pulled together some material which I hope will be useful for your conference. It was good to hear from you and to note that you are still carrying on in behalf of the cause.

We were all delighted by Judge Lewis' decision on the Prince Edward case but it is not as yet clear what it will mean in actual practice. The judge cannot bring himself to order open and desegregated schools now. Apparently it would require a special session of the Virginia legislature to shake loose funds if the school board were to try to open schools.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND, Inc.

—for the advancement of agricultural labor—

112 EAST 19th STREET • GRamercy 3-0284 • NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

August 23, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling, Field Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Rilling:

I enclose a revised draft program for our November conference. We have incorporated the suggestions made by you and others in setting up a program to encourage maximum participation by grass roots delegates and discourage speech-making by government officials and organizational representatives. The latter are included, of course, to tell what programs are available and what can be done, and to listen as local people tell about their problems and needs.

One problem is that a great many more people have been suggested as resource leaders than we have room for in the formal program. Yet we'd like to have these people there and to have them listed in some way in the printed conference program. One possibility is to list them all on the last page of the program. Another possibility is to list a group of resource people at the end of each of the conference sessions. What would you suggest?

I enclose a list of resource leaders who have been suggested. Since many of these are not known to us personally, could you add a word following the names of those who are known to you, indicating whether you think the person could serve well as chairman, resource leader, or reporter for one of the sessions? Would you fill in the blank spaces on the program with the names of persons you feel could make a contribution at that point? None of the program is firm as yet, so please make any specific suggestions you feel would be helpful. Can you suggest a good chairman for the Thursday evening dinner meeting? Would Dr. Hollis F. Price, President of LeMoyne College, or Dr. Harry V. Richardson, President of the Interdenominational Theological Center in Atlanta, serve well in this capacity? Both have expressed deep interest in the conference.

Time is running short, and we must very soon make final decisions concerning the conference program and put it into the hands of the printer. To save time, I hope you will make your comments on the enclosed sheets and send them back to me by return mail if possible.

Sincerely yours,

Fay Bennett

Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary

FB:gh
encs.(2)

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490

August 29, 1962
VIA AIR MAIL

Miss Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary
National Sharecroppers Fund, Inc.
112 East 19th Street
New York 3, New York

Dear Miss Bennett:

I would suggest that you simply list the excess resource leaders on the last page of the program. This seems simpler and less contrived than attempting to list everyone at the end of each session.

I believe that either Dr. Price or Dr. Richardson would serve well as your Thursday evening dinner chairman.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm
enc.

SB/ LWD ✓
Return to PR

August 29, 1962

Mr. Alfred O. Hero
Executive Secretary
World Peace Foundation
40 Mt. Vernon Street
Boston 8, Massachusetts

Dear Al:

Thank you for letting me see the chapter on Southern Negroes in your overall study on "Southerners View the World." I think this is a good, solid, and helpful job, with conclusions about Southern Negro viewpoints on world affairs that need to be known and understood. I was myself quite startled by your conclusion that Southern Negroes generally are even more conservative on international affairs than are whites, although after reading the chapter, I don't know why I am startled.

I have no major criticism or difference with the chapter, although I will pick at a few minor things, as follows:

1. On Page 7 you note that "Southern Negroes as a group are significantly less likely to participate in organizations other than churches than are whites." I think this statement would need to be at least tempered or explained in view of the widespread involvement of Southern Negroes in social or fraternal organizations, which may be greater than that of whites.

2. On page 8 you make the point that only a few Negroes participate in desegregated discussions of foreign affairs with whites. I believe that everything you have said here is true, but I think it might also be noted that this situation is due not only to the fact that "Negroes tend to be uneasy in predominantly white meetings," but to the fact that most organizations sponsoring such discussions operate only in the white community, have tended to be afraid of interracial discussions, or have sponsored such discussions in the context of the "Negro settings" that you mention. For instance, the Foreign Policy Association has made little or no effort to involve any Negroes in the Great Decisions program.

The World Affairs Discussion Groups of the American Foundation were, in the South, exclusively white except in Atlanta.

3. I note on page 8 that you name the Hungry Club in Atlanta as one of the Negro groups devoting serious attention to foreign affairs. I would question this. I think they rarely if ever have a program on foreign affairs unless it relates to Africa or race relations.

4. I would personally doubt that there is a growing danger of vote buying or corruption connected with the expanding Negro vote. I think this practice has been part of the old pattern and that in most areas where the vote has been increasing this trend is going hand in hand with emerging local leadership and increasing independence.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR;mm

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND, Inc.

—for the advancement of agricultural labor—

112 EAST 19th STREET • GRamercy 3-0284 • NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

Sept. 6, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Rilling:

I very much appreciate your helpful suggestions for our conference program. It is now in nearly final form and we are awaiting acceptances from invited speakers.

While we do not plan to load the conference with speeches, we do want to invite as active participants a limited number of agricultural experts and community relations workers to act as resource leaders, reporters and panel discussants. We want very much to include you among these and know that your participation in the conference will contribute greatly to its success.

Since we wish to go to the printers with the conference program at the earliest possible time, we should appreciate your prompt reply. For your convenience in doing so, I enclose a return envelope and a carbon copy of this letter. Will you please jot down your reply at the bottom of the enclosed copy and mail it right off? I do hope you will say yes.

Sincerely yours,

Fay Bennett

Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary

fb;ja
enc.

P.S. The enclosed Preliminary Announcement says where and when the conference will be held and further details will be sent you soon.

Note written on carbon: Plan 2 b thr wd b glad 2 help

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September 7, 1962

Mr. Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsythe Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Rilling:

Thank you for your letter concerning our "Albany, Georgia Show" and your suggestions re possible additional guests for the program.

Unfortunately, your letter arrived a little late as we taped the show last week for presentation in New York on September 16. The guests were: Mayor Asa Kelley, Mr. James Gray, Mr. C.B. King and Dr. W.G. Anderson.

We on OPEN END have done several shows in the past on the southern racial problem giving all points of view. We feel that Albany is, of course, only a symptom of a much larger problem and that it could be best understood by observing the personalities involved. We think the show served that purpose very well and was interesting from a human as well as an educational viewpoint.

I hope you have a chance to see the show as I would be interested in yours and Mrs. Pauley's reaction.

Sincerely,

Jack Willis

Jack Willis

cc sent to FP

JW:cg

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FOR THE
PANEL OF AMERICANS
33 East 68th Street, New York 21, New York • REgent 4-2254

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Marian Hargrave
Associate Director

September 17, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Rilling:

I have taken over from Marian Hargrave and she suggested that I send this letter on to you so that you can respond.

If it is convenient for you, I hope that you will be able to arrange a group for Miss Lowry.

We are also enclosing a letter from the Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations indicating their interest in the Panel of Americans program. If you feel that you can follow through on this, we think that it would be profitable.

If there is anything that you would like us to do in relation to this, please contact us at our old address, although we will be moving in the near future.

Sincerely,

Gladys Harburger

Mrs. Gladys Harburger
Director

GH:mf
encl.2

AIR MAIL SPECIAL DELIVERY
September 20, 1962

Mr. Burke Marshall
U. S. Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Burke:

I imagine you are quite well informed concerning the current situation in Birmingham, but I thought it would do no harm to press another alarm button concerning the demonstrations that are scheduled in that city in connection with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference convention which opens Monday, September 24.

Our most reliable contacts in both the white and Negro communities are sincerely fearful that any mass demonstrations in Birmingham next week would lead to considerable violence.

Last minute efforts are underway to avert demonstrations and sub rosa interracial negotiations are being conducted.

We do hope that you will be able to have an observer on the spot and that he might be available to persons such as Norman Jimerson, Director of the Alabama Council on Human Relations, and Dr. Lucius Pitts, President of Miles College. Perhaps there are marshals available who could be moved in in case of an explosion.

I hope that our fears prove alarmist, but this could be a really ugly situation.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

September 24, 1962
VIA AIR MAIL

Mrs. Gladys Harburger
Director
National Council for the
Panel of Americans
33 East 68th Street
New York 21, New York

Dear Mrs. Harburger:

I have been in touch with the Atlanta Council on Human Relations concerning the Panel program. We can move ahead on this if you can approve the arrangement. Even though there are now a few Negroes attending predominantly white colleges in Atlanta, it is not yet possible to get an interracial panel handled by one of the colleges. If the Panel can go along with the arrangement of a civic group, the Atlanta Council, sponsoring a Panel which uses students from the different colleges without official backing from the colleges, this is feasible.

Dr. Kenneth Morland, Chairman of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at Randolph-Macon Woman's College, Lynchburg, Virginia, indicates that he does have a group which he thinks would be available for the Goucher College program October 11. He asked us to let you know, however, that Randolph-Macon has supplied a group for the Inter-faith Association of Goucher College's introductory program for the past two years. He states that if the Randolph-Macon group would be acceptable for the third successive year, they will be happy to fill the engagement. They are, he believes, the only group available in the general vicinity of Goucher College. Please write Dr. Morland directly confirming this engagement (or, if you

prefer, let me know as quickly as possible and I will contact him.) We are returning Miss Lowry's letter to you.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm
enc.

LD

ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL

September 25, 1962

Mr. Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Thanks for your letter on Birmingham. We are doing the best we can. I am quite fully informed on the situation.

Regards,

Burke Marshall
Assistant Attorney General
Civil Rights Division

ST. ANDREW PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

James A. Shiflett, pastor
SPring 4-1761

Antonio P. Elizondo
minister of education
ROdney 3-6204

James E. Howarth
clerk of session

berwyn and oleander avenue
chicago 31, illinois
church phone NEwcastle 1-8262

September 26, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

It was a rare shock to see you while in Atlanta. In the years since I have been separated from you, I have thought of you often and wondered exactly what happened to you, but I was totally unprepared to see you the day I walked into the offices of the Southern Regional Council.

I enjoyed thoroughly talking with you, and I hope that some day soon our paths will cross again so that we may keep our renewed acquaintance.

I wish you every success in what you are doing.

Your friend,

Jim

James A. Shiflett

JAS:ah

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND, Inc.

—for the advancement of agricultural labor—

112 EAST 19th STREET • GRamercy 3-0284 • NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

September 28, 1962

PR

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Exec.Dir.
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

I am extending to you a cordial invitation to participate in our Southern Rural Conference on the theme, "A Better Life for Farm Families," to be held November 14-16 at Franklinton Center, Bricks, North Carolina.

Our aim in calling this conference is to give concerned people the opportunity to discuss how economic and social progress may be more fully shared in the rural South. The purpose is two-fold: to bring information about government assistance and self-help programs to rural people who most need it, and to give the officials who administer these programs the opportunity to learn directly from the people what their most pressing problems and needs are.

Conference participants will learn about financial and technical assistance available from the federal government, who is eligible for it, and how to apply for it. They will hear what some communities have already accomplished, and discuss how local groups can work effectively to end rural poverty and develop their own human and material resources. We believe that this two-way exchange of views and experiences holds the best promise for sound planning for the future.

I hope very much that you will be able to attend this conference. With the enclosed program you will find a Registration Form and return envelope. Since the conference facilities are limited, please return the Registration Form as soon as possible. Please also send us names and addresses of others who would be interested in learning about the conference.

I look forward to seeing you at Franklinton Center on November 14th.

Sincerely yours,

Frank P. Graham

Frank P. Graham
Chairman

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New York 23, N.Y.

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Frank A. Weil

October 2, 1962

Mr. Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Rilling:

I have sent the Goucher letter on to Kenneth Morland.

In regard to the sponsoring of the Atlanta Council Panel, it is a project that certainly seems to warrant consideration. If you are going to be in the city in the near future, I would very much like to speak further with you about it. I shall also discuss the possibilities with our chairman.

Sincerely,

Gladys Harburger

Gladys Harburger
Director

GH:mf

UNITARIAN SERVICE COMMITTEE, INC.

9 PARK STREET, BOSTON 8, MASSACHUSETTS

Telephone:
CApitol 7-3660

Cable:
UNSERCOM, Boston

October 4, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council, Inc
5 Forsyth Street,N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

It was nice to see you again and I was glad to have your heartening appraisal of the current situation. I talked at length with Eliza Paschall and Kay HOffman about the proposed conference and I am happy to say that they are in accord as to who should and who should not be the sponsoring agency. They have always felt, of course, that the Atlanta Council should not be the sponsoring agency for a regional conference. If the thing can be achieved, they would be happy to perform host duties.

I want to express my gratitude for your promise of a letter of endorsement of our proposal to assist the Jacksonville Council. Incidentally, two of the foundations to which we sent the proposal will be meeting very shortly and I would appreciate being able to send them a copy of the letter during the early part of next week if possible. It is quite conceivable that this would be the factor which tips the scales in our favor. As you know, I am always glad to hear from you and I will always be grateful for your counsel. Don't hesitate to let me know if I can be helpful in any way.

With best wishes.

Yours sincerely,

Ernie

Ernest E. Lent, Jr, Director
Department of Community Services-USA

vc

Programs and financial statements filed under Registration Number VFA-010 with the Advisory Committee on Voluntary Aid of the International Cooperation A

File - Atlanta Council

October 5, 1962

Mr. Ernest Lent, Director
Department of Community Services, U.S.A.
Unitarian Service Committee
9 Park Street
Boston 8, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. Lent:

We are pleased to learn that you are considering supporting a professional in human relations who would serve as a full time director for the Northeast Florida Council on Human Relations in Jacksonville, Florida. Jacksonville is a city in transition with a history of tension and could well utilize the services of such a professional. We believe that the leadership of the Northeast Florida Council is of high caliber and of sufficient capacity to support such an effort.

If funds should become available for this important project, we will recommend to the Florida Council on Human Relations and to the Northeast Florida Council that they endorse the plan and approve the proper instruments of agreement to bring it into effect as soon as possible.

If the decision is affirmative, we will work with you and the Florida Council in searching for the best qualified person for the position.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

October 9, 1962

Miss Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary
National Sharecroppers Fund, Inc.
112 East 19th Street
New York 3, New York

Dear Miss Bennett:

I have recently heard from Mr. Ocie Lee Smith that he is looking for an assignment in the area of human relations. He did not go back to the position he held last year at Jackson State College. I have always thought that his experience is oriented particularly well toward the work of the National Sharecroppers Fund. I believe you are familiar with Mr. Smith, but I am enclosing a copy of biographical data just in case. Herman Long gives him a strong recommendation.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm
Enc.

October 12, 1962

Mr. Carl Holman
Information Officer
Commission on Civil Rights
Washington 25, D.C.

Dear Mr. Holman:

Leslie Dunbar has asked me to send you the enclosed list of addresses of the state Councils on Human Relations, for inclusion in your mailing list.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Administrative Secretary
Field Services

Enc.

FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF ALL AGRICULTURAL LABOR
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October 15, 1962

Mr. Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Rilling:

Thank you for your letter of October 9th telling me about Mr. Ocie Lee Smith and for sending me a copy of his biographical data.

Mr. Smith has been in touch with us recently concerning his availability and we are hopeful that we can make use of his talents and experience in our work. Our main problem at the moment is financial since our budget to the end of the year is set. We are hopeful, however, however, that we can use Mr. Smith in Louisiana, Mississippi and Arkansas on a part-time basis helping to develop grass roots interest in our forthcoming conference at Bricks, and in the necessary follow-up in those states.

We are having a good response to our conference invitations. We are still concerned ~~in~~ about reaching many of the people who should know about the conference and the government programs designed to aid low-income farm families. I hope you will send us names and addresses of people who should be invited or who can direct us to others. If you would like to have us send you a batch of conference programs and registration forms, please let me know.

Sincerely yours,

Fay Bennett

Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary

fb;ja

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ALLEN YANCEY, Jr.
Tennessee representative

USDA LAND AND PEOPLE CONFERENCE
LOYOLA UNIVERSITY FIELD HOUSE
New Orleans, Louisiana
October 15 and 16, 1962

Secretary Orville L. Freeman, Chairman
Assistant Secretary John A. Baker, Co-chairman

PROGRAM

Monday, October 15, 1962

9:30 - 9:35 a.m.	Invocation
	Very Reverend Andrew C. Smith, S. J. President, Loyola University of the South New Orleans, Louisiana
9:35 - 9:45	Welcome
	Honorable Victor Schiro Mayor of New Orleans New Orleans, Louisiana
9:45 - 10:00	Opening
	Honorable Jimmie H. Davis Governor of Louisiana Baton Rouge, Louisiana
10:00 - 10:45	Keynote Address
	Orville L. Freeman Secretary of Agriculture U. S. Department of Agriculture Washington, D. C.
10:45 - 11:15	Rural - Urban Interdependence in This Region
	Dr. Alexander Nunn Editor, Progressive Farmer Birmingham, Alabama
11:15 - 11:30	Recess
11:30 - 1:00	Panel - Rural Changes in Our Region
	Lewis J. Johnson, Chairman President, Arkansas Farmers Union Little Rock, Arkansas

Panelist No. 1 - "Origins and Symptoms of Change"

Dr. G. H. Aull
Head, Department of Agricultural Economics
and Sociology, Clemson College
Clemson, South Carolina

Panelist No. 2 - "The Impact of Change"

Robert Scott
Master of North Carolina Grange
Greensboro, North Carolina

Panelist No. 3 - "Guidelines for Remedial Action"

A. P. Fatherree
State Supervisor of Vocational Agriculture
Department of Education
Jackson, Mississippi

Panelist No. 4 - "Overall Regional View"

Dr. Hugh Masters
Head, Georgia Center for Continuing Education
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia

1:00 - 2:30 Lunch

2:30 - 4:30 Panel - Stimulating Economic Growth in Rural Areas

Marion Monk, Chairman
President, National Association of Soil and
Water Conservation Districts
Batchelor, Louisiana

Panelist No. 1 - "Goals for Rural Development

W.W. Campbell
Chairman, Board of Directors
National Bank of Eastern Arkansas
Forest City, Arkansas

Panelist No. 2 - "The Human Resource From a
Woman's Viewpoint"

Miss Susan Myrick
Associate Editor
Macon Telegraph and News
Macon, Georgia

Panelist No. 3 - "The Human Resource From a Man's Viewpoint"

Ralph Moss
Chief, Labor Management Division
Florida Industrial Commission
Tallahassee, Florida

Panelist No. 4 - "The Physical Resource Base"

H. D. Burkhalter
Director of Forestry Division
T. L. James Construction and Land Company
Ruston, Louisiana

Panelist No. 5 - "The Machinery of Action"

John Wilder
Vice President Southeastern Area, National Association of Soil and Water Conservation Districts
Mason, Tennessee

Panelist No. 6 - "The Family Stake in Stimulating Economic Growth in Rural Areas"

Leland DuVall
Farm Editor
Arkansas Gazette
Little Rock Arkansas

4:30 - 4:45 Recess

4:45 - 5:45 Discussion Subjects

1. How Can Family Farms be Strengthened for Rural Improvement and Development? How Can RAD help?

Marion Crank, Leader
Public Relations Representative
Foreman Cement Company
Foreman, Arkansas

Presiding -

John A. Baker
Assistant Secretary of Agriculture
U. S. Department of Agriculture
Washington, D. C.

8:30 - 9:30 a.m.	2. How Can New Uses and Conservation of Land and Water Expand Income, Employment and Better Living in Rural Communities? Dr. Paul Dunn, Leader Vice President, St. Regis Paper Company New York, New York
9:30 - 10:30	3. How Can Planning and Implementation of Economic Development For a County or Rural Area be Accomplished? George McLean, Leader Editor, Tupelo Journal Tupelo, Mississippi
10:30 - 10:45	Recess
10:45 - 11:45	4. How Important is Rural-Urban Community Planning? R. C. Bamberg, Leader Commissioner of Agriculture and Industry Montgomery, Alabama
11:45 - 1:00 p.m.	Discussion Period with USDA Agency Heads Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service Farmers Cooperative Service Farmers Home Administration Federal Extension Service Forest Service Office of Rural Areas Development Rural Electrification Administration Soil Conservation Service
1:00 - 1:15	Summary John A. Baker Assistant Secretary of Agriculture
1:15	Benediction

Misc -

MEMORANDUM

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
160 North Fifteenth Street Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania

October 5, 1962

To: J. Harvey Kerns, Irving Schulman, Henry Cabirac, Paul Rilling, Will D.Campbell

From: Jean Fairfax

Subject: U. S. Department of Agriculture Conference
LAND AND PEOPLE
New Orleans, October 15 and 16, 1962

The United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) is sponsoring a series of five regional conferences on LAND AND PEOPLE. The southern conference will be held in New Orleans at Loyola University on October 15 and 16. An announcement is enclosed. You will notice that rural-urban interdependence, regional planning, rural economic development and other important topics are to be discussed.

During the past two years I have participated in several meetings in Washington attended by representatives of human relations agencies and staff of USDA. Some of these meetings were set up by the National Sharecroppers Fund and were particularly concerned about the situation in Fayette and Haywood Counties in Tennessee. This crisis gave us an opportunity to point out how the racial situation and the Department's segregated set-up in its southern work greatly limit the potential effectiveness of USDA's new programs for the development of rural depressed areas. I came away from these meetings with the impression that the USDA staff are terribly concerned but very naive and unfortunately out of touch with civil rights agencies in the southern states which could help USDA become more sophisticated, courageous and imaginative.

One would never know from the enclosed program that this conference is being held in the South and that the racial situation is an important ingredient in an honest consideration of every one of the topics on the agenda. So far as I can see, this concern will be raised only if representatives of human relations and civil rights agencies attend the conference and participate vigorously.

I am planning to attend and hope that several AFSC staff and committee members will also be present. Will you do what you can to stimulate attendance by persons close to your programs? I am sure that questions and comments by concerned southerners at this conference will be carefully noted by USDA staff.

JF:mt

cc: Garnet Guild
Barbara W. Moffett
Louis Schneider

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

August 15, 1962

REGIONAL LAND AND PEOPLE CONFERENCES

A Review of Progress and Potentials for Rural Resources Development

As announced earlier a series of five regional LAND and PEOPLE conferences are to be held under the sponsorship of the United States Department of Agriculture in September and October. I cordially invite all leaders concerned to attend and participate in one of these conferences.

The purpose of the conferences is to review and assess one of the most significant phenomena of our times--the swift and pervading changes now taking place in the economic and environmental relationship between human and physical resources.

No citizen, whether he is part of urban or rural America, is unaffected by these changes; they go to the very heart of our social structure and economic life. They suggest the need for far-reaching alterations in agriculture, bold innovations in industry, a new conception of the relationship between rural and urban sectors of our society. They touch us all in the sense that our food supply, the preservation of irreplaceable natural resources, the pattern of industrial expansion, the burgeoning need for more and better recreation, the vitality of our rural economy and the orderly growth of urban America are matters that impinge in one way or another on the welfare of each of us.

If we are to deal intelligently with these changes in our national life we must first of all understand them. It is for this purpose that the Department is bringing together in this series of Land and People conferences a broad cross section of the national and community leadership represented by the great industrial, professional, agricultural, civic, educational and service activities which play so important a part in the evolution of national policy and action.

These conferences will offer everyone in attendance an opportunity to be heard, to ask questions, to debate issues, and to obtain as much information as a distinguished group of specialists, local and national, are able to provide.

(more)

In order to accommodate the special problems and needs of each region, Land and People conferences have been scheduled for five localities, as follows:

Sept. 17-18.....St. Louis, Mo., Ambassador-Kingsway Hotel

Oct. 1-2.....Portland, Ore., Municipal Auditorium

Oct. 8-9.....Denver, Colo., Hilton Hotel

Oct. 15-16.....New Orleans, La., Loyola University

Oct. 22-23.....Philadelphia, Pa., Sheraton Hotel

Every person interested in the opportunities and potentials in rural resources development is urged to attend the Land and People conference at the location most convenient to him.

Orville L. Freeman
Secretary of Agriculture

Your Regional Conference on LAND and PEOPLE

Growth Through Agricultural Progress

Strengthening Rural America

- Rural-urban community planning
- Using and conserving natural resources
- Developing family farms
- Stimulating economic growth
- Preserving social values of rural life

This is your opportunity to be heard on matters of vital concern to Rural Development and Conservation in your region. The Secretary of Agriculture invites rural and urban leaders alike to come and discuss these topics with him and other USDA, State, and local officials at one of these Regional Conferences:

ST. LOUIS, Mo., Ambassador-Kingsway Hotel	September 17-18
PORTLAND, Ore., City Auditorium	October 1-2
DENVER, Colo., Hilton Hotel	October 8-9
NEW ORLEANS, La., Loyola University	October 15-16
PHILADELPHIA, Pa., Sheraton Hotel	October 22-23

The public is invited to participate.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

In cooperation with State and local governments

THE LAND AND PEOPLE CONFERENCES

Rural America faces many problems--some old, some new--that demand the best kind of long-range planning by local leaders if the economy and heritage of American rural life are to be maintained.

Through a series of Land and People Conferences, the Secretary of Agriculture hopes to acquaint local leaders with the various services of the Department that can be used to assist in strengthening and developing rural America. At the same time he seeks suggestions for improving those services. The five regional conferences are a sequel to the National Land and People Conference held in Washington last January.

These conferences will be open for public participation. Representatives of private, local, State, and Federal agencies and organizations are encouraged to participate.

Secretary Orville L. Freeman will be chairman of each conference and will deliver the keynote address. Assistant Secretary John A. Baker, in charge of Rural Development and Conservation, will hear the reports of the discussion groups. Administrators of Department agencies will be present to answer questions from the audience.

PANEL DISCUSSIONS

Regional speakers familiar with local conditions, headed by the Governor of the host State, will present basic information in two panel discussions the first day of each conference.

Panel I. Rural Changes in our Region

Three panelists will be invited to define the economic and social forces now shaping agricultural and rural America and what their consequences may be for the region. They will discuss them under the following topics:

1. Origins and symptoms of change
2. The impact of change
3. Guidelines for remedial action

Panel II. Stimulating Economic Growth in Rural Areas

Four panelists from both rural and urban backgrounds will define goals and ways of achieving them in the region, under these topics:

1. Goals for rural development
2. Income and employment opportunities for people.
3. The physical resource base
4. The machinery of action

DISCUSSION GROUPS

You will have an opportunity to express your own views in one of four discussion groups that will convene as the third session of the conference (Monday evening, except at New Orleans). Each discussion group will have a recorder who will capture the concensus of the group to be reported to the final session of the conference. You may choose the group of your choice from the following:

Group 1. "How can family farms be strengthened for rural improvement and development?"

How can they adjust to the new era of productivity? How can they make the new technology work for them? How can they compete in today's economic arena?

Group 2. "How can new uses and conservation of land and water expand income, employment, and better living in rural communities?"

How can city, town, and country people work together to preserve our land and shape our rural heritage to meet the Nation's changing needs? How can the local economy be strengthened through the use of land and water resources to meet the needs of our growing population?

Group 3. "How can planning and implementation of economic development for a county or rural area be accomplished?"

How can local leadership take part in deciding what economic development should be attempted? What are the steps in accomplishing that development? What community facilities are required and how can they be provided?

Group 4. "How important is rural-urban community planning?

What are the opportunities and the problems in the emerging mixed town-and-country economy--part agricultural, part industrial? How can young people be trained for job opportunities in both rural and urban communities? How can natural resources and social institutions be made to serve the needs of both town and country residents?

REPORTS FROM DISCUSSION GROUPS

At the final session of the conference, the discussion leader for each group will present his report summarizing the discussion and conclusions of the group. In this way your statement before the discussion group will find its way into the record of the conference.

Following each report, floor discussion and questions will be invited. Administrators of the agencies of the Department of Agriculture concerned with Rural Development and Conservation will be present to respond to questions from the floor.

AGENDA

Regional Land and People Conferences

MONDAY
Secretary Orville L. Freeman, Chairman

Forenoon

Opening--Governor of the host State
Keynote address: Land and People--Secretary Orville L. Freeman
Rural-Urban Interdependence in this Region--Regional speaker
Panel I. Rural Changes in Our Region--Regional speakers

Afternoon
Panel II. Stimulating Economic Growth in Rural Areas--Regional speakers

Evening (Tuesday forenoon at New Orleans)

Discussion groups:
1. How can family farms be strengthened for rural development?
2. How can new uses and conservation of land and water expand income, employment and better living in rural communities?
3. How can planning and implementation of economic development for a county or rural area be accomplished?
4. How important is rural-urban community planning?

Each person may attend and participate in the group of his choice.

TUESDAY
Assistant Secretary John A. Baker, Chairman

Forenoon (Afternoon at New Orleans)

Reports from the discussion groups
Question period with Agency Administrators on the platform

LOCAL ARRANGEMENTS

Local arrangements for each conference are under the direction of the State Director, Farmers Home Administration, of the host State. Persons attending the conferences are responsible for their own transportation and hotel reservations.

October 18, 1962

Miss Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary
National Sharecroppers Fund
112 East 19th Street
New York 3, New York

Dear Miss Bennett:

Why don't you send us a batch of conference programs and registration forms and we will do our best to spread them around.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

SUMMARY OF CCD MASS MEDIA COMMITTEE MEETING, OCTOBER 29, 1962

The next meeting of the Mass Media Committee will be held on Monday, December 3, 1962 from 11:30 A.M. to 2:00 P.M. at the Anti-Defamation League, 515 Madison Avenue (53rd Street), New York City.

Since this will be a luncheon meeting, please call Harry Fleischman at PL 1-4000 or write to him at 165 East 56th Street, New York 22, to let him know whether or not you plan to attend.

1. Mississippi, which has striven desperately since 1936 to reinforce its traditional cotton economy with a solid layer of industrial jobs, now faces an uncertain future because of the tragic violence over desegregation at the University of Mississippi. The casualties, destruction and disorder have spurred civic, business and professional leaders into action now that there are economic danger signals and a blow to the well-being of Mississippi's system of higher education. They see their expanding economy threatened by the possible slowing up of industrial investments from non-southern sources; and the academic accreditation of the University of Mississippi and possible other state-supported colleges is threatened.

A south Mississippi regional industrial leader said he was "very concerned and very upset over what it is going to do to us." Even before the rioting, he said, "several manufacturers had stopped putting 'Made in Mississippi' labels on their products," which are marketed nationally. Shortly after the violence representatives for a company that has a plant in Mississippi as well as several other states directed its Mississippi plant to put "Made in North Carolina" labels on its goods.

The Mississippi legislature abandoned a state investigation of violence at the University of Mississippi. Lawmakers felt that the inquiry could mean that the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools might revoke the university's accreditation on the ground of political interference. Some legislators also feared that the inquiry would be used to harass university professors who delcared in a statement that efforts to blame the rioting on Federal marshalls were unfair and "almost completely false."

Virtually all white students at the University of Mississippi exist in an isolation more profound than that which they impose on the one Negro student, James H. Meredith. To an almost incredible degree, many faculty members believe most of the students are uninformed and little interested in events and opinions in the rest of the nation and the world. The students score low in the element of dealing with esthetic sensitivity, idealism, involvement in the world's problems and self-analysis. The university has no active debating society, no student organizations of even faintly liberal hue and no humor magazine. The campus bookstore limits itself to required texts at list price. A separate shop in an out-of-the-way spot on the second floor of the Student Union Building offers a small selection of paperbacks. No magazine of even middling quality is available on the campus, and few are sold in Oxford. In fact the cultural life is as barren as that of the university appears to be.

2. Leaders of the voter registration drive were most heartened by the results. More than 35,000 Negroes have registered as a result of the drive. Reapportion-

ment has a direct impact on Negroes too. Its greatest effects may well be psychological: to make Negroes more conscious of latent political power, and to spur the registration drive Negro groups have underway in the nation.

Weak as it still is the fast growing strength of Negro voting in the South is causing vast changes. A Negro, Democrat Leroy Johnson, will sit in the Georgia Senate next January for the first time since Reconstruction days.

3. Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. is planning to recruit a "nonviolent army" to fight segregation in Alabama, where his passive resistance move started seven years ago. A prelude to it will be efforts to enroll five Negroes at the University of Alabama. Targets of the drive will be public facilities, city buses, lunch counters, which probably will be one of the first targets because no major city in Alabama has integrated its lunch counters, theaters, employment practices and schools. Major cities will be the setting for most of the activities, although a voter registration campaign will cover the entire state.

Dr. King has also mapped an extensive operation, under which northern Negro churchmen will launch a "money and votes" anti-discrimination offensive in the North. This Eastern Christian Leadership Conference will appeal for 5,000 white and Negro churchmen in the northern seaboard region to "enlist and serve as volunteers" in the Eastern Conference sponsored non-violent "army." If needed, "army" members would go to the scene of non-violent demonstrations to lend support.

The overall goal of the Eastern group will be to break any anti-integrationist resistance in the North - and to pressure other areas of the country by selective buying and selective voting. By mail and from the pulpit, the public will be advised of companies and businesses which, in the opinion of the ECLC, practice discrimination. A boycott will be directed against them.

4. Some $60,000 has been raised to rebuild three Negro churches destroyed by fire in southwest Georgia last summer after their use for voter registration rallies. Religious groups of all faiths have joined in the fund drive conducted by organizations and individuals, white and Negro, in the North and South. Jackie Robinson, the former Negro baseball star, said that he and those working with him had obtained about $33,000 for the project. Another campaign to rebuild the churches was started by The Atlanta Constitution. Editor Eugene Patterson said more than $10,000 has been raised through contributions ranging from 10 cents to $400 - the latter from a Jewish group. The United Church, through its Board of Homeland Ministries, has given $5,000 to the Southern Regional Council for use in the project. A $4,000 contribution is being made by the National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church, through its two Georgia dioceses. Another contribution of $4,000 was collected by the Fund for Rehabilitation of Burned Churches, an Albany Negro organization. The National Council of Churches of Christ has received $1,000 for the same purpose.

5. TV is giving a distorted picture which fails to properly reflect the increasing role of the Negro in our society. Negroes often appear on variety and entertainment shows, singing, dancing, telling jokes while 40 million people watch. But Negroes are not presented in the roles in which they appear in everyday life. This reflects in the almost total lack of employment for Negro actors. A TV monitoring survey taken recently by the New York Society for Ethical Culture, in which 60 volunteers watched nearly 200 hours of television, showed that: the Negro too often is cast in traditional stereotype roles such as servants or service employees. Negroes appear most often on musical programs. A Negro appears only once every two-and-a-half hours on any given network, on the average.

In its report, the society concluded: "The television industry is not kept abreast of the changing American social scene. All too frequently, the Negro is presented in dramatic programs as a menial, and roles for Negro actors are sharply limited.

Rep. Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. has begun an investigation of discrimination in the performing arts, which may continue in January to develop remedial legislation. Meanwhile, George H. Fowler, head of the State Commission for Human Rights, said he would take action to make sure Negroes were recognized by broadcasters, advertising agencies, casting outfits and sponsors.

Copies of the Television Monitoring Survey can be obtained by writing to the Public Relations Dept. of The Society for Ethical Culture, 2 West 64th Street, New York 23.

6. CBS REPORTS presentation, "The Other Face of Dixie," which was broadcast on October 24th, was a study of four cities in the South that only a few years ago had made headlines and pictures with their varying degrees of resistance to school integration. The CBS show did not exaggerate the results; the integration of schools was shown as still only a token accomplishment. The moderate and forward-looking element of the South was brought to the fore, and there were scenes of white and Negro students getting along together in areas previously torn apart by bitterness and strife. The contrast between Little Rock's Central High School of five years ago and today was one of the highlights of the program. The new co-operative spirit among students was as striking as it was encouraging. Negro and white students grappling with the same algebra problem or sharing the same football hero quickly forgot about differences that once seemed so important to adults.

7. A series of three integrated primers, believed to be the first of its kind in the nation, has been introduced in 12 Detroit schools on an experimental basis. Developed by a committee of teachers, the books are also the only ones known to be copyrighted by a school board. The book was researched and written by the Writers' Committee of the Great Cities School Improvement Program of the Detroit Public Schools and are published by the Follett Publishing Company in Chicago. Pictures in the book show colored children living in a tidy, well-furnished home. Instead of taking a trip to the lake, however, they go to the supermarket with their mother or help their father repair the sidewalk. The project had many instances of trial and error. An early proposal to depict a brownstone building or public housing project was nixed by a number of Negro civil leaders who felt that urban children would benefit by identification with "an environment better than their own." Despite the many problems in completing the books, the texts are getting tremendous response from both children and educators in Detroit. According to a school official, the youngsters are very happy with the books, and seem to be learning to read at a much faster rate.

Macmillan and the Bank Street College of Education, New York, are planning a series of city-oriented elementary school readers which will focus on the mixed population of the country's urban areas. The series will be designed for the first three grades and will have illustrations taken from city life. The books will contain stories, poetry and nonfiction, and will draw upon children's classical literature, fairy tales and folklore of many countries. The appearance of non-white children and adults in the selections "will be matter-of-fact and will not be used as a basis for moralizing" according to the president of Bank Street College. "Special attention will be given to the rhythms of natural speech and the aptness of the phrases, rather than the shortness of the words," he said. The project is under the direction of Ira Simonton Black, author of 25 books for children, and director of the Bank Street writers laboratory.

8. The committee discussed the fact that little has been accomplished in solving the basic employment problems confronting nearly 20 million Negro citizens at this moment. The average income of the Negro family today is 54 per cent of that enjoyed by its white equivalent - a decline of 3 per cent since 1952; one of each six Negro homes in the nation is dilapidated and substandard compared with one in 32 for white families; Negro children receive three-and-a-half years less education than do whites; their parents die seven years sooner.

The higher incidence of unemployment among Negroes cannot be accounted for solely by lower levels of skill or by other objective factors. Discrimination is an important cause of the subordinate position of Negroes in the labor force. The basic economic cost of prejudice is the staggering waste of manpower and purchasing power. Negro workers are concentrated in unskilled and semi-skilled job categories, the hardest hit in recessions. Because of their lateness of entry into certain industries have accumulated little seniority status. Automation is displacing the unskilled and semiskilled. Jobs calling for increased levels of skill will not be available to Negroes unless they are able to secure adequate training as well as fair treatment. The reform of our school curriculum, particularly at the high-school level, with greater emphasis on vocational training for those who would otherwise become high-school dropouts, is very important. Any omission during the high-school years will constitute a severe handicap for these youngsters in the future.

The members felt this was not in the realm of the Mass Media Committee, but did agree, however, that the gains made by Negroes in employment was "tokenism".

9. The National Conference on Religion and Race will be held January 14-17, 1963 at the Edgewater Beach Hotel in Chicago. The Rev. Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, President of Morehouse College in Atlanta, has been named chairman. The three vice-chairmen are Archbishop Paul J. Hallinan, Roman Catholic Archbiship of Atlanta; Rabbi Ferdinand M. Isserman of Temple Israel, St. Louis; and Bishop B. Julian Smither, Presiding Bishop of the First Episcopal C.M.E. Church, Chicago. The Conference is the first major national religious meeting involving each of the major U. S. faith groups, and will mark the January centennial of the Emancipation Proclamation. It will bring together over 700 clerical and lay leaders of religious denominations and religiously identified agencies concerned with interracial justice. The National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice is the secretariat for the Conference.

10. The first break in hotel segregation in Columbia, South Carolina was made by the House of Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church. The local diocese had taken a lease on the Town House Motor Hotel in order to house missionary bishops, including two American Negroes who serve in Liberia. The desegregation for the duration of the six-day meeting of the House of Trinity Church marked the first time any all-white hotel or motel in Columbia had accommodated both whites and Negroes. The two Negroes were Bishop Bravid Washington Harris of Monrovia, Liberia, who was born in Warrenton, North Carolina and Bishop Dillard Houston Brown, Jr., who will succeed Bishop Harris in his overseas post. Bishop Harris said that he and Bishop Brown had encountered "no difficulty so far" during their stay. He said local Episcopalians had gone out of their way to assure them no trouble will arise in this "pioneering" arrangement.

11. "How An Idea Grows," by Mary Dolan, which appeared in the October 1962 issue of Community, traces the development of the Friendship House Educational Home Meetings. In 1955, Friendship House workers took boys from a white suburban high school to visit slum houses in a Negro area of Chicago. The boys were impressed, shocked, startled at the suffering. Friendship House wondered whether these

white visitors were getting the impression that all Negroes lived in slums. They then planned another program - taking a group of whites to the home of a Negro friend of Friendship House, whose house was not in a slum, and who could discuss fully and frankly with the visitors his feelings and experiences on racial issues. The response was immediate.

As the years of arranging FH Educational Home Meetings went on and the number attending grown, Friendship House became convinced that this new technique was valid and workable. It is specific, tangible, directly challenging to prejudice. The program does not solve all problems immediately. The complex, difficult issues of racial segregation and discrimination are not ended in any single session. But Friendship House is convinced that this Home Visit program is the most effective use of two hours in race relations that can be offered any group. For details write to Friendship House Field Secretary, 4233 South Indiana Avenue, Chicago 53, Illinois.

12. The United States Information Agency, through Voice of America broadcasts, has developed a 13-part series on various aspects of the Negro in America. A. Philip Randolph, Dr. Lester Granger, James Farmer, Harold Fleming, Harry Fleischman, Roy Wilkins, Dennis Clark and Thurgood Marshall participated in this series. The programs have been translated into several languages and are also being used in English. In addition to direct broadcasts from Washington, scripts have been made available to USIA posts in various countries.

13. The problem of de facto school segregation in the North was discussed. The anti-segregation decision of the United States Supreme Court, handed down in 1954, was not regarded as being applicable only in the South. In many Northern metropolitan communities, there have been instances where racially segregated public schools have been preserved by gerrymandering of district lines, by the selection of school building sites, or by administrative fiat.

For our next meeting, we have invited June Shagaloff of the NAACP to discuss with us the problem of de facto school segregation.

14. "A Strange Kind of Love," by Lillian Smith, reprinted from the October 20, 1962 issue of the Saturday Review, deals with dynamic effects of Negro non-violent protests on Southern segregationists. Available from the Anti-Defamation League, 515 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y.

15. "1961-1962 Fair Employment Practices in Steel" documents the progress and policy of the United Steelworkers of America in the field of Fair Employment Practices during 1961-1962. Available from the United Steelworkers of America, 1500 Commonwealth Bldg., Pittsburgh 22, Pennsylvania.

16. A new album, SIT IN SONGS: SONGS OF THE FREEDOM RIDERS, has just appeared under the Dauntless label. Recorded by a group of freedom riders, the album features new lyrics to Negro spirituals and labor songs, plus a new love song, "I Know We'll Meet Again," probably the first love song to come out of the civil rights movement. You can get an album, monaural or stero, for $3.95 at your local record shop or from CORE, 38 Park Row, New York 38, N.Y.

17. "The Desegregated Heart: A Virginian's Stand in Time of Transition," by Sarah Patton Boyle (William Morrow & Co., $5.00). This daughter of a Virginia first family, a truly "reconstructed Southerner," is a staunch fighter for racial equality. The book is a searching examination of her painful but exciting spiritual pilgrimage to not only a desegregated mind but a desegregated heart as well.

18. "Fight for Freedom: The Story of the NAACP," by Langston Hughes (Berkley Pub. Corp., $.50). This 224-page pocketbook briefly but stirringly relates the history of the brave struggle of the NAACP in its drives for equality. Available from the NAACP at 50¢ per copy.

19. "We Dissent" (St. Martin's Press, $4.95). A book by fourteen Southern authors emphatically dissenting from the view of the racist Southerner who wants "to keep the Negro in his place."

20. "Discrimination," by Wallace Mendelson (Spectrum, $1.95). This resume of the recent five-volume "Report of the United States Commission on Civil Rights" carries introductions to each chapter by the author plus all of the recommendations of the Commission. An invaluable reference book.

Respectfully submitted

Harry Fleischman

Harry Fleischman, Chairman
Mass Media Committee, CCD

HF/eak
MMCCD, CCD

THE PUTNEY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF TEACHER EDUCATION
Putney, Vermont

October 31, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Rilling,

Thank you very much for your telephone call on Monday. This is to confirm that John Noble and Rene Daley will arrive on Thursday afternoon, November 8, in Atlanta.

We are very grateful to you for the arrangements you are making and we are sure they will find it an extremely valuable experience.

Sincerely,

Hugh Corbin

Hugh Corbin
Director of Studies

hc:mc

If ~~Mr. Noble and Mr. Daley~~ graduate student arrive in Atlanta after 5:00 PM, they should call Paul Anthony at his home, 366-1165

Misc

November 9, 1962
AIR MAIL SPECIAL DELIVERY

Miss Faye Bennett
National Sharecroppers Fund
112 East 19th Street
New York 3, New York

Dear Miss Bennett:

With sincere apologies to you, I am cancelling my trip to Bricks to participate in the Southern rural conference. As you know, I had long been interested in the conference and had looked forward to it, but I will be leaving the Southern Regional Council in early December and feel that I need the time to try to finish up my desk work here. Also, I feel that SRC would benefit from representation through a staff member who will be involved in SRC's concern for this problem in a continuing way.

Mr. Staige Blackford, our Director of Research, will be our representative. He is willing to handle my chore on Friday morning should you wish him to. He is also ready to talk with you about the matter you raised with Les Dumbar recently.

I am sorry to back out on you at the last minute, but I am sure you will understand. My new assignment will be that of Executive Director of the Commissioners' Council on Human Relations in Washington, D. C..

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

Misc

~~LD~~

~~what is our line on this?~~

CABLE ADDRESS: ILGWU-NEW YORK • PHONE: COLUMBUS 5-7000

INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

AFL-CIO

LWD replied to same letter -

1710 BROADWAY • NEW YORK 19 • N. Y.

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CHARLES S. ZIMMERMAN

November 9, 1962

Mr. Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council
Room 201 - 5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Rilling:

You may be aware that a special Congressional Sub-committee of the House Education and Labor Committee has been investigating the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union on charges alleging racial discrimination against Negroes and Puerto Ricans. Hearings have been held in both New York and Washington in executive as well as open sessions.

You may not know, however, that after the Committee recessed until further notice, the National Board of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People at its meeting on October 8 passed a Resolution calling on the Sub-committee to continue the investigation and accusing the ILGWU of setting "a pattern of discriminatory racial practices within the union."

Because the papers reported only briefly on the NAACP Board action, and because we believe that you might be interested in assessing the merits of the case yourself, we are taking the liberty of enclosing a copy of the NAACP Resolution in its entirety together with a copy of our ILGWU publication "JUSTICE" in which you will find an editorial dealing with this situation and including excerpts from a statement made by ILGWU Vice-President Charles S. Zimmerman on October 11, giving his reasons for resigning as a

member of the Board of Trustees of the Legal Defense Fund of the NAACP because of the NAACP Board action.

If you would like further information on the whole situation, we can provide you with copies of Mr. Dubinsky's testimony before the Special Subcommittee when he appeared both in New York and Washington.

We believe this material will enable you to judge from the facts whether the attack on the ILGWU is justified.

We should be most interested in any comments you might like to forward to us.

Sincerely yours,

Louis Stulberg

Louis Stulberg

LS

Preliminary Announcement
of a
Southern Conference to Aid Low-Income Rural Families

FARM PEOPLE AND THEIR PROBLEMS:

HOW LOW-INCOME RURAL FAMILIES CAN SECURE A BETTER LIFE

PROGRAM: Speakers, panels, and conference participants will discuss the various aid and development programs of the federal government, and the roles of local, private, and government agencies in promoting economic development and social progress.

DATES: November 14-16, 1962

PLACE: Franklinton Center, Bricks, North Carolina

COST: Approximately $12 for room and board for the duration of the conference. Car pools will be organized, and some funds may be available to assist those who could not otherwise attend.

The past decade has seen millions of people uprooted from their homes in the rural South. The continuing decline of opportunities in small-scale farming and the lack of alternative employment have forced low-income rural families, many without adequate education and vocational training, off the land without the means to better their lives elsewhere. This conference is called to discuss the problems and needs of these rural families and to learn what can be done to improve life in Southern rural communities. Various programs are going forward in the South to meet the needs of rural families. Among them is a program in Fayette County, Tennessee, sponsored by the National Sharecroppers Fund to help local residents use available federal funds for the economic development of their community. Other groups, too, are gaining experience in working toward economic and social progress. The conference will facilitate the sharing of these experiences and help to demonstrate how rural families, working together with government and private agencies, can help themselves.

The conference invites all who are interested in participating in the development of rural areas: farmers, leaders of church, civic, labor, fraternal, and business groups, educators, staff members of concerned organizations, and government personnel working in this field.

National Sharecroppers Fund, Inc.
112 East 19th Street
New York 3, N.Y.

July 13, 1962

Miss Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary
National Sharecroppers Fund, Inc.
112 East 19th Street
New York 3, New York

Dear Miss Bennett:

Paul Rilling is presently on vacation; your letter of July 10 will be called to his attention immediately upon his return in mid-August. Paul Anthony tells me that he has suggested names of three directors of state Councils on Human Relations who would probably be highly interested in participating in or serving as resource persons for your November conference. I feel sure that Mr. Rilling would concur with this suggestion. If he has further names or suggestions he will be in touch with you in August.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Administrative Secretary
Field Services

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND, Inc.

—for the advancement of agricultural labor—

112 EAST 19th STREET • GRamercy 3-0284 • NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

July 10, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
Field Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Rilling:

I am writing to you at the suggestion of Mr. Paul Anthony concerning our planned Southern fall conference on the problems and needs of low-income farm families and ways to meet them. The conference is being planned with the cooperation of church leaders and others who are concerned with the problems of the rural South. A copy of a preliminary notice of the conference is enclosed.

We hope very much that we may have your help in developing the program for the conference and in securing the attendance of persons who would profit by attending. I will be very pleased to have your suggestions concerning resource leaders and conference participants. Any other suggestions you can give me to help the conference achieve its goals of working for economic and social progress in rural areas would be very much appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Fay Bennett

Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary

FB:gh
enc.

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ALLEN YANCEY, Jr., Tennessee Representative

FARM PEOPLE AND THEIR PROBLEMS:
HOW LOW-INCOME RURAL FAMILIES CAN SECURE A BETTER LIFE

A Conference Sponsored by the
National Sharecroppers Fund

Franklinton Center
Bricks, North Carolina
November 14-16, 1962

TENTATIVE PROGRAM

NOTE: There will be a discussion period at the end of each major topic.

Tuesday, November 13

From 6:00 P.M. Early Registration

Wednesday, November 14

8:00 A.M. Final Registration

MORNING SESSION - Chairman: (?)

10:00 A.M. Welcome
Dr. Frank P. Graham, Chairman, National Sharecroppers Fund

10:30 A.M. Why This Conference?
Dr. Lewis W. Jones, Department of Race Relations, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee

11:30 A.M. One Family's Story
Rev. E. L. Currie, Brownsville, Tennessee

AFTERNOON SESSION - Chairman: Will Campbell

2:00 P.M. Why Rural Development? Values and Resources in Living Close to the Land
Koinonia representative, or Southern church leader, or Southern Regional Council representative, or (?)

2:30 P.M. Aid from the Federal Government - I: Area Redevelopment Administration; Rural Areas Development Program
Harry Bass, Office of Rural Areas Development, USDA
John Myhre, Rural Electrification Administration, USDA
Harold L. Sheppard, Area Redevelopment Administration, USDC

EVENING SESSION

8:00 P.M. -
9:30 P.M. Small Group Discussions of Local Area Problems

Thursday, November 15

MORNING SESSION - Chairman: (?)

9:00 A.M. Aid from the Federal Government - II: Farmer's Home Loans; Retraining Programs; Farm Housing Loans
John Lovorn, Farmers Home Administration, USDA
Anne Gould, Area Redevelopment Administration, USDC
Willis Sloan, U.S. Department of Labor

10:30 A.M. Local Self-Help: Cooperatives; Private Organizations
Rev. W. Judson King, President, Franklinton Center
A. E. Cox, Delta Foundation, Memphis
Clay Cochran, Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO
Delmo Homes representative
Odel Sanders, Haywood County Civic and Welfare League
Courtney Siceloff, Director, or Thomas C. Barnwell, Field Director, Penn Community Services, Frogmore, South Carolina

AFTERNOON SESSION - Chairman: (?)

2:00 P.M. Experience in Rural Development in Fayette County, Tennessee: Education Programs; Formation of Local Development Committees; Applying for Federal Aid; Channels of Communication
Allen Yancey, Jr., Chairman, and members of the West Tennessee Development Company

3:45 P.M. The Need for Local Initiative
George Robinson, Area Redevelopment Administration, USDC
Mrs. Alice Spearman, South Carolina Council on Human Relations
William H. Koch, Jr., National Council of Churches, or other church representative

EVENING SESSION - Chairman: (?)

6:00 P.M. Dinner Meeting - Rural Development for All the People
John A. Baker, Director, Agricultural Credit, and Chairman, Rural Areas Development Board, USDA
William L. Batt, Jr., Administrator, Area Redevelopment Administration, USDC

----- (Rest of evening open for special group meetings)

Friday, November 16

MORNING SESSION - Chairman: (?)

9:00 A.M. Applying What We Have Learned: Discussion of Local Problems
Reports of discussion groups; comments by experts; discussion

10:45 A.M. Resume Panel Discussion of Local Problems

11:45 A.M. Summing Up
Fay Bennett, Executive Secretary, National Sharecroppers Fund

12:00 P.M. Conference Closes

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND, Inc.
—for the advancement of agricultural labor—
112 EAST 19th STREET • GRamercy 3-0284 • NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

July 19, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
Field Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Rilling:

I have already sent you a preliminary announcement of our Southern conference on "How Low-Income Rural Families Can Secure a Better Life." Now I need your help on program.

Enclosed is a draft outline for the conference program with suggested topics and speakers. Will you please give this tentative program your thoughtful attention and send us your suggestions for filling out and strengthening the program?

Note that most places for chairmen of sessions are open. Your suggestions here are needed, along with suggestions for resource leaders and panel members.

We count on your help in making the conference a significant aid to low-income rural families. May I hear from you soon?

Sincerely yours,

Fay Bennett Jr

Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary

fb;ja
enc.

P.S. If your own knowledge and experience would enable you to make a personal contribution to the conference, please let us know where you could best serve on the conference program.

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490

PA

INTERNATIONAL VOLUNTARY SERVICE
American Group of Service Civil International
Hyde Park Community Peace Center, Inc.
5220 HARPER AVE., CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

AMERICAN SECRETARY
Robert Gaebler
Chicago Telephone:
WAgner 4-0872

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72 Oakley Square
London N. W. 1, Eng.

November 22, 1962

Mr. Paul Reeling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Reeling,

I hope that you and Mr. Paul Anthony have received by now the last copy of the I.V.S. newsletter, subsequent to our agreement to exchange publications when I had talks with both of you the end of August in Atlanta.

By this time we are already beginning to think of looking for volunteers for our Easter camps and to some extent for summer workcamps too. However we would like to send our limited resources where the greatest need is; we are also looking for experienced mature volunteers, so that we will be able to tackle tougher projects. For this reason, we would like to have any of the suggestions which you may have come up with since our talk, and announce projects and dates as soon as possible. You may have already sent your suggestions and thoughts to Mr. Gaebler; if so please ignore this reminder.

I would wonder also whether you might have any idea of dates of Easter vacations in some of the local universities near the project prospects you might suggest, so that we could invite some volunteers from such student bodies.

I have not heard much recently of events in the integration movement; though of course my family and I followed with sadness the result of using force in the Univ. of Mississippi situation. I.V.S. is already investigating the possibility of offering a workcamp team to rebuild Negro churches burnt down recently.

Hoping for an early reply, and wishing all of you the best,

Sincerely,

Barry P. Davis

Barry P. Davis, Field Sec.

Cc: Robert Gaebler, National Sec.

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED
ST. HELENA ISLAND
FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

COURTNEY SICELOFF
DIRECTOR

September 3, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

You have raised the question about the International Voluntary Service workcamps. During the last three years we have had one scheduled each year in the spring and two carried out. I think the reason the first twoscheduled were carried out was that the general secretary for North America was Bob Stowell, who was on our staff at the time and arranged for persons to come in. The first time, four people came, and the second time, fourteen. Some of the latter, however, were local students in Beaufort. Bob Stowell left last summer to go to New Zealand,and last spring another was attempted but fell through. The person who organized it lived somewhere in Minnesota. It seems strange to me that they should try to organize one all over the United States and come to Penn for just a few days. It turned out that no one came.

non-paid

The organization, as I gather, is a very loosely organized one ~~with a self~~-made secretary and perhaps a fairly large mailing list. However, the general secretary is one who has spent two years with the organization in India and may be willing to give considerable time and effort to it. Also the fact that it would be a summer project may mean that others may be willing to come from a great distance if they could stay a longer period. than the weekend here.

I have been acquainted with the American Friends Service Committee workcamps more than that of any other organization where all members come at the beginning and stay through the entire project and are under the direct supervision of the leader. From talking to Bob Stowell who was in one or two IVS camps in Europe, I gather that it worked on the principle of persons not paying to participate as they do in Service Committee projects, but that the project itself furnish lodging and food. Likewise a number of persons who could get off for only a week's vacation from work would participate. This meant that you had a turnover of personnel that could certainly have advantages for IVS groups but might raise some problems for the sponsoring group. I must say, though, that

the persons who participted in the workcamps here were usually adults or young people who have finished or in college and quite mature persons, more so than one would usually find in voluntary workcamps.

Please let me know if you have further questions concerning this group.

With best regards,

Courtney Siceloff

cs:bbm

Misc

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December 3, 1962

Miss Marge Manderson, Administrative Secretary
Field Services
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Manderson:

We are now starting preparations for the mailing of our 42nd annual report. I would appreciate your sending me an updated copy of the list of organizations cooperating with the Southern Regional Council. As our report is being mailed in mid-December, I would appreciate hearing from you as soon as possible.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

Louise C. Floyd

(Mrs.) Louise C. Floyd
Administrative Assistant

Done -
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MISC

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MM

CORE, Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, NYC 38, N.Y.
CO 7-6270
December 7, 1962

TO: CORE Contacts
FROM: Dave Dennis

There is much poverty here in the state of Mississippi. Because of this, the local CORE group, in Cooperation with the Council on Federated Organizations (a state-wide organization which is composed of the NAACP, SCLC, SNCC, CORE and citizens throught the state -- at this time it is carrying on an extensive voter registration program in the state) has initiated a program of "Packages for Christmas," in order to do something to aid families in desparate need during Chrustmas.

Many people here rely on the cotton crop to make money. This year more than 68% of the cotton was harvested by automation, which meant that manpower was cut tremendously. There are very few skilled workers (Negro) in the area because of the low education level. There is very little to do. Many people who have attempted to register have been harrassed to the extent of losing their jobs, and members of the families have been victims of circumstances. Families have been thrown off their farms, some have been pressured financially.

This type of pressure has caused much hardship upon the people. Children are without warm clothing; homes are improperly heated; sanitation is poor, there is very little food. Jobs are impossible to find for some. Farming is all that they know and this type of work just in not available.

We have to do something. I have warm clothing and a comfortable bed to sleep in. My Christmas will be filled with laughter and parties, and I am sure that most of us will have such a Christmas. Please help us to give some other person in need a Merry Christmas.

Your help is desparately needed in this project; please give us your support. Any type of assistance you can give will be gratefully welcomed. Send everything directly to:

Dave Dennis
CORE Field Secretary
1104 Lynch Street
Jackson, Mississippi

* * * * *

LATEST INFO ON MISSISSIPPI: Now people who have tried to register to vote are being removed from the commodity lists, so that they will not be able to receive the Federal surplus foods sent to Mississippi. Their need is great, and will continue through the winter. Please help!

MISC

VIA AIR MAIL
December 10, 1962

William Morrow and Company
425 Park Avenue, South
New York 16, New York

Gentlemen:

We understand from Mrs. Sarah Patton Boyle that her book, THE DESEGREGATED HEART, can be made available to us at a 40% discount. If this is the case, and if the order is sufficient, would you please consider this our order for twenty copies to be shipped as soon as possible, the bill to be directed to my attention.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

MM

MISC

THE PUTNEY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF TEACHER EDUCATION
Putney, Vermont

December 14, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul Rilling,

The visit to the Southern Regional Council has been most enlightening and rewarding for John Noble and Rene Daley. Their report of their experiences was exciting and added much perspective to our study of the ways in which education can become an instrument for social advance.

Thank you for your hospitality and kindness to them, and please accept my thanks for adding depth and reality to our teacher preparation program.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh Corbin

Hugh Corbin
Director of Studies

hc:mc

Misc

December 18, 1962

The Hon. Jacob K. Javits
United States Senate
Washington, D. C.

My dear Senator:

We would like to continue receiving the Congressional Record, if it is not unduly inconvenient for you. The address used is correct.

Our Research Department finds the Congressional Record of considerable value and we are grateful to you for making this service possible. In fact, we are deeply grateful for your leadership of and contributions to the area of civil rights.

With best wishes,

Yours very truly,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON
LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE

December 7, 1962

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I wish to advise you that I am currently revising my limited Congressional Record subscription list. As you are no doubt aware, the Congressional Record is a popular publication for which I receive numerous requests from various New York libraries, organizations, schools, and individuals.

It would be appreciated, therefore, if you will advise me should you desire to continue receiving the Record in the future and of any change in address since you received your last issue.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Jacob K. Javits, U.S.S.

Misc

December 20, 1962

National Civil Liberties Clearing House
1637 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Gentlemen:

We would appreciate your sending us one copy of the President's Executive Order on Housing, which your December 5, 1962 Minutes indicate is available on request.

Please bill us for any charge, and send to the attention of the Department of Field Activities, at the above address.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Administrative Secretary
Field Activities

Misc

December 21, 1962

Mr. Al Horn
1062 Calle #19
Villa Nevarex, Puerto Rico

Dear Mr. Horn:

We have forwarded your recent letter on to Paul Rilling at his new address: Commissioners' Council on Human Relations, Room 208 District Building, Washington 4, D. C.. Paul accepted an appointment as Executive Director of that organization earlier this year and moved to Washington during the first week in December.

We noted that you will be moving to Atlanta in March. We hope you'll find a chance to visit the Southern Regional Council offices after your arrival here.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Administrative Secretary
Field Services

copy: Paul Rilling

ENCAMPMENT FOR CITIZENSHIP
2 WEST 64TH STREET, NEW YORK 23, N. Y.
SUSQUEHANNA 7-2714

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ALGERNON D. BLACK
Education Director

ROBERT M. STEIN
Director, Special Projects

MRS. DORIS BARDON
Field Director

P A want to help?

December 28, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Several weeks ago we sent you the 1963 recruiting materials of the Encampment for Citizenship. Enclosed herewith are additional copies.

We are eager to continue the arrangement we have had with you in the past to distribute Encampment materials through your office to appropriate agencies and organizations in your area.

If you will let us know the quantity of materials you can use, we will forward them to you immediately.

We will be grateful for your cooperation in helping us recruit qualified young men and women for our 1963 projects.

We look forward to hearing from you.

Saal Lesser asks me to send his warm regards and best wishes for the New Year.

Cordially,

Doris Bardon

Mrs. Doris Bardon
Field Director

PA

MM: We have written for more copies, please look at this & help with ideas on how we can promote good prospects!

ENCAMPMENT FOR CITIZENSHIP
2 WEST 64TH STREET, NEW YORK 23, N. Y.
SUSQUEHANNA 7-2714

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MRS. DORIS BARDON
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JAN 3 1963

December, 1962

TO: MEMBERS OF NAIRO

FROM: SAAL D. LESSER, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
ENCAMPMENT FOR CITIZENSHIP

Hope you will be interested in our new recruiting brochure and poster. Should you be able to use these in quantity, please fill out the enclosed card and return it to us.

Your recommendation of applicants in the 18 - 23 age range will be especially welcome.

encs.

P.S. If you can arrange to display the poster in a convenient location, we would appreciate it.

SIX WEEKS—

Summer, 1962

ENCAMPMENT for CITIZENSHIP

in

NEW YORK,

CALIFORNIA, or

PUERTO RICO

can make an important difference to . . .

YOU . . . YOUR COMMUNITY . . . YOUR COUNTRY

A growing number of young people today believe the forces at work in public affairs are beyond their control: the immmensity of the problems confronting society appear so overwhelming as to make any action on their part seem inadequate. *But* the solution of these manifold problems—and indeed survival itself—requires the utilization in public life of the energies, wisdom and knowledge of each of us.

You—the individual citizen—*can* count if you are adequately prepared for your public responsibilities. The Encampment for Citizenship can help you to identify the problems, encourage you to find your own solutions, equip you with the methods for taking effective action.

17th ANNUAL ENCAMPMENT FOR CITI

IDENTIFYING SOME OF THE PROBLEMS

Generally, the organized study program centers on the following major areas:

THE HISTORY AND MEANING OF DEMOCRACY. The roles of government, political parties, the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, the individual. The uses of power in a democratic society. Democratic methods and procedures of political action. Civil liberties. Anti-democratic ideologies; their origins and why people are drawn to them . . . the democratic answer to contemporary challenges.

HUMAN RESOURCES. Democracy as a way of seeing people. Obstacles to equality and fulfillment. Causes and effects of prejudice, discrimination, segregation. Intergroup conflict with special reference to current problems.

NATURAL RESOURCES AND THE ECONOMIC SYSTEM. How the productive and distributive systems work; strengths and weaknesses. The economic and moral issues between labor and management, farm and city. Role of government in economic life.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS. Factors making for war and peace. Problems of world organization and functioning of the United Nations. Factors shaping American foreign policy. Problems of emerging nationalism and their effects.

The educational program is planned in cooperation with an able faculty drawn from the universities and professions, with wide experience in public affairs. The faculty lives in the dormitories together with the students, affording ample opportunities for additional exchange of ideas.

Basic information is afforded through lectures, films, field trips, discussions, books and pamphlets, and supplemented through the constructive use of the experience and backgrounds of campers and staff. Discussion groups, forums, role-playing and other techniques of group problem solving are used to clarify the relation of leader and groups. The conflicting interests and practical problems of community participation are studied.

ZENSHIP JULY 1 – AUGUST 11, 1962

Workshops are focused on practical problems—with the purpose of social analysis, of problem-solving, and developing techniques of constructive action.

THE PROCESS USED

LECTURES. Because of its proximity to urban centers, the Encampment has easy access to a great variety of resource persons and institutions. Academic material becomes alive and meaningful. Staff lectures are supplemented by guest speakers who bring concrete information and viewpoints directly from the very areas of life in which the problems under discussion occur.

DISCUSSION GROUPS. The core experience in each unit of study is the discussion group. Campers meet in small groups under a faculty leader to discuss and interpret the material. Learning is related to the campers' individual backgrounds. Ideas are analyzed and information shared. Above all, the aim is to develop an understanding of conflicting viewpoints so that campers become increasingly capable of critical analysis.

FIELD TRIPS. Field trips for research are planned to assure first-hand observation of problems. Direct contact is made with people and their leaders. Campers see conditions in different social and economic areas of the community; visit housing developments, talk with families and meet with school, church and civic leaders. Trips include visits to neighborhood settlements, human relations agencies, labor union headquarters, migrant farm labor camps, steel plants.

WORKSHOPS. Campers are encouraged to select a problem of immediate interest and concern. Then, either individually or in small groups, they spend time on research, reading and reporting. Typical workshops explore such problems as: segregation and integration, farm surplus, labor and management relations, juvenile delinquency, international relations, mediation of strikes, political action, civil liberties, community relations, migrant labor, housing, sit-ins, church-state relations, and American Indian tribal problems.

FORUMS. Special case studies and findings of projects conducted by workshop groups are often reported to the entire Encampment. In many instances, these are reported in panel and socio-drama form. Campers learn techniques, solve problems and discover new methods of presenting their findings effectively.

RECREATION. Recreational activities are conducted by campers under the guidance of an expert staff. They contribute to health by involving campers in outdoor and indoor physical activities—sports, games, dancing, swimming —enriching the personal development of the individual and opening up the world of the arts. Talents of campers are utilized in programming recreational and social activities. The cultural riches of the urban centers—theatres, concerts, museums—are drawn upon.

CAMPER WELFARE. While campers are given freedom commensurate with their maturity, their physical and emotional welfare are at all times a close concern of highly qualified members of the staff.

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What Encampers Say:

". . . Because I went to the Encampment some very remarkable things happened to me . . . I won a scholarship to the Chicago University to study labor and management. . . ."

". . . For us all, the Encampment awakened new ideas, brought out problems of which we had hitherto been ignorant."

". . . It remains for me one of the most gratifying experiences of my life—a kind of living recollection of the extraordinary beauty of which human society is capable."

". . . We were not indoctrinated but enlightened."

. . . I learned to respect people whose ideas were opposed to mine. . . ."

". . . We all became each other's teachers as well as pupils.

[redacted]

WHAT IS THE ENCAMPMENT FOR CITIZENSHIP?

It is a non-profit, non-sectarian, non-political educational organization inaugurated in 1946 under the auspices of the American Ethical Union.

The Bureau of Applied Social Research of Columbia University has called it a "rare and successful experiment in democratic education."

WHO CAN APPLY?

Any person between the ages of 18 and 23. Participation is limited to 100 students each at the New York and California Encampments and 80 students at the Puerto Rico Encampment.

COLLEGE CREDIT

An increasing number of colleges grant academic credit for Encampment attendance or for special projects undertaken with faculty approval. Exploration should be made early by the student with his college supervisor if he is interested in obtaining such credit. A special memorandum can be sent by the Encampment for faculty consideration.

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". . . It has given me what history, government and civics courses had failed to give me—a real feeling of how a nation works: how things get done and who does them; who decides what ought to be done and why; just how our government is organized. . . . How very much more politically adequate I now feel."

". . . They offered me the most unforgettable and valuable experience of my life, and they made me proud of being what I am . . . a Puerto Rican in culture, and also a proud citizen of the United States . . . and a friend of the world."

". . . The intellectual gains have been enormous for us all, scholars or manual workers."

". . . you learn that you need not hate all people of a particular kind because some of them hate you. . . . I can honestly say that I have grown during the past six weeks to an extent that I would have believed impossible before."

NEW YORK

July 1 to August 11, 1962 . . . at the Fieldston School in Riverdale . . . on the outskirts of New York City . . . 14-acre campus . . . tennis courts . . . swimming pool, ballfields.

CALIFORNIA

July 1 to August 11, 1962 . . . Co-op living accommodations at the University of California at Berkeley . . . in the San Francisco Bay area.

PUERTO RICO

July 1 to August 11, 1962 . . . at La Mina in the Caribbean National Forest . . . ruggedly beautiful setting near San Juan . . . swimming pool on site . . . beautiful Luquillo Beach affords swimming and recreational facilities.

Wherever possible, attempts will be made to assist interested students in finding Post-Encampment employment.

CO-OPERATING AGENCIES

(a partial list)

NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Amalgamated Clothing Workers of Am.
American Jewish Committee
American Veterans Committee
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
Arrow, Inc.
Association of American Indian Affairs
International Ladies Garment Workers Union
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
National Ethical Youth Organization
National Farmers Union
National Federation of Settlements
National Urban League
Southern Regional Council
UAW—AFL-CIO

LOCAL COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS

Commission on Human Relations—City of Milwaukee, Wisconsin
Commission on Human Relations—City of Pittsburgh, Pa.
Council on Human Relations—Cleveland, O.
Florida Council on Human Relations—Miami, Fla.
4-H Clubs—Minnesota and Wisconsin
Future Farmers of America—Wisconsin
Los Angeles County Committee on Human Relations—Los Angeles, Cal.
Louisiana Council on Human Relations—New Orleans, La.
Mayor's Commission on Group Relations—Newark, N. J.
Mayor's Friendly Relations Committee—Cincinnati, O.
Montana Farmers Union
United Neighborhood Houses, New York, N. Y.
Wisconsin Youth Committee

GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

Commonwealth of Puerto Rico—Migration and Labor Division
Netherlands Office for Foreign Student Relations
New York State Dep't. of Welfare—Buffalo, N. Y.
Office du Tourisme Universitaire—Paris, France
U. S. Department of Interior—Bureau of Indian Affairs

EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Antioch College—Yellow Springs, O.
Brooklyn College—Brooklyn, N. Y.
Carleton College—Northfield, Minn.
City College of New York
Clark University—Worcester, Mass.
Columbia College—New York, N. Y.
Dillard University—New Orleans, La.
Fenn College—Cleveland, O.
Fisk University—Nashville, Tenn.
Goddard College—Plainfield, Vt.
Hampton Institute—Hampton, Va.
Howard University—Washington, D. C.
Orange County Community College—Middletown, N. Y.
Pratt Institute—Brooklyn, N. Y.
State University of N. Y.—Delhi, N. Y.

Assoc. Member of Young Adult Council of the National Social Welfare Assembly

ENCAMPMENT FOR CITIZENSHIP

2 West 64th Street, New York 23, New York

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Honorary Chairman

SAAL D. LESSER
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CORINNE SCHREIDER
Field Director

MRS. MADELEINE STEPHENSON
Executive Secretary, California

Applications forms can be secured by writing:

ENCAMPMENT FOR CITIZENSHIP
2 West 64th Street, New York 23, New York, SU 7-2714
2209 Van Ness Avenue, San Francisco 9, California, PR 6-3344

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Misc

ENCAMPMENT FOR CITIZENSHIP

2 WEST 64th STREET, NEW YORK 23, N. Y.
SUsquehanna 7-2714

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Honorary Chairman, Sponsors

Mrs. Alice K. Pollitzer
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Arthur M. Bullowa
Chairman, Board of Directors

Saal D. Lesser
Executive Director

Algernon D. Black
Education Director

Corinne Schreider
Alumni Field Secretary

TO: Members of NAIRO

FROM: Saal D. Lesser, Executive Director
ENCAMPMENT FOR CITIZENSHIP

Hope you will be interested in our new recruiting brochure. Should you be able to use these in quantity, please fill out the enclosed card and return it to us.

Any recommendations of applicants in the 18 - 23 age range will be appreciated.

enc.

JH
PA
MU
PR
MET

have him send to state groups
15 requested 12/11

Misc-

THE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

281 THE ARCADE, CLEVELAND 14, OHIO • TELEPHONE: SUperior 1-6630 AND 1-6631

Member, The Cleveland Welfare Federation

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Miss Audrey M. Holman
Office Secretary

HUMAN RELATIONS WORKSHOPS

(SUMMER, 1962)

This list of Summer Workshops in Human Relations has been compiled as a service to NAIRO members by The Council on Human Relations of Cleveland, Ohio. An original listing, together with descriptions of Centers of Graduate Study in Human Relations, appeared in the Council's RESOURCE HANDBOOK in HUMAN RELATIONS.*

The data here collected is drawn from the 1962 brochures published by the individual colleges and universities. This list should not be regarded as exhaustive. Full information can be obtained by writing directly to the institutions conducting the Workshops.

*Available from The Council on Human Relations, paper $1.15 postpaid, cloth $2.25.

Contributions are tax deductible

CALIFORNIA

Loyola University
Los Angeles 45 California
"Workshop on Human Relations
and Group Dynamics"
June 26 - Aug 4 (6)*

San Francisco State College
San Francisco 27, California
"Workshop on Human Relations"
(No Workshop in 1962)

Stanford University
Stanford, California
"New Dimensions in Intergroup Education"
Aug 6 - 17 (4)

Encampment for Citizenship
University of California at Berkeley
Berkeley, California
Apply to: E.F.C., 2 West 64th St.
New York 23, N. Y.

University of California at Los Angeles
Los Angeles 24, California
"Leadership Laboratory in Human Relations"
May 27 - June 2 (1)

University of California Conference Center
Lake Arrowhead, California
"Human Relations Training Laboratory"
July 15 - 27 (2)

COLORADO

Colorado College
Colorado Springs, Colorado
"Workshop in Human Relations"
July 16 - Aug 3 (3)

University of Denver
Denver 10, Colorado
"Workshop in Human Relations"
July 9 - 20 (7½)

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

The American University
Washington 1, D. C.
"Institute on Human Relations"
June 25 - July 13 (3)
July 16 - Aug 3 (3)

Howard University
Washington 1, D. C.
"Intergroup Relations Workshop"
June 18 - 29 (3)

ILLINOIS

De Paul University
Chicago 4, Illinois
"Workshop on Human Relations"
June 11 - 14 (3)

INDIANA

Indiana University
Bloomington, Indiana
"Workshop on Intergroup Relations"
(No Workshop in 1962)

KENTUCKY

Berea College
Berea, Kentucky
"Workshop on Urban Adjustment"
July 13 - 17 (2)

Nazareth College
Louisville, Kentucky
"Human Relations Seminar"
June 20 - Aug 3 (6)

MAINE

National Training Laboratories
Bethel, Maine
"Human Relations Training Laboratory
June 17 - 29 (2)
July 8 - 20 (2)
July 29 - Aug 10 (2)

University of Maine
Orono, Maine
"Workshop in Intercultural
Understanding"
July 9 - 27 (3)

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston University
Boston 15, Massachusetts
"Summer Laboratory in the
Improvement of Human Relations"
June 24 - July 6 (4)

MICHIGAN

Eastern Michigan College
Ypsilanti, Michigan
"Accentuate the Positive in Human Relations"
Aug 6 - 17 (2)

Merrill-Palmer Institute
Detroit 2, Michigan
"Community Change and the Role of
The Professional Person"
July 9 - 20 (2)

University of Detroit
Detroit 21, Michigan
"Workshop in Human Relations"
June 25 - July 20 (6)

Wayne State University
College of Education
Detroit 2, Michigan
"Workshop in Human Relations"
Aug 20 - 31 (2)

MISSOURI

Saint Louis University
Saint Louis 3, Missouri
"Workshop in Human Relations and
Group Guidance"
June 19 - July 27 (6)

NEW JERSEY

Rutgers - The State University
New Brunswick, New Jersey
"Human Relations in Professional Education"
July 2 - 21 (3)

NEW MEXICO

The University of New Mexico
Albuquerque, New Mexico
"Intercultural Relations Workshop"
June 25 - July 20 (4)

NEW YORK

Brooklyn College
Brooklyn 10, N. Y.
"A Workshop in Intergroup Relations"
(6)

Encampment for Citizenship
Riverdale, N. Y.
Apply to: E.F.C., 2 West 64th St.
New York 23, N. Y.
(Upon Approval)

Long Island University
Brooklyn 1, N. Y.
"Institute in Human Relations
Education"
"Workshop in Human Relations
Education"
July 2 - 20 (3 or 4)

OHIO

The University of Cincinnati
Cincinnati 21, Ohio
"Workshop on Intergroup Relations"
June 18 - July 13 (5)

The Ohio State University
Columbus 10, Ohio
"Civil Rights in a Pluralistic
Society"
July 23 - 27

Western Reserve University
Cleveland 6, Ohio
"Intergroup Relations Workshop"
June 18 - July 27 (6)

OKLAHOMA

The University of Oklahoma
Norman, Oklahoma
"Human Relations Workshop"
(1 or 2)

OREGON

The University of Oregon
Eugene, Oregon

TENNESSEE

Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee
"19th Annual Race Relations Institute"
June 25 - July 7 (3)

TEXAS

Southern Methodist University
Dallas 5, Texas
"Workshop in Human Relations"
June 11 - July 6 (4)

UTAH

College of Southern Utah
Cedar City, Utah
"Human Relations Training Laboratory"
Aug 12 - 24 (2)

VERMONT

The University of Vermont
Burlington, Vermont
"Workshop in Ethnic Problems"
July 9 - 27 (4)

WISCONSIN

Marquette University
Milwaukee 3, Wisconsin
"Human Relations Workshop Institute"
June 20 - July 31 (6)

Workshops to be held outside continental USA

BOGOTA, COLUMBIA, S.A.

Saint Louis University
Saint Louis 3, Missouri
"A Workshop in Human Relations and Group Guidance"
Held at Universidad Javeriana in Bogota, Colombia
July 31 - Aug 31 (6)

*Signifies number of hours or units of credit

PUERTO RICO

University of Puerto Rico
Rio Piedras, P. R.
"Social Welfare Workshop"
Apply: Dept. of Labor, Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, N.Y.C.
June 17 - July 21 (8)

Encampment for Citizenship
La Mina, Puerto Rico
Apply to: E.F.C., 2 West 64th St. New York 23, N. Y.
(Upon Approval)

HUMAN RELATIONS CENTERS

Albert M. Greenfield Center for Human Relations
University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Center for Human Relations and Community Studies
New York University
School of Education
Washington Square
New York 3, N.Y.

Human Relations Center
Boston University
270 Bay State Rd.
Boston 15, Mass.

National Training Laboratories - National Education Association
1201 Sixteenth St., N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

PROFESSIONAL TRAINING IN INTER-GROUP RELATIONS

From 1957 to 1960, NAIRO (the National Association of Intergroup Relations officials, 426 W. 58th St., New York 19) administered a nation-wide program of Internships in Intergroup Relations. It is probable that this program will be reinaugurated in 1962 or 1963 in answer to the recognized need for competent professional workers in the field.

May 29, 1962

The Rev. Paul L. Stagg
Program Director
American Baptist Home Missions Societies
Valley Forge, Pa.

Dear Paul:

I was very sorry to hear about Ted Bromfield's difficulties in Front Royal and will do my best to see how we can possibly help. I think that probably once in a while we can give him a writing assignment for us, but this would be irregular and uncertain at best. I am writing to him and suggesting that he send in some biographical material which will help us explore full time job possibilities in case he finds it necessary to move.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

BANK STREET COLLEGE OF EDUCATION
69 Bank Street, New York 14, N.Y.

SUMMER INSTITUTE FOR EDUCATORS IN INTEGRATING SCHOOLS
PROGRESS REPORT NO. III
(Final Report)
Fall 1962

Over a year ago the administrators of a private foundation granted Bank Street College funds to support a Summer Institute for Educators from Integrating Schools. The Institute was planned and conducted. The thirty Negro and white participants are now back in their southern communities. This report will attempt to review the entire activity and summarize a number of high points.

The policy committee decided to select participants from a few carefully selected communities. Four criteria were developed for selecting these communities:

1. Evidence that a community is grappling with its problems of school integration.

2. Some degree of positive support for integration within the school community, both administratively and socially.

3. Enough community and official receptivity to offer some prospect for constructive follow-up of the Institute.

4. A university accessible to the school community, to make possible future institutes, to be held locally.

With these criteria in mind, the Institute's executive committee settled on the following communities as its first four choices:

1. Charlotte, North Carolina

2. Louisville, Kentucky

3. St. Louis, Missouri

4. El Paso, Texas

In forming the groups the Institute staff looked for:

1. Good elementary school teachers from schools and/or communities which are desegregating their schools.

2. Approximately fifteen Negro and fifteen white teachers.

3. Teachers genuinely concerned with the various problems and challenges of desegregation and integration.

4. Southern teachers well rooted in their communities and who could be expected to develop educational ideas when they returned to their schools.

5. Teachers who could satisfy Bank Street College admission requirements. (Applications consisted of a comprehensive form giving professional training and experience; a college transcript; references, and a personal essay indicating their motivation for attending the Institute.)

The director and the coordinator made several visits to the four communities to interview the candidates being proposed by the superintendents. The results of these recruitment visits were then studied by the policy committee to make the final selections.

Program development was an important phase of the pre-Institute planning. After considerable discussion it was agreed that content should be developed with the active assistance of the participants. The Institute faculty did not take a capricious position regarding the content. They spent hours in cooperative thinking with Negro and white consultants about the issues, problems, and topics which these people might be facing. An extensive reading list was developed. Books and other materials were purchased. Purposes and goals were agreed upon. These and other activities were of invaluable help in establishing a challenging learning environment for the participants.

Consultants competent in the various content areas were selected and invited to participate in the Institute.

The final report which follows represents an effort to summarize what went on in the Institute for Educators from Integrating Schools. Instead of approaching the task chronologically it has been decided that the report might be more helpful if an effort was made to speculate about the extent to which the goals of the Institute [1] were realized. Following this approach, each goal will be stated and then followed by 1) a listing of Institute activities which would seem to have bearing upon the particular goal and 2) evaluating statements which may be helpful in giving some insight into the outcomes of the activities.

1. Increased sensitivity to the feelings of self, children, parents and colleagues regarding school integration and desegregation problems.

Early in the Institute it became apparent to the faculty that these participants were more concerned about their own feelings - some of them apparently quite deeply submerged - concerning people of other races, than they were about problems of curriculum and methodology. These feelings came out in a variety of ways. Several of the white teachers felt that they did not understand Negro children and their parents. In token desegregated schools minority group children were favored, overly-protected, and even spoiled. Many teachers reported that they "bent over backwards" to avoid offending these children. As a result the situation

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1. Progress Report II, p. 3.

became disturbing to the teacher and was not wholesome for the children. Both Negro and white participants asked a number of searching questions of each other concerning better ways of reacting to children from other races. While they knew that all children are essentially alike in their needs and interests regardless of color, teachers apparently, and in spite of the fact that the races have many superficial contacts with each other, had little real appreciation of how to work effectively with each other in the teaching-learning situation. It became apparent through discussions similar to this one that the difficulty was deeply rooted in the individual's concept of himself and of his ability to genuinely accept people of other races.

The Institute seemed to be one of the first opportunities which many of these people had had to really get to know and thereby appreciate each other as people rather than as Negroes or Caucasians. Again and again the Negroes demanded or pled with their colleagues and friends in the Institute to be accepted as teachers, principals and especially as people. Gradually this began to happen among the whites. As they came to value the Negroes as people, they were affected by the hurt their new friends had suffered. As one fine teacher said near the end of the Institute, "these people don't appear so black to me any more." On the other hand a brilliant, aggressive Negro teacher said in the fourth week - "I never thought the day would come when I would feel compassion for white people - and now I do."

It was interesting to observe the impact of working, studying and living together in the behavior of the participants toward each other. Several of the white teachers who intellectually accepted desegregation and integration found the realities of the Institute situation disturbing. One such white teacher, the very first evening, told a Negro teacher who approached her in a friendly manner that while she was willing to study with her she didn't wish to have any social contacts with her. Sometime later in the Institute this same white teacher having gone through a rigorous awakening experience took the initiative by approaching the Negro teacher and invited closer social interaction with her. These human interest stories perhaps indicate more than anything else the helpful effect of providing these teachers carefully controlled and guided opportunities to gain

deeper understanding of themselves - their feelings and their feelings for others. Undergirding the whole aspect of feelings and interpersonal relations were the evening sessions, twice weekly, with a group therapist experienced with minority group problems. We had anticipated that little if any attitude change could take place without dealing with feelings and had built this type of experience into the Institute program. These sessions were recorded on tape and hopefully can be analyzed some day to provide valuable information and insights. There is no doubt, from the intensity and the nature of the reactions to these sessions and the participants'involvement with them, that this was the single most important and effective aspect of the Institute. There was a fascinating interplay between the evening sessions and the daily Institute work sessions at the College, each sparking and furthering the gains of the other. Certainly the increasing softening of attitude towards one another leading to acceptance, and the dramatic breakdown of racial barriers which we witnessed were directly assisted by the self-awareness participants developed.

2. Better understanding of the complex school-community differences which will enable the teacher to function more effectively in his various professional roles.

Educational leaders from a number of border states, including the four communities from which the participants were drawn, told the story of the desegregation and integration in their communities. These formal presentations helped the participants to understand the many ways in which school communities are alike and different. Each of these speakers, in his own unique way, delved quite deeply into the social forces which were operating in his community to either obstruct or promote the desegregation and integration of the schools. Some worked with the group several days, consulting with small groups and with individuals.

The Curriculum Seminar provided additional opportunities for teachers to gain deeper understanding of their professional roles. For study purposes, students grouped around problems and topics of common interest and concern. The faculty

and consultants served as advisors and consultants to the group.

3. Strengthened capacity to create a climate of learning which involves children so fully that resolution of social and emotional problems is encouraged.

The faculty explained early in the Institute that they desired to work with the participants - teachers and principals - as they wanted them to work with their children and teachers, the assumption being that people learn what they live. Every effort was made, therefore, to enrich and deepen the quality of living which went on in the Institute. The participants were not told what to study nor were they ever given over-all purposes and goals. Instead, they were encouraged to identify and develop their own, both through discussion and writing experiences. Again, under the assumption that deeper involvement is thereby achieved. Early in the Institute this process proved to be frustrating to a number of people, perhaps because so much of their preparation and experience had been highly directed and controlled by other people. This criticism came out in the evening session when one person accused the faculty of taking a laissez faire position. (Sometime later this same person complained that she was so busy that she didn't have time to take on anything else.) The group therapist then asked how a laissez faire situation could demand such intense response. The participant got the point and began to see that self-involvement encourages deeper, more meaningful learning experiences.

The group spent four days at a multi-racial camp. The experience provided participants an excellent opportunity to observe a skillfully designed learning climate in which children were so fully involved in important interests and concerns that race problems never even occurred to them. Here they saw Negro and white children and teachers working smoothly and efficiently together on common concerns.

It was at Camp that the group had to face one of the many integration tests. Would Negro teachers, for example, elect to room with each other? Would the white teachers want to share a room with a person from another race? Nothing was done to

force the women to intermingle, but when we got to the motel it was discovered that the manager had fewer rooms for our group than he had promised us. Three people would need to share each room. The concern which the director had at the moment was unfounded because the ladies instantly found additional roommates. Color didn't enter into the selection at all.

4. Greater ability to gear the curriculum to a class with children from disparate backgrounds, and to use the difference for enrichment of the program.

The Institute provided an environment which encouraged the participants to first gain much more first-hand information about the feelings, experiences and educational backgrounds of children from other races. True, many of these people had sat and listened to these problems being discussed by specialists (in mixed groups), but for many of them this was one of the few opportunities they had ever had to gain more intimate information about these important aspects of their roles as teachers and principals. They began to see ways in which existing curriculum materials could be modified to meet the needs of children from varying backgrounds. More importantly, they began to see that the common curriculum materials in use in most of their schools failed to provide opportunities for Negro children and children from other ethnic groups to find themselves and to identify positive aspects of their culture. Several of the groups made plans to prepare and introduce new curriculum materials into their school situations. Bibliographies were compiled, and extensive reading was done. In addition, actual preparation of materials was made by a number of participants for classroom use and for presentation to their own schools.

In the curriculum study groups the participants explored ways of managing new and modified curriculum materials more effectively with all children regardless of race. The sharing of ideas which have worked well in the various school situations seemed to be a profitable experience for these participants. Everyone took home many new ideas to be tried out this Fall.

5. Deeper commitment to the sharing of experiences and resources with others for mutual benefit and support.

Sharing of experiences and resources increased as the participants were able to "cross the racial barrier" more comfortably and as they gained greater feelings of personal security in the situation. For example, an older participant had great difficulty in the beginning seeing herself as someone with any experiences which would be valuable to others. In fact, she couldn't understand why she had been selected and recommended by the school authorities. But she joined several study groups and started off by making a valiant effort to make contributions. She found she could communicate effectively with several people in the groups in which she was working - the ways in which she worked with children made sense to these people. They began to look to her for help. All of this though didn't proceed very far until she began to get a clearer understanding of herself and her feelings. Through all of these experiences it became perfectly evident that she was developing a greater commitment to the importance of sharing experiences and it is hoped that she will have gained thereby a fresh approach to how this process works with children.

Toward the end of the Institute a Negro teacher revealed that she had been very ill the past year with a heart condition which she felt had some connection with the loss of interest in living. She said the Institute had given her a new lease on life and she was looking forward to vigorous living now with many new ideas and plans because she now has hope.

6. Wider comprehension of the factors which have affected and are affecting school desegregation and integration in the United States.

The participants were encouraged to read widely. A special library of books was assembled and purchased as well as pamphlets, magazines and newspaper clippings relating to the history and the problems of desegregation and integration. Sharing reading experiences was an important part of the program. Book reports and recommendations were frequent.

Representatives from various institutions and organizations described the history of desegregation and integration in the United States and its current problems. After most of these formal presentations participants were encouraged to ask questions and discuss what they had heard. There was always opportunity for further consultation. Several of these speeches were duplicated and distributed to the group.

7. Productive translation of Institute learnings into practice in the community from which the participants come.

Most of the sixth week was devoted to this objective. The participants regrouped themselves back into "state groups" to search for effective yet feasible ways of putting their Institute findings into practice in their home communities.

Each group planned some form of communication with its local Board of Education; most groups decided to continue meeting "at home" even though this had many social ramifications; and there was vital concern and much discussion about how they would maintain their friendships. Each group considered possibilities for local institutes, and this possibility was also discussed with local leaders, such as Dr. Maupin of Louisville, and Dr. Shepard of St. Louis. In the case of every individual, however, the most important effect upon children and community can be safely predicted to be changed attitude toward the other race, and toward school curriculum.

The group of participants from North Carolina met with its Board of Education and among other things, recommended integration of school faculties. Even now they are developing sound plans and securing promises of financial support for a similar Institute which will attract other principals and teachers in their cities and state. A school board member from Atlanta, Georgia, heard about the Institute and is making plans to invite several of the participants to come to her city to talk with the principals and teachers. Civic and educational groups are hearing the story in El Paso, Louisville and St. Louis.

SUMMER INSTITUTE FOR EDUCATORS IN INTEGRATING SCHOOLS

Plan Sheet for June 29 to July 6

Special Events

Friday, June 29 - Dinner and Orientation Meeting
Saturday, June 30 - Registration

Periods	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
9:00 - 10:45 Curriculum Seminar	Planning Session	Work Session	All Day Trip	Creative Expression Lois Lord	Work Session
11:15 - 1:00	Elective Course	Elective Course		Elective Course	Elective Course
1:00 - 2:00	Staff Luncheon	Staff Luncheon	Richard Kramer in charge	Staff Luncheon	Staff Luncheon
2:00 - 3:45 Workshop	Getting to know Bank Street College	The Louisville Story Milburn T. Maupin		Every Child Wants to Learn John H. Niemeyer	2:00 - 3:00 In Retrospect and Anticipation 3:00 - 4:00 Meeting Your Advisor

Consultants: LeClaire Clemens
Lois Lord
Milburn T. Maupin
John H. Niemeyer

Staff: Richard Kramer
Charles M. Long
E. Terry Schwarz
Martha Stodt

INSTITUTE STAFF AND CONSULTANTS

	Institute Assignment
Mr. Ben Battle Principal, Glenwood School Chapel Hill, N.C.	Lecturer
Dr. Barbara Biber Director, Division of Research Bank Street College	Staff Consultant, Lecturer
Dr. Muriel Crosby Assistant Superintendent and Director of Elementary Education Wilmington Public Schools	Lecturer
Mr. Tom Flake Associate Director Southern Education Reporting Service	Lecturer
Mr. Oliver Freeman Principal, Lincoln Heights School Charlotte, N.C.	Lecturer
Mrs. Elizabeth Gilkeson Director of Guidance and Children's Programs, Bank Street College	Staff Consultant, Lecturer
Dr. Donald Horton Research Associate Bank Street College	Staff Consultant, Lecturer
Mr. Richard Kramer Assistant Principal, P.S. # 1 New York, N.Y.	Field Services Consultant
Dr. Charles Long Director, Field Services Bank Street College Formerly: Director of Elementary Education at Pennsylvania State Univ.; and more recently Chief Education Officer with the U.S. Embassy in Morocco.	Director of Institute, Leader of Institute Workshop, Adviser to Institute Members

INSTITUTE STAFF AND CONSULTANTS continued

	Institute Assignment
Miss Lois Lord Art Instructor Bank Street College The New Lincoln School Museum of Modern Art	Curriculum Laboratory - Art
Mr. Milburn T. Maupin Principal, Jackson Junior High Louisville, Kentucky	Consultant
Mr. Hugh McElheny Music Instructor Bank Street College The New Lincoln School Mannes School of Music	Curriculum Laboratory - Music
Dr. Salvador Minuchin Group Therapist Specialist in Minority Group Relations	Group Leader
Mr. Robert Moses Field Representative, Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee	Lecturer
Mr. John H. Niemeyer President Bank Street College	Consultant, Lecturer
Miss Marcia Newfield	Curriculum Laboratory Assistant
Mr. Carlos Rivera Coordinator of Foreign Languages El Paso Public Schools	Lecturer
Dr. Terry Schwarz Teacher Education Faculty Bank Street College Formerly: Faculty, Pennsylvania State College	Curriculum Seminar Curriculum Laboratory - Language Arts Adviser to Institute members

INSTITUTE STAFF AND CONSULTANTS continued

	Institute Assignment
Dr. Samuel Shepard Director, Elementary Education The Banneker Group St. Louis, Missouri	Consultant
Dr. Henrietta Smith Teacher Education Faculty Bank Street College Psychology Department Vassar College	Lecturer
Mrs. Martha Stodt Teacher Education Faculty Bank Street College	Coordinator of Institute Program Adviser to Institute Members
Mrs. Charlotte B. Winsor Director, Division of Teacher Education, Bank Street College	Staff Consultant, Lecturer

Summary of an 18 month Demonstration Project
In Developing Job Training Programs Among the "Hard-Core" Unemployed
And Underemployed in Southern Rural Areas, Under Sec. 201
Of the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962

Project Agency. National Sharecroppers Fund is a non-profit, voluntary agency with 25 years of experience working to aid rural Southern farm people. Its primary recent emphasis has been to assist, through conferences, informational material, and a field staff, the most disadvantaged rural people in finding solutions to their economic and social problems through participation in governmental farm programs and cooperatives. Its functioning National Board includes authorities in the fields of rural sociology and adult education who will assist in the planning and execution of the project.

Characteristics and Needs of Trainees. Sharecroppers and farm workers who are being displaced by a changing economy often lack the basic education and experience needed to adjust to urban industrial life. They are rural people who, with training and planning, can find more skilled employment on the land and in small rural communities. They have had little experience with state employment offices and are not now being reached by them.

Purpose and Program of Project. The project is designed to demonstrate that unused resources of leadership within the poorer areas of the rural South, in cooperation with the smaller, predominantly Negro colleges, can effectively develop programs of job training that will enable many unemployed persons to lead economically useful lives in their own communities. During the course of 18 months, the agency expects to assist in developing at least two programs in each of the following six states: North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Tennessee. It expects that 1500-2000 trainees will participate.

By using its experience and local contacts, the agency will reach leaders and potential leaders among the rural groups who are not now being utilized in developing training programs. It will assist them and their communities to analyze their training needs in the light of existing and potential job possibilities and help them to develop a fruitful working relationship with the employment services, agricultural vocational agencies, cooperating colleges, and other state and federal agencies.

NSF will encourage the sponsorship of training programs by those colleges that are best qualified by experience to teach the inadequately prepared, but that have hitherto been restrained by lack of staff and funds from exploiting the potentials of serving in this way. It will help them to establish active relationships with the local communities that need the programs and will assist them in the preparation of these programs. It will seek to develop cooperative action for training between these colleges and larger ones that may have greater staff and facilities available.

Personnel Requirements. The project will require one Field Coordinator and three Field Representatives responsible for two states each, and appropriate secretarial-clerical assistance.

THE CONDITION OF FARM WORKERS IN 1962

REPORT TO THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND
by Fay Bennett, Executive Secretary

"The long-abused and misused lands of the South are faring better than the long-abused and misused people who have inhabited them. There have been no policies and scientific practices to ensure constructive use of these people. . . .This waste of human resources is the South's great unsolved problem." (Lewis W. Jones, The Cold Rebellion)

". . . The [farm] worker who has traditionally looked toward cotton picking as a means of laying up some winter money has had an uncommonly thin season. Wage rates. . . have averaged lower than in recent years. Machines have picked a record portion of the crop. . . ." (Mississippi Farm Labor Letter, Mississippi Employment Security Commission, November 13, 1962)

". . .They dont allow us the right price for cotten, they dont never give us a statement at the end of the crop to give an account of what we owe. . . dont care how much we make, we never clear nuthin much. . . ." (letter to NSF from Mississippi sharecropper, November 20, 1962)

The Year in Brief

Human waste. . . men displaced by machines. . . exploitation of the hungry. . . foreign workers competing for vanishing jobs. . . . Progress is coming too little and too late for many farm families of America.

The year 1962 saw several real changes for the better: action, in which NSF has played a role, toward bringing industry to the underemployed workers of the rural South and retraining those who must or wish to leave the land; increased union organizing and collective bargaining activities, particularly in California and Louisiana; a significant drop in the number of imported contract workers, because the Department of Labor enforced more diligently the provisions to prevent adverse effects on domestic wages and working conditions; a federal health program for migrants; progress in implementing federal aid programs for the rural families who need them most.

But these few restrained measures are pitted against an agricultural revolution which has forced millions of people off the land in the last ten years. As one result, untrained workers are arriving in cities where jobs are already scarce and necessary skill levels are rising. This same agricultural revolution has concentrated economic power so that one-half of one per cent of all our farms (those with annual sales of over $100,000) account for 20% of all farm products sold, while the workers those farms employ receive the lowest wages and have the highest unemployment rate of any group in our economy, and lack the cushion of social legislation which protects other workers.

Concentration of Control; Wealth vs. Poverty

There were 5.4 million farms in 1950. These were reduced to 4.8 million in 1954; to 3.7 million in 1959. Between 1959 and 1960 an estimated 370,000 more, involving over a million people, have given up. Two-thirds (about two million) of the families who stayed on their farms earned less than $1,000 a year from both farm and nonfarm work.

Only 21.5% of U. S. farms have sales of $10,000 or more, which the Department of Agriculture estimates will return a minimum family income of $2,500. But it takes $4,000 "to place the multi-person family above poverty in the American context today," according to the Conference on Economic Progress and other authorities. At the other end, only 2.7% of the farms have sales of $40,000 or more. They control 20% of all farm land and 14% of all cropland harvested, and profit from more than 30% of all farm products sold.

Greatest Poverty in the South

About one out of every six Southern farm operators is Negro. Less than one-third own or even rent their own farms; about 40% are sharecroppers, and the rest are tenant farmers.

The average size white-operated commercial farm in the South is about 382 acres; the average non-white commercial farm, 56 acres. The average value of land and buildings is $37,816 for whites, and $7,328 for non-whites. The average value of products sold is $10,396 for whites and $3,029 for non-whites. Displacement, greater in the South than elsewhere, is proportionately greater among Negro farmers. In the last decade the South has lost half its Negro-operated farms. The number of tenants, both Negro and white, dropped about 45% and the number of sharecroppers about 55 per cent.

Hired Farm Workers

Average annual earnings of farm workers dropped from $1,125 in 1960 to $1,054 in 1961 because of increased unemployment in agriculture and the difficulty of finding supplementary nonfarm work; a slight rise in hourly wage rates was thus counterbalanced. Migrants fared even worse. Their 1960 average of $1,016 dropped to $902. Employment of seasonal workers declined for the third straight year in 1962.

Displacement Accelerated by Mechanization

The need for new jobs in the rural South has been intensified by acceleration in cotton harvest mechanization. In 1950, only 8% of the cotton crop was machine-harvested. By 1959, this had risen to 40 per cent. The Department of Labor estimated that in 1961 the harvest was 57% mechanized. Between 1959 and 1961, peak employment declined by at least 250,000, while production dropped less than 3 per cent.

Agricultural workers are even being displaced by geese! The Wall Street Journal has reported: "Growers here in the Southwest and in other cotton regions are finding that geese. . . can do weeding better and more cheaply than men with hoes. . . . Machines such as cotton pickers and cultivators, plus herbicides, had already slashed their employment opportunities, and now the increasing use of geese is further reducing jobs."

Each year sees new crops coming under mechanization as development of both machines and plants continues. For instance, in 1962, 95% of the Massachusetts cranberry crop (one of the largest on record) was harvested by picking machines.

Mexican Contract Workers

By far the largest number of foreign workers came from Mexico, but total employment of Mexican contract workers (braceros) was down one-third, from 291,420 in 1961 to 194,978 in 1962. But with many apparently re-contracted, some 244,000 braceros worked here for an average period of about three months in 1962. Less than 1% of American farms used braceros. A primary reason for the decrease was the U. S. Department of Labor's decision — bitterly protested by bracero employers — to set minimum wage rates for braceros in keeping with its statutory responsibility to prevent adverse effects on the wages and conditions of domestic workers. The minimum wages set ranged from 60¢ an hour in Arkansas to $1.00 in California and Michigan and were below state average farm wages in every case.

The National Sharecroppers Fund submitted testimony at all open hearings held by the Department of Labor in bracero-employing areas before the minimum rates were set; NSF asked that the minimum be not less than the average state or national farm wage, whichever was higher. NSF has also urged the Department of Labor to recommend to Congress that Public Law 78 (under which Mexicans are imported) be permitted to expire at the end of 1963.

Green-carders. Mexican workers are entering the U. S. as immigrants in greatly increasing numbers. Between 1951 and 1960, nearly 300,000 were admitted, a 395% rise over the 60,589 admitted in the previous decade. In fiscal 1961 alone, 41,632 were admitted.

The immigrant farm worker is free to move from job to job and does not pose so great a threat to labor standards as the contract worker. But, like the native worker, he lacks the protection of a minimum wage and other standards. Some growers in border areas pay such low wages that the immigrants cannot afford to live here, so they leave their families behind and cross the border daily.

Blue-carders. A similar problem is caused by Mexicans who have border-crossing permits to visit or shop but not to work in the United States, and who nevertheless do work here. More than 135,000 of these permits were issued in fiscal 1962, but precise information is not available as to how many border crossers are working illegally. Completely unprotected and therefore exploited, these workers have contributed to undermining wage rates in the Southwest, which sometimes range from $2.50 to $3.75 a day. The Texas AFL-CIO is suing the federal government, demanding a halt to this illegal use of cheap labor.

Puerto Rican Farm Workers

In 1962, 13,526 Americans from Puerto Rico came under contract to work on mainland farms. Their guaranteed minimum wage was 90¢ an hour, an increase from the 80¢ minimum in 1961. In addition to a guarantee of 160 hours of work in each four-week period, the contract included workmen's compensation coverage, health insurance, and English classes for workers who wish to further their education.

Other Foreign Workers

Other specially imported foreign workers for American agriculture in 1962 included approximately 1,200 Japanese, 125 Filipinos, 13,000 British West Indians, and 8,700 Canadians. Peak employment of all foreign contract workers was the lowest since 1950.

Farm Worker Organization

The Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee, AFL-CIO, centered in California, spent last year in strengthening its locals and registering eligible farm workers as voters. Increased organizing and collective bargaining activities are predicted for 1963.

In Louisiana, the organizing drive of the Agricultural and Allied Workers Union No. 300 (formerly the National Agricultural Workers Union) made notable progress in 1962. Overcoming strong opposition, this affiliate of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America won recognition for some workers at Sweetlake Farms, a 6,000-acre rice, cattle, and poultry operation employing some 200 people, including 46 tenant farm families.

Sugar Act Benefits Denied Farm Workers

During the 1962 Congressional debate on extension of the Sugar Act, which guarantees subsidies and import quotas to American sugar growers, Senator Eugene McCarthy proposed that the minimum wage set under the Fair Labor Standards Act be substituted for the present vague "fair and reasonable wage." His proposal failed. In 1962, minimum hourly wages for sugar workers in this highly protected industry ranged from 60¢ in Louisiana to 95¢ in sugar beet fields. In Hawaii, where sugar workers are members of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, the lowest paid receive $1.46 an hour, plus valuable fringe benefits.

Federal Programs

Farmers Home Administration. FHA has greatly increased its activities and liberalized its criteria in the past two years. In 1962, FHA granted $754 million in loans to rural families, the largest amount in any twelve-month period in its history. Of the 214,000 families who used FHA facilities in the last fiscal year, 10,000 were Negro borrowers. This represents an increase of about 40% over fiscal 1960.

Rural Areas Development. The Office of RAD in the Department of Agriculture implements the Commerce Department's Area Redevelopment Administration projects to help depressed rural areas. Some 2,700 economic development projects were submitted to RAD in the past 18 months; 317 projects were approved, involving an estimated $90 million and 45,000 new jobs. About 950 industrial or commercial projects were reported in the planning stage or "under way" in the rural South.

Retraining. The training programs of the ARA, and the even broader program of the Office of Manpower, Automation and Training in the U. S. Department of Labor, include provisions to raise the skill levels of unemployed and underemployed farm workers so that they can qualify for better paying jobs in agriculture or industry. They also provide for training farm youth between the ages of 16 and 22 years. The USDL reports a need for year-round hired farm laborers able to perform a wide variety of tasks: operating and maintaining farm machinery, pruning and cultivating, and making safe use of chemical insecticides and weed killers.

Federal Aid Programs Not Applied Equally

Most of the Southern rural counties eligible for RAD and ARA aid meet the criteria of need because of the abject poverty of their Negro families, but most of the aid goes to the white families. There are about one million rural Negro families (1960), at least 85% of them in the South and most of these in the coastal plain between Southern Virginia and Eastern Texas. Fifty seven per cent of them have incomes of less than $2,000 a year, while only 19% of the white population are in this bracket.

The discrepancy is increasing. The median income of Negro farm families was 52% of that of white Southern farm families in 1950 but only 45% by 1960. In 1950 the proportion of white Southern farm families who had hot and cold piped water inside their homes was only seven percentage points higher than the proportion among Negroes; by 1960 it was fifty percentage points higher. The proportion of young people obtaining a high school education has increased among both groups, but not nearly so rapidly among rural Negroes as among rural whites.

The distribution of FHA loans (1959-61) in nine counties of South Carolina, reported in a Southern Regional Council study, is revealing. In five counties, more than half the farmers were Negroes, and Negroes made up at least 39% of the farmers in the other four counties. Only 29% of Negro applications for farm ownership loans were approved, while 42% of the applications by whites were granted. Of the money advanced for farm ownership loans, Negroes received only 4.5%; of the money lent for farm housing, only 6.1 per cent.

In this and other government programs, the policy of the federal government to have local control has created the problem. Applications for loans and other government aid are processed by appointed committees of local farmers, who function without definite guidelines and with little federal supervision or administrative review. Negroes are almost never represented and play no part in the decision making of the committees, which are ostensibly intended to represent and safeguard the interests of the whole community. This is, of course, typical of the local power structure throughout the South, but its extension to the implementation of federal policy frustrates the intention of the Congress to aid the very people who are most disadvantaged.

Legislation

The Migrant Health Act. The 1962 Health Services Act authorizes up to $3 million annually for three years for health projects in areas with a sizeable influx of migrant workers. This can be used for such services as family clinics which are convenient to migrants and regularly scheduled visits by public health nurses to migrant camps.

Other Legislation. A bill to limit child labor in agriculture passed the Senate and went to the floor of the House for action but never came to a vote. Three other bills passed the Senate but were stopped in the House by the Rules Committee. These would have provided aid to states to improve educational opportunities for migrant children, set up an Advisory Council on Migratory Labor, and required registration of labor contractors. New bills to help farm workers in these and other areas (such as minimum wage) have been introduced in the 88th Congress.

NSF Field Service Program

The NSF analysis of a steadily deteriorating economic situation in the rural South has resulted in a new emphasis and expansion of effort.

NSF is stepping up its program of providing information, guidance, and organizing help to local groups throughout the South, to enable them to take advantage of these federal aid programs before they are deprived of their land and homes, or to make alternatives available to those already dispossessed. The NSF staff works to ensure that applications for aid that originate outside the established local power structure receive the same consideration as any others. When Negro sharecroppers in Mississippi were denied federal surplus commodities in the winter of 1962, after participating in voter registration drives, NSF joined with other groups in protesting this attempt by local power structures to use denial of government food as a means of intimidation, and the Department of Agriculture responded by seeing that the commodities were distributed in some of the affected counties. The Executive Secretary of the NSF serves as a member of the National Advisory Committee on Rural Areas Development of the Department of Agriculture.

A second field representative was added to the NSF staff at the turn of the year. He is Mr. L. S. James, who will work in his home state of South Carolina to help low-income farmers and farm workers qualify for federal aid programs. Mr. James is co-sponsored by the South Carolina Council on Human Relations. Like NSF's Tennessee field representative, Mr. Allen Yancey, Jr., Mr. James will help farmers apply for FHA loans, assist communities in qualifying for RAD and ARA projects, and cooperate in organizing retraining projects to teach new skills to underemployed and unemployed farmers, farm workers, and youth.

"A Better Life for Farm Families"

That such work needs to be done and that additional staff representatives are needed to answer increasing requests from other states was made clear by enthusiastic response to the NSF Southern Rural Conference at Bricks, North Carolina, in November, 1962. More than 160 people attended this pioneering conference, called to inform low-income Southern farmers about the new federal programs and to discuss how to go about obtaining their benefits locally. Participants ranged from an Assistant Secretary of Agriculture to sharecroppers from Mississippi. Others came from Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia, Tennessee, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia. Those in official positions were brought face to face with people who live daily with poverty and frustration. Proceedings of the conference, entitled "A Better Life for Farm Families," have been published and are being widely circulated.

Fayette County, Tennessee. With the help of USDA and ARA officials, residents of Fayette County, where hundreds of tenant farmers and sharecroppers were evicted two years ago after registering to vote, have formed a corporation to attract new industry into the area. The West Tennessee Development Company grew out of a local, bi-racial committee formed by NSF field representative Yancey to provide industrial jobs on a nondiscriminatory basis for persons who are no longer able to make a living in agriculture but who nevertheless want to remain in the area.

Conclusion

At the present time, a major part of NSF funds goes toward its Southern program. As funds permit, the staff will be enlarged to include representatives in other states, with Mississippi probably next in line. Other NSF grants in 1962 were made for: a survey of Louisiana sugar cane workers; the pension fund for members of the old Southern Tenant Farmers Union; the National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor; the National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor; and the Migrant Children's Fund.

NSF reports and releases are sent to a large number of newspapers and magazines, libraries, public officials, and concerned citizens. NSF will continue its efforts to improve the conditions of seasonal and migratory farm workers across the country by backing needed legislation, supporting union organizing efforts, and providing literature and speakers for a growing audience. It must also look ahead to a steadily declining demand for seasonal workers; to the virtual end of sharecropping; and to the dispossession of the marginal farmer. Alternatives planned now can secure a better future for these workers of the land.